

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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Modern Language Notes

Volume LI

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Number 1

STUDENT ADMISSIONS TO THE THEATER AT ORLEANS IN 1623-1751

One of the privileges enjoyed by members of the University of Orléans was the right to a certain number of free admissions to theatrical performances given in the city. The University documents covering the period 1623-1751 include records of a number of lawsuits concerning this privilege, which is not to be found on any of the official privilege lists now extant. None of our lists is complete, and they probably never were intended to be, so that the absence of this particular privilege is not significant. There is reference to it, however, in a collection of documents relating to privileges of all sorts, dating from the year 1648.¹ Details are to be found in the documents dealing with the various lawsuits, all of which are among the papers of two of the Nations at Orléans, the Nations having been the organizations charged with the defense of such privileges. The bulk of the extant University documents now at Orléans are those of the German Nation which contain a number of seventeenth-century references to the right of that Nation "de tout temps immemorial d'entrer gratuitement et sans payer aucun argent comme privilegez es lieux et maisons ou les deffendeurs² jouent leurs comedies."³ The French Nation had a lawsuit in 1750-1751.⁴ At some time between 1634 and 1750, it apparently became customary for the Nations to pay a specified sum for several season tickets for the use of officers of the Nations, which officers had at first successfully claimed free admission. There is no indication in any of the extant documents of the reason for

¹ Archives du Loiret, D 202, fo. 6

² In this case a troupe of actors who had denied the privilege.

³ Arch. Loiret, D 235, fo. 28, January 24, 1634

⁴ Arch. Loiret, D 266.

the existence of this privilege, enjoyed by all the Nations through their officers⁵

Our first episode occurred in 1623. In that year the members of the German Nation had trouble with the troupe of the Prince de Condé, then playing at Orléans. The Germans claimed that they, like the other nations, were privileged to send three or four of their members to theatrical performances free of charge. They had attempted to enter, they said, but had been impudently refused by the actors, who professed to have "played in all the universities of France without ever having had the question raised" of giving the Germans free admission. The Germans, it seems, "were not concerned with the money in question," but were jealous of the honor of their nation, which "flourished above all others" and "was not to be looked upon as inferior in this matter." The nation apparently succeeded in winning its point, for the document closes with the Proctor's advice to his successors that they take great care that "this privilege which had been denied them," and won by him "with the greatest difficulty" be guarded in the future, and that they "give way on no point to the other nations of France."⁶

⁵ Bimbenet, in his *Histoire de l'Université de Louis d'Orléans*, Paris, Orléans, 1853, pp. 110-113, and in the *Mémoires* of the *Société Archéologique et Historique de l'Orléanais*, xx, 351, deals with the question of free admission of students to certain theatrical performances at Orléans. He used only documents of the years 1632-1634, and probably not all of them. Incidentally, he confuses them badly. He also states that the only mention of the matter is to be found on the books of the German Nation. Abel Huard, in *Le théâtre orléanais à travers les âges*, in the *Mém. Soc. Arch. Hist. Ori.*, 3ème série, III, 182-270, also used the documents at the Archives du Loiret, as well as at the Bibliothèque de la Ville and at the offices of the *Journal du Loiret*, but he cites no specific sources, and it is not clear how many of these he saw. He also confuses separate episodes and dates, and makes a number of statements which it has not been possible to corroborate from the sources used in this article. The present writer has examined the manuscript material on the University of Orléans at the Archives du Loiret in Orléans, at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and at the libraries of the Vatican and Wolfenbüttel. All the references to the theater were found at Orléans, among the records of the German and French Nations. Reference is made, however, to the fact that the other Nations also shared the privileges mentioned (Arch. Loiret, D 26).

⁶ This document, Arch. Loiret, D 218, fo. 220, April 23, 1623, was kindly

In 1632 the German Nation brought suit against "Jean de Marais⁷ et autres comediens françois estant en la maison de la monnoye,"⁸ because of the refusal of the troupe to admit to their performances, free of charge, five officers of the German Nation, namely, the proctor, receiver, assessor, and two librarians.⁹ The accounts¹⁰ of the case are brief, stating merely that the Nation won the suit, and that the defendant agreed to recognize their privilege

communicated to me by M Lavergne, Archivist of the Department of the Loiret

Vigesima, tertia aprilis intelligi moris esse in universitatibus Gallie primarios cujusquam ad comedias gratis accedere posse, Comedos autem illustrissimi principis de Condé, qui eodem die acturi erant, ex quibus libet nationibus tres vel quatuor in eum sinum admisisti Quare, ut privilegio quo alii gaudebant non frustraremur, eos cum domino assessore accessi, petique ut nos cum aliis ad comedias gratuito adicerent, qui punita fronte satis restiterunt, allegantes se omnes universitates Gallie percurrisse, nullibi tamen Germanos hujus privilegii questionem fecisse Quibus respondi Y N G (this is the usual reference to the German Nation, Inclyta Natio Germanica) a tot seculis fundatam, ceteris cassatis, solam eam omnibus suis privilegiis integra conservatam esse; eandem, si una omnium nationum favorem mereatur, esse admittendam ad hanc autem petitionem non respectus pecunie nos movisse, sed ut Y. N. G., que in omnibus pre ceteris floret, in hoc uno inferior non videatur; et sic pluribus ab utraque parte nationibus collatis, tandem nos inscripserunt Successores itaque meos montos velim ut hanc permissionem, que huiusque nationi denegata fuerat et maxima difficultate mihi concessa, conservent nec in ullo puncto ceteris Gallie nationibus cedant

Marginal note. "Cives N G non minus quam alii studiosi ex Gallia gratis ad comedias intrant"

⁷ Also spelled Jean Desmarais (Arch Loiret, D 263)

⁸ The Hôtel des Monnaies, where the theatrical performances were held Rigault, in *Orléans et le Val de Loire*, Paris, 1933, p 97, says that the Jesuits took over this building from the Chambre des Monnaies of Orléans, in 1628 A seventeenth-century inventory, undated, shows the house to have been among the Jesuit properties when the inventory was made (Arch. Loiret, D 375) Huard, *op cit*, p 221, says that theatrical performances at Orléans had at one time been given in one of the university buildings, and that this explains the free distribution of tickets Bimbenet, *Mém Soc Arch Hist Orl*, XX, 351, is of the same opinion The present writer has found no mention, in the documents consulted, of any building other than the Hôtel des Monnaies, although it is obvious from the text of some of the documents that other unspecified buildings were used

⁹ Arch Loiret, D 234, fo 316

¹⁰ Arch Loiret, D 263, D 234, fo 316.

The episodes of 1634 are more illuminating. In January, 1634, the German Nation hailed into court "Claude de la Bellerocche¹¹ et ses consorts, comédiens a present a Orleans." Three members of the company, "Francois Lariviere dict Saint-Maurice, Nicolas Lariviere aussi dict Saint-Maurice, et Jehan Lochecult" appeared with Bellerocche to answer the charge of violation of the University privilege. They testified that

lorsque les demandeurs ont voulu entrer gratuitement, ilz ne les oncques voulu empescher, sinon qu'ilz disoient vouloir entrer gratuitement au nombre de dix-sept, qui est un nombre excessif, qui leur feroit prejudice aux aultres nations, occasion de quoy ilz ont faict ledit refus¹²

The Germans ignored the mention of seventeen applicants, and insisted on five free admissions, two in addition to the usual number granted to each Nation, in view of the fact that the German Nation had five instead of three officers, there being two librarians in that Nation and none in the other Nations¹³. The court cited the decision of April 22, 1632, and ruled that the five officers of the German Nation be admitted free to all places where plays were given.¹⁴

¹¹ The identification of Belle Roche has been somewhat incomplete. Professor H. C. Lancaster has kindly called my attention to two references to him. Seudéry mentions him in the *Comédie des Comédiens* (1635), II, 1, as Bellerocche. H. Chardon, *Nouveaux documents sur les comédiens de campagne*, Paris, Champion, 1905, p. 45, says that "Claude Nollean dit Bellerocche" and his consorts had difficulties with their hostess at Le Mans. The document is dated Oct. 31, 1633. Chardon was unable to identify the troupe. Bellerocche is referred to as Bellerocche or Belle Roche, and as Claude de la Bellerocche in a number of the manuscripts used in this paper. The identification is completed, however, by one of these documents, a receipt of the year 1636, which is signed with both his real name, C. Nollean, and his stage name, Belle Roche (Arch. Loiret, D 254). This signature has been often misread C. Holleau, or Cholleau.

¹² It is possible that legitimate representatives of the German Nation may have been joined in their efforts to secure free admission by other students or even townspeople, whose presence may or may not have been sanctioned by the Nation's officials.

¹³ In addition to the library of the University of Orléans, one Nation, the Germans, maintained a library of their own, presided over by two librarians. It was located in a private house in rooms rented for that purpose by the German Nation. Arch. Loiret, D 256, D 235, fo. 28.

¹⁴ The records of this episode are to be found in Arch. Loiret, D 235,

Three months later Belleruche reappeared at Orléans, apparently with a different troupe. On April 27, 1634, he and one Duarmet appeared before the same magistrate to answer the same charge, that of violating the University privilege by refusing free admission to officers of the Great Nation. Belleruche and Duarmet testified "qu'ils sont comediens de Monseigneur de Vendosme,¹⁵ qu'ils ne scavent rien des privileges de demandeurs." They agreed, however, to give the usual five free tickets to the German Nation, on condition that this involve them in no difficulty with the other Nations, and a court order was issued to that effect. It stated that the members of the German Nation were to "entrer grautement et sans payer aucune chose es lieux et hostels de cette ville et faux bourgs ou les dits deffendeurs jouent et joueront leurs comedies tant a present, qu'a l'advenir"¹⁶

On Jan. 10, 1636, Belleruche succeeded in collecting payment for the privilege of "free admission," as is shown by a receipt in the archives of the German Nation

Je confesse que Mr^e Berart Secre^re de la Nation germanique ma payé deux pistolles D'espagne qⁱ auoit promis me payer par cedule q[ue] j'ay receu[e] de luy depuis dix jours enca ou enuiron. Laquelle ayant adiree demeure nulle au moyen du susdict payement et en cas que je la trouue promets la rendre audit Berart et ce pour auoir laissé entrer en nos Comedies Mess^s les officiers de la Nation Germanique. Laq^{lle} somme ils nous ont donnee gratuitement et promettons yceux laisser entrer en nos dictes comedies tout le tems de ce present voyage. Fait ce 10^{me} du moys de Janvier mil six cent trente six

C Noleau dit Belle Roche¹⁷

During the next few years the price rose. The Assessor's register shows that, in 1643, the German Nation paid three pistoles for the same privilege.¹⁸

fo 28, and D 263. Bimbenet, *Mém. Soc. Arch. Hist. Orl.*, xx, 351, and Huard, *op. cit.*, p. 221, state that performances on this occasion were held in the *Maison et jeu de Caud*, a *Jeu de Paume*, but do not cite their sources.

¹⁵ That César, duc de Vendôme, the illegitimate son of Henry IV and patron of the dramatist, Pierre Du Ryer, gave his name to a troupe, has not previously been indicated. This was called to my attention by Professor Lancaster.

¹⁶ Arch. Loiret, D 235, fo 38.

¹⁷ Arch. Loiret, D 254.

¹⁸ "Histrionibus gratuita^e inclitae Nationis nostrae, officiariorum ad spectaculum admissionis praemium efflagitantibus tres pistolas dandas e dignitate nostra existimavimus esse." Arch. Loiret, D 235, fo 357.

On December 10, 1673, when the actors of the duc d'Enghien's troupe were at Orléans,¹⁹ they were obliged by the Provost to make a more generous distribution of tickets, and, so far as we know, without any payment whatever. The proctors of all the Nations (Germany, Picardy, Normandy, France) were to be admitted free, and six additional tickets, presumably season tickets, were to be supplied to each of the Nations. Four members of the troupe were mentioned in the order: de Richemont, de Bonneuil, Duperche, and Chaumont. Two conditions were imposed upon the Nations, that their members refrain from insulting the actors during the performances or at the entrances, and that they go to the theater unarmed.²⁰

In 1685 another attempt was made to collect payment for tickets issued to the Nations. A troupe from Lyons under the direction of Nicolas Bontemps, demanded one hundred pounds from the German Nation, but they were prevented from collecting it by the Lieutenant-General of Orléans.²¹

In 1750, the French Nation had difficulties with a troupe under the direction of Guillaume Dorville. Nine members demanded that Dorville be ordered to grant them "places par privilege," and to return the "trente-une livres huit sols" which they had already paid for tickets. The case was tried in court on December 4, 1750. A previous case, of July 24, 1739, of which we have no other mention, was referred to as establishing a precedent. The decision on

¹⁹ The troupe was still at Orleans on January 18, 1674. Professor Lancaster has referred me to a mention of this in *Le Moliériste*, v (1883), p. 176, "aux sieurs de Richemont et Du Perche Comédiens estant de present en la ville d'Orléans." (January 18, 1674)

²⁰ Severe laws prohibited students at Orléans from wearing arms, but the German Nation enjoyed exemption from this regulation. The traditional reason for this exception is that the German students were believed to have been drawn almost exclusively from among the nobility, who were habitually armed, as were the French nobility. The German Nation was for centuries the strongest Nation at Orléans and thus in a position to insist on special privileges. However, the possession of arms by Germans legally, and by other students illegally, is supposedly responsible for the frequency of Town and Gown troubles at Orléans. In one parcel of thirty-eight documents from the Provost's Office (Arch. Loiret, D 26), four deal with this difficulty. It is therefore not strange that the possibility of riots at the theater was feared. Mention was made in 1673 of such trouble on a previous unspecified occasion.

²¹ Arch. Loiret, D 238, p. 392.

that occasion had been that certain students, whose exact status is unknown, were to pay six pounds each for their season tickets. Acting under this arrangement, the nine above-mentioned members of the French Nation had applied to Dorville for tickets at that rate, had been refused, and had therefore brought the suit which was disposed of on December 4, 1750. Dorville was ordered to abide by the rules of 1739, and in view of fact that the season was already well under way, he was to issue the nine tickets for half the stipulated price, that is, for three pounds each.²²

The last document in the series is perplexing. It is a receipt given by Dorville to "Messieurs les legistes de l'Université d'Orléans," for fifty-four pounds, "pour leur abonnement a Orléans", it is of date January 14, 1751.²³ The nine members of the French Nation who had brought suit six weeks earlier, had applied for tickets at six pounds each, which would have brought the total to the amount mentioned in this last document. However, the price had been definitely reduced by half on December 4, 1750, due to the lateness of the season. Either the decision was reversed in the interval, and the original nine were compelled to pay the full six pounds, or else nine additional students obtained tickets, making eighteen at three pounds each. There is nothing in the records to prove which price was finally paid.

In any case, it is evident that special arrangements were made at Orléans for the admission of students to theatrical performances, at least between 1623 and 1751. The tendency at first seems to have been to offer tickets free of charge to officials of the Nations, possibly for purposes of advertisement. Later the seats were paid for, but at a special rate. At least a part of the seats so disposed of were used by students who were not officers, thus indicating the possibility, toward the end of the period, of a general system of student admissions at special rates.²⁴

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²² Arch Loiret, D 266

²³ Arch Loiret, D 266. In April, 1751, Dorville's troupe was playing at Dijon, cf. Gouvenain, *le Théâtre à Dijon*, Dijon, 1888, p. 92.

²⁴ The material for this paper was found in the course of research in the history of the University of Orléans. The writer is grateful for assistance given to that project by the American Association of University Women (European Fellowship 1928-1929), and by the American Council of Learned Societies (Grants-in-Aid, 1932 and 1933).

A PASSAGE IN THE FIRST PREFACE OF *BRITANNICUS*

Defending his own conception of tragedy, Racine wrote in 1670 that hostile critics would doubtless prefer that he should put on the stage

quelque héros ivre qui se voudroit faire hair de sa maîtresse de gaieté de cœur, un Lacédémonien grand parleur, un conquérant qui ne débiteroit que des maximes d'amour, une femme qui donneroit des leçons de fierté à des conquérants

The first two phrases have been satisfactorily explained as referring, respectively, to *Attila*, though the hero of that play was drunk in Corneille's source rather than in his tragedy, and to *Agésilas*, in which over twenty per cent of the verses are spoken by the Spartan king. Mesnard supposed that the two remaining phrases referred to the characters of Julius Caesar and Cornelia in *Pompée*. Bernardin, Lanson, and most other editors of *Britannicus* accepted this interpretation, but M. Jacoubet (*RHL*, xxii [1925], 416-20) showed that the criticism does not apply satisfactorily to these two characters when they are studied in their entirety and that Racine was attacking, not Corneille of his great period, but "Corneille vieilli." His demonstration seems to me conclusive, but the substitute that he offers for *Pompée* is quite as unsatisfactory as Mesnard's hypothesis, for M. Jacoubet proposes that the third and fourth phrases, like the first, referred to *Attila*, though it cannot be admitted that the hero of that play "se voudroit faire hair de sa maîtresse de gaieté de cœur" and at the same time "ne débiteroit que des maximes d'amour." Moreover, Corneille was known to hold that a tragedy should depict some sterner emotion than love and, in the preface of his *Sophonisbe*, had attacked the romantic hero in as strong terms as Racine did in the passage under discussion. Finally, though Honoria is, in *Attila*, a proud woman, as M. Jacoubet points out, Attila is not her conqueror. It seems necessary, therefore, to seek some other explanation.

Scholars insist upon discussing dramatic problems as if Corneille and Racine were the only authors of tragedy in the seventeenth century, although there were others who in 1670 were quite as well known to Racine's public as was Racine himself. Is there any evidence, moreover, that Racine is referring only to Corneille? If he had done so, would he not have seemed to favor a type of tragedy

that was being written by his other rivals? Let us see if, among plays that had recently been produced by other authors than Corneille, tragedies can be found to which Racine's sarcastic remarks apply

In 1666-69 there were, besides Racine's two tragedies and Corneille's *Agésilas* and *Attila*, only four produced by authors of note Boyer's *Jeune Marius* (1669), Quinault's *Pausanias* (1668), and Thomas Corneille's *Laodice* (1668) and *la Mort d'Annibal* (1669) Of these we may eliminate *Laodice* and *le Jeune Marius* The former contains no sighing conqueror, while *Laodice*, though she has abundant pride, is careful to conceal it while she is in the presence of the Roman ambassador In Boyer's tragedy the heroine shows little *fierté* and there is no conqueror dominated by love, for young Marius is not victorious, Sylla is not in love, and Pompey points out that he subordinates love to ambition and honor The other two plays, however, are well deserving of Racine's thrusts Quinault was notorious for his tenderness and *Pausanias* was the last tragedy he had brought out The hero of it, after leading the Greek armies to victory over the Persians, is represented as so desperately in love with a captive that he meditates deserting his country and his allies for her sake Certainly Racine's third phrase well characterizes his rôle As for the "femme qui donneroit des leçons de fierté à des conquérants," there is no such character in *Pausanias*, but, in *la Mort d'Annibal*, the heroine, Hannibal's daughter, subordinates her love to her hatred of Rome and boldly addresses the Roman ambassador

Hé bien, Flaminius, ton ambassade est faite?
Un lâche t'a vendu ce que Rome souhaite
Pour combler ton triomphe, et le voir sans égal,
Viens-tu joindre mon sang à celui d'Annibal?¹

Racine's remarks apply, then, to four recent plays: *Attila*, *Agésilas*, *Pausanias*, and *la Mort d'Annibal* He was attacking Quinault and Thomas Corneille as well as the latter's distinguished brother. He was proclaiming his intention of avoiding bizarre heroes, of respecting characteristics traditionally assigned to certain nationalities, of giving up the type of sighing conqueror that he had himself represented, though he does not admit it, in *Alexandre*, and

* ¹v, 3, cf also, the following scenes

of refusing to put on the stage the kind of heroine moved especially by her *fierté*. Both the power and the limitations of Racine's variety of French classical tragedy are expressed in this declaration, aimed, not only at the aging Corneille, but at his brother and at Quinault.

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

MONTANI, SAINT-EVREMOND, AND LONGINUS

Count Francesco Montani of Pesaro (1680-1755) sprang into brief prominence in the early years of the eighteenth century as a critic of the critics. He added stimulus to the Franco-Italian literary polemic sometimes called the Orsi-Bouhours controversy, by replying to his Italian compatriots from the point of view of the French moderns. Montani's slight but important indebtedness to Saint-Evremond has been overlooked, and the possible effect of the Longinian tradition of criticism upon his thought deserves consideration in the light of Benedetto Croce's essay on Montani as the originator of a new idea in criticism.¹

French critics of the seventeenth century repeatedly attacked modern Italian literature, usually along with Spanish writing, as being corrupted by a false taste for conceits and points. In Boileau's work the aspersions were not numerous but effective, and perhaps the best known of all was the line in his ninth satire on the "fool of quality" who prefers "Tasso's glitter to all of Virgil's gold." Father Bouhours repeated the phrase at the close of his *la Manière de bien penser* (1687), which bristles with deprecatory references to the bad style of Spain and Italy.² As a counter-attack on behalf

¹ "Un pensiero critico nuovo," *Problemi di estetica* (Bari, 1910), pp 354 ff. Montani has been noticed also in the following: Emilio Bertana, "Un precursore del romanticismo, G. C. Becelli," *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* (Torino), xxvi (1895), 113 ff.; Francesco Foffano, "Una polemica letteraria nel settecento," *Ricerche letterarie* (Livorno, 1897), pp 313 ff.; B. Croce, *Estetica* (Bari, 1912), pp 523, 552; Hugh Quigley, *Italy and the Rise of a New School of Criticism in the 18th Century* (Perth, 1921), p 115; John G. Robertson, *Studies in the Genesis of the Romantic Theory in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1923), chap 1. For the fullest discussion see Giuseppe Toffanin, *L'eredità del rinascimento in Arcadia* (Bologna, 1923), chaps iv-v.

² The influence of Bouhours, a few years before Orsi's reply, is seen in Carmelo Ettorri's *Il buon gusto ne' componimenti rettorici* (Bologna, 1696).

of the Italians the Marchese Orsi published in 1703 his *Considerazioni* of Bouhours's work. Bouhours had died shortly before, but the journalists of the *Mémoires de Trevoux* defended his book, while a number of Italian letters appeared in support of Orsi. Montani made his sole contribution to criticism in 1705 in a *Lettera toccante le 'Considerazioni'* of Orsi, protesting against the outworn neo-classicism of the Italians. After circulating as an anonymous manuscript, the *Letter* was printed in 1709 and was reprinted in 1735 in a two-volume edition of Orsi's *Considerazioni* which contained all the Italian writings in the controversy, together with a translation of Bouhours's book.³ Voltaire, in his notice of Father Bouhours, said "The little book *On the Art of Thinking* offended the Italians, and became a national quarrel. . . The Marquis Orsi and some others compiled two thick volumes in order to justify a few verses of Tasso."⁴

Montani agreed with the French moderns in insisting upon relative instead of permanent standards, denying the force of authority. "Everything is changed today," he wrote, "religion, human society, government, customs, tastes, manners, and nature itself, and with all this crashing of systems, shall it be permissible longer to write like the ancients, and should so many changes produce none in our thoughts?" Rules, therefore, were useless. Rules so incorruptible in character, said Montani, "that they would have the authority to guide our minds through every progression of time are so few that they may be counted on the nose, and it would be something ridiculous, it seems to me, to wish always to correct and regulate our modern works by ancient laws now entirely abrogated and extinct." Hence imitation was also deplorable. "This servile imitation, and base and illiberal spirit, is the greatest obstacle to elevation that a mind can possess."

The two definitions of taste which, according to Croce (*Problemi di estetica*, p. 377), Ettorri cites in his preface, were evidently borrowed from Bouhours's work (edn. 1687, p. 381). The fact confirms Croce's suggestion that the first of the definitions may be that of Mme Dacier, for Bouhours repeats the language of Mme Dacier's preface to *le Plutus et les Nuées d'Aristophane* (1684, sign. e iii, verso). For Bouhours's influence on Ettorri see Toffanin, chap. 1.

³ *Considerazioni del Marchese Giovan-Gioseffo Orsi Bolognese, sopra "La maniera di ben pensare"* (Modena, 1735).

⁴ "Ecrivains français du siècle de Louis XIV."

Montani, according to Giuseppe Toffanin,⁵ was the only modern in Italy at the time of his *Letter*, and it is fitting that we should find the earliest Italian modern indebted for his historical relativity to Saint-Evremond, whom Sainte-Beuve described as "the first of the French moderns" who "glanced with a philosophic eye into ancient history"⁶ Saint-Evremond can hardly be classified simply as a modern, but his main influence did encourage relativity.⁷ Several passages in the *Letter*, including the sentences quoted from it above, are taken, almost word for word, from Saint-Evremond's essay "On the Poems of the Ancients" (1685)⁸ But Montani did

⁵ *Op cit*, p 111

⁶ *Nouveaux lundis* (Paris, 1870), XIII, 446

⁷ Cf Irving Babbitt, *Masters of Modern French Criticism* (Boston, 1923) p 10

⁸ "Il medesimo sole aggiornane ancora, è vero, ma noi gli assegniamo un'altro moto, e dove che in prima per lunga serie d'etadi, affaticato dell'apparente diurna sua carriera andava a rinfrescarsi nel mare, adesso volgendolo solo intorno al proprio asse, facciamolo illuminare tutto il mondo Qualche altro in alcun tempo di continuo stazionario globo nella credenza degli uomini, ora per altra openione si volge incessantemente, e si gira intorno al centro del vortice planetario, nè v'ha niente d'uguale alla rapidità del suo moto Tutto s'è mutato oggi giorno, la religione, l'umana economia, la politica, i costumi, i gusti, le maniere, la natura istessa, e con tutto questo sconvolgimento di sistemi saranne più permesso lo scrivere all'antica, e questi tanti cambiamenti non doveran produrne veruno almen ne i nostri pensieri?" *Considerazioni*, II, 8

Cf "Le même soleil nous luit encore, mais nous lui donnons un autre cours au lieu de s'aller coucher dans la mer, il va éclairer un autre monde. La terre immobile autrefois, dans l'opinion des hommes, tourne aujourd'hui dans la nôtre, et rien n'est égal à la rapidité de son mouvement Tout est changé les dieux, la nature, la politique, les mœurs, le goût, les manières Tant de changements n'en produiront-ils point dans nos ouvrages?" *Œuvres de Saint-Evremond*, ed René de Planhol (Paris, 1927), I, 279

"Già so, che vi son certe regole immutabili, eterne, perchè fondate sopra un tale buon senso, e sopra una ragione così solida, e ferma, che avverrà, che sussista fin, che sussistano gli uomini Ma di queste ragioni, ch' abbiano col carattere d'incorrutibili l'autorità di condursi dietro i nostri spiriti dentro ogni corso di tempo, ve ne son così poche da contarsi col naso, e sarebbe cosa assai piacevole, pare a me, il voler sempre accomodare, e dar regola alle nostre nuove opere, con delle vecchie leggi ormai del tutto abrogate ed estinte." *Considerazioni*, II, 8, 9.

"Questa servile imitazione, e questo genio tapino, e il liberale, è il maggiore impedimento ad alzarsi, che possa avere un ingegno" *Ibid*, p 7.

not borrow Saint-Evremond's whole point of view. Saint-Evremond's urbanity and polish contrast strongly with Montani's immoderate brusqueness. When Saint-Evremond says that "our novelties are often extravagant, and the good sense which is found in our writings is the good sense of antiquity rather than our own," and when he then goes on to say that he would use the spirit of the ancients rather than their thoughts, Montani omits the phrases quoted, but borrows the rest.⁹ It is an ironical illustration of human interdependence to find that Montani, the first Italian modern to demand that the servile imitation of other writers should cease, should do so in language imitated verbatim from Saint-Evremond.

Recognizing no abiding standards for literature, except for a concession to "eternal reason," which to him was the Cartesian "natural light" or private judgment, opposed to tradition and, after the manner of Malebranche, critical of the ancients, Montani turned elsewhere for the test of artistic excellence. His faith lay in following the fashion and the great men of the time. He believed that good taste could be learned only at a great court¹⁰ (being himself a gentleman of the chamber to the Grand Duke Cosimo III de' Medici). And he repeated the recurrent belief of the relativists that literary standards are but fashion and after-fame.

Cf. "Je sais qu'il y a de certaines règles éternelles, pour être fondées sur un bon sens, sur une raison ferme et solide, qui subsistera toujours; mais il en est peu qui portent le caractère de cette raison incorruptible . . . Il n'y en a donc que bien peu qui aient droit de diriger nos esprits dans tous les temps, et il serait ridicule de vouloir toujours régler des ouvrages nouveaux par des lois éteintes . . . C'est à une imitation servile et trop affectée qu'est due la disgrâce de tous nos poèmes" *Saint-Evremond*, I, 280.

⁹ "La lettura, è vero, è il cibo più sostantioso dell' animo, ell' è l'origine di tutti i suoi lumi più belli: questo però, s'io bene avviso, non è il modo di approfittarsi di questa lettura. Io cerco, e voglio, che lo spirito degli antichi m'ispiri, ma non ho poi già gusto a servirmi del loro" *Considerazioni*, II, 7.

Cf. "Nos nouveautés ont souvent de l'extravagance, et le bon sens qui se trouve dans nos écrits est le bon sens de l'antiquité plus que le nôtre. Je veux que l'esprit des anciens nous en inspire, mais je ne veux pas que nous prenions le leur même. Je veux qu'ils nous apprennent à bien penser, mais je n'aime pas à me servir de leurs pensées" Saint-Evremond, "A madame la Duchesse de Mazarin" (1678), *Œuvres*, I, 243.

¹⁰ "Non v'ha quasi altro, che possa dare altrui buon gusto universale, fuori che una gran Corte" *Considerazioni*, II, 22.

an accident.¹¹ In such convictions Montani displays an extreme relativism quite distinct from the moderation of Saint-Evremond,¹² while he is curiously close to the Chevalier Marino's own defence of Marinism, of a century earlier.¹³ Apart from fashion, Montani found the proof of literary excellence in the sympathetic emotion excited in the reader and in a lively imagination.

There is another matter, which I think very important, and which I believe has been entirely unobserved heretofore, and that is that to read the great poets and to enter thoroughly into the remoter depths of their thought, it is just as necessary to have that fire of the imagination, that commotion, that intoxication of the exciting spirit, as it is known to be necessary to create the poem.

In poetry it is not desirable to have regard to every trite, ordinary chain of reasoning, but rather only to that superhuman impetuosity which, without consulting our judgment, ravishes our admiration.¹⁴

Benedetto Croce found here in Montani the germ of his own type of modern criticism. "We moderns," he wrote, "who have ever on our lips the maxim that, in order to judge a work of art, it is necessary to place oneself in the same mental situation as his who produced the work, . . . we are bound to pay some homage to the bizarre spirit of Count Montani, who was among the first, if not the first, to perceive a truth since become obvious, and had the boldness to affirm it," when everyone believed in weighing poetry with cool reason and critical poise.¹⁵

Montani's words suggest the influence of Longinus, whose great effect upon criticism, especially after Boileau's translation of 1674,

¹¹ "Le scritture seguono l'istessa legge delle vesti, e debbonsi accostare e in certa guisa adagiarsi all' uso dei tempi nei quali si scrive quando però noi non volessimo scrivere ai morti anzi ch' ai vivi." *Ibid.*, p. 29.

¹² "Je ne m'étonne point que le bon goût ne se trouve pas en des lieux où règne la barbarie, mais ce qui est étonnant, c'est de voir dans la cour la mieux polie le bon et le mauvais goût, le vrai et le faux esprit être tour à tour à la mode comme les habits." *Œuvres*, I, 237.

¹³ "Vuolsi egli . . . se non lodar come buono almeno tolerar come fortunato, condonando qualche cosa all' universal gusto del mondo, il quale è oggimai stoffo di cantilene secche e non intende di approvare il muffo rito delle calze a brache . . . Ora insomma chi vuol piacere a' morti che non sentono, piacciassi. Io per me vo' piacere ai vivi che sentono." Giambattista Marino, *Epistolario*, ed. Borzelli and Nicolini (Bari, 1911), I, 181.

¹⁴ *Considerazioni*, II, 35.

¹⁵ *Problema di estetica*, pp. 357 ff.

is a commonplace. Indeed a footnote equates Montani's *commovimento* with the *συγκίνησις* of Longinus,¹⁶ who is mentioned prominently elsewhere in the *Letter*. For Montani cites Longinus, not very appropriately, in support of the good taste of courts,¹⁷ and he declares triumphantly that "Longino, il gran Longino," does not blame Homer for irrational marvels, like the Cyclops.¹⁸

In 1705 the principle that a rapture of admiration is the criterion of poetry was not startling, for men of letters were familiar with Longinus's statement that "the effect of genius is not to persuade the audience but rather to transport them out of themselves", and that "the true sublime, by some virtue of its nature, elevates us: uplifted with a sense of proud possession, we are filled with joyful pride, as if we had ourselves produced the very thing we heard."¹⁹ Montani was not alone in continuing this strain. One of the best modern expressions of the principle had been given by La Bruyère: "When what you read elevates your spirit, and inspires you with noble and courageous sentiments, seek for no other rule by which to judge the work; it is good, and made by the hand of a master."²⁰ In England, Alexander Pope said, in his *Essay on Criticism*,

A perfect judge will read each work of wit
With the same spirit that its author writ²¹

It is this couplet which impelled Croce to hail Pope as one of the first, the earliest after Montani, to identify genius and taste²² And it is interesting to note that T R Henn, in a recent work, quotes the same passage with the remark, "Pope has versified Longinus' precepts sufficiently neatly"²³ Addison, likewise in the Longinian tradition, desired that more critics would imitate Longinus and "enter into the very spirit and soul of fine writing"²⁴

¹⁶ *Considerazioni*, II, 35 The note may not be Montani's; some of the notes are evidently the work of the editor

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p 22

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p 40

¹⁹ *On the Sublime*, trans W Hamilton Fyfe (Loeb Classical Library), I 4, VII 2

²⁰ *Les Caractères* (Paris: H Piazza, 1928), I, 94

²¹ Lines 233-234

²² *Problemi di estetica*, p 358

²³ *Longinus and English Criticism* (Cambridge, 1934), p 105

²⁴ *The Spectator*, No 409

But it is obvious that Longinus and his followers held equally firmly to a complementary truth, which Montani neglected. There were other standards, applied without resort to syllogism, besides emotional response and the delight of the imagination. For Longinus also made the wide-spread and long-continued approval of men the test of universality and a mark of the sublime; and he made the imaginary address to an audience of great masters a means of attaining the sublime.²⁵ Addison's definition of taste included not only the perception of beauties with pleasure, but also of the faults and "imperfections with dislike."²⁶ La Bruyère had said "An author seeks in vain to make himself admired, the fools admire, but then they are fools. People of sense . . . admire little, they approve."²⁷ And Pope practically translates La Bruyère in writing,

Avoid extremes, and shun the fault of such,
Who still are pleased too little or too much
At every trifle scorn to take offense

Yet let not each gay turn thy rapture move,
For fools admire, but men of sense approve.²⁸

When the features of the French modern and the Longinian criticism are taken into account, Montani seems less original, and, to those who hold that an attitude of *nil admirari* is desirable in criticism, less wise, than he has been acclaimed. Not a great deal of originality is required to extend Longinus's demand for emotional appeal and for such a sympathy between appreciator and artist that the appreciator feels that he has produced the work himself, to arrive at Montani's theory of identity of spirit. The question is whether it is the part of wisdom to make the identification of genius and taste or to refrain from making it, for the identification ignores all criticism according to standards of universality, which is the essence of Longinus and is prominent in his tradition, as continued by Boileau, La Bruyère, Pope, and Addison. Montani's appeal for imagination and for private judgment or relative standards of fashion was possibly courageous and perhaps valuable under the circumstances in which he wrote. As a preromanticist he is an

²⁵ *On the sublime*, VII 4; XIV.

²⁶ *The Spectator*, No. 409.

²⁷ *Les Caractères*, I, 95

²⁸ *An Essay on Criticism*, lines 384-386; 390-391

interesting figure, linking the earlier exuberance of diction and style of the Marinists to the later exuberance of the imagination such as was to be expounded by Edward Young. But regarded seriously as a critic, he sacrificed unduly the principle of judgment to novelty and wonder.

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VOLTAIRE'S TREATMENT OF THE MIRACLE OF CHRIST'S TEMPTATION IN THE WILDERNESS

As Professor N L Torrey has clearly shown,¹ Thomas Woolston's *Discourses on the Miracles of Our Saviour* (London, 1727-29) are the principal source of Voltaire's attacks on Christ's miracles. Of the six miracles which rank as Voltaire's favorites, there is one, however, not found in Woolston, save for a passing gibe, that of Christ's temptation in the wilderness, as narrated in Chapters iv of Matthew and Luke. Torrey remarks briefly² that it represents a contribution of Voltaire's own which the latter has closely amalgamated to the miracles taken from Woolston. The aim of the present article is to investigate the origins of Voltaire's treatment of this miracle and thus shed additional light on the sources of his Biblical criticism and the way in which he manipulated them.

Soundings in theological writings reveal that Christ's temptation was a common subject of dispute in both the 17th and 18th centuries. In 1634-39 Friedrich Spanheim the Elder published at Geneva the three volumes of his *Dubia Evangelica*, a treatise on controversial points in the Gospels. In the Third Part he takes up the temptation in no less than ten chapters or *Dubia*. In *Dubium* lv he discusses, citing the arguments which both sides have advanced, whether the whole occurrence is to be viewed as an historical event or as a vision. Those of the latter opinion held that a literal belief was untenable because, among other reasons, it was undignified of Christ (*parum ex dignitate Christi*) to have been snatched up (*raptatum fuisse*) by the devil and that no mountain existed from which all the kingdoms of the world could be

¹ *Voltaire and the English Deists*, Chap. iv

² *Op. cit.*, p. 97

seen. It may be noted in passing that these objections are almost identical with those of Voltaire

Between 1699 and 1714 we find in Holland Jean LeClerc engaged in a dispute with Olearius and others as to whether the temptation was a vision or a fact. The supporters of the former view stress the improbabilities of the literal story.³ In 1697 the Jesuit Père Bouhours published at Paris *Le Nouveau Testament traduit . . . selon la Vulgate* and in it rendered the passage "The devil taketh him [Christ] up to the holy city" (*Math* iv, 5) by the words. "Le diable l'emporta." Apparently this use of the verb was not sufficiently dignified for Biblical narrative and it provoked considerable laughter. LeClerc states that a mordant epigram was composed on the subject and in 1733 Voltaire cites a *noel* which ended thus

Car sans lui saurait-on, don, don,
Que le diable emporta, là, là,
Jésus, notre bon maître? *

In 1761 Hugh Farmer published at London *An Inquiry into the Nature and Design of Christ's Temptation in the Wilderness*. Maintaining that the whole event was a prophetic vision, he heaps ridicule on the literal story. While too late to be a source for Voltaire, this work affords additional evidence that Christ's temptation was a stock question of theological dispute for at least a century and a half.

* Cf. the *Bibliothèque ancienne et moderne*, II (1714), 58, 349, 357, and Jean LeClerc's various versions of the New Testament. *Le Nouveau Testament, traduit avec des Remarques*, Amsterdam, 1703, *Novum Testamentum . . . cum Paraphrasi et Annotationibus Henrici Hammondii*, 1st ed., Amsterdam, 1698-99, 2nd ed., Frankfurt, 1714.

³ *Œuvres* (Moland ed.), IX, 573, note. I have been unable to locate the *noel* from which Voltaire quotes. Out of the devout custom of composing Christmas carols each year had grown up the practice of writing satirical carols on the events of the past year. One of these, that for the year 1717 and found in the *Recueil Clarrambault-Maurepas*, is quoted in the *Chansonnier historique du 18^e siècle* (ed. by E. Raunié, Paris, 1879), II, 283-316. This practice of using religious verse-forms as vehicles for satire and epigrams dates back at least to the time of Bussy-Rabutin, whose fall from favor was partially due to a humorous quatrain on the loves of Louis XIV and Mme de la Vallière which he is said to have inserted in an *alleluia* of the time. Cf. *Chansonnier hist.*, I, lx, and E. Gérard-Gailly, *Bussy-Rabutin* (Paris, 1909), p. 76.

Under these circumstances it is obviously difficult to assign Voltaire's treatment of this miracle to a single exclusive source, but a study of his main references to it gives us a more accurate idea of the channels through which these notions may have reached him. *La Mule du Pape* of 1733⁵ is a frivolous tale of how the devil, failing to tempt Christ to adore him in exchange for earthly power and glory, next approaches the Pope, who is only too glad to accept. The opening verses are as follows

Frères très chers, on lit dans saint Matthieu
 Qu'un jour le diable emporta le bon Dieu
 Sur la montagne, et puis lui dit Beau sire,
 Vois-tu ces mers, vois-tu ce vaste empire,
 L'état romain de l'un à l'autre bout?
 L'autre reprit Je ne vois rien du tout,
 Votre montagne serait en vain plus haute
 Le diable dit Mon ami, c'est ta faute
 Mais avec moi veux-tu faire un marché?
 Oui-dà, dit Dieu, pourvu que sans péché
 Honnêtement nous arrangions la chose .

In this piece of *badinage* we already find complete the essential points of Voltaire's later treatment of the miracle the anomaly of God's being in the devil's power, emphasized by the humorous use of *emporter*, and scepticism as to the existence of a mountain from which all the kingdoms of the world can be seen. The flip-pant irreverent tone suggests immediately the deistic Société du Temple and the light verse of the Abbé Chaulieu. Voltaire himself gives further evidence of a French source by citing in a note to line 2 the *noël*, quoted above, directed against the Père Bouhours. Voltaire is apparently treating a theme current in the free-thinking French society of the early 18th century. There is no evidence of English influence except in so far as Woolston's attack on the miracles in English—which he knew of but had probably not read at this time—might have encouraged him to try his hand at a similar undertaking.

La Mule du Pape, however, was but an isolated sally. This one passage is the only instance I have been able to find of ridicule of any of Christ's miracles before 1762, the year in which Voltaire begins his direct attack upon Christianity. In the *Extraits des*

⁵ Voltaire, *Œuvres*, ix, 573 f.

sentiments de Jean Meslier, which he published then, the episode of the temptation is declared suitable only to "un visionnaire, car il est certain qu'il n'y a point de montagne sur la terre d'où l'on puisse voir seulement un royaume entier⁶ si ce n'est le petit royaume d'Yvetot"⁷ This follows almost literally Meslier's original text⁸ In the *Sermon des cinquante* of the same year Voltaire comes out, however, with an attack on this miracle in a manner definitely his own. He thus derides the first *aventure de Jésus* "Le diable donc emporte Dieu sur une montagne dans le désert. . . Quelle est cette montagne d'où l'on découvre tant de pays? Nous n'en savons rien"⁹ The use of *emportêr*, not found in Meslier, harks back to *La Mule du Pape* and Père Bouhours and the facts remain essentially the same as in 1733, but flippant mockery has given way to ridicule in deadly earnest. That this change in tone may be ascribed to English influence appears indicated by the further fact that Voltaire here joins the temptation to the list of miracles taken over from Woolston. For the next three years Voltaire does not go beyond scoffing at the mountain or asking if such proceedings are worthy of a "sage," of the "maître de l'univers," etc, but, beginning with the *Questions sur les Miracles* of 1765, his manner becomes more harsh and bitter, closer to the unrestrained violence with which Woolston had treated the other miracles The temptation could "révolter votre esprit" (xxvi, 351), "scandaliser d'honnêtes gens" (xxvi, 186),¹⁰ it is "un blasphème monstrueux" On several occasions he wrongly states that Woolston treated this miracle and ascribes to him expressions and sentiments which are really Voltaire's own

This miracle is therefore an interesting example of the interplay of various influences on Voltaire's Biblical criticism The ideas at the basis of his attack are to be found in the theologians themselves whose learned quarrels served to call attention to absurdities and inconsistencies in the Scriptures¹¹ To obtain their weapons

⁶ Cf Spanheim, *Dubia*, Pars Tertia, Dubium LV. *ex quo unus regni latitudo minus omnium respici posset.*

⁷ Voltaire, *Œuvres*, xxiv, 334.

⁸ Jean Meslier, *Testament* (ed. R. Charles), II, 62

⁹ *Œuvres*, xxiv, 450

¹⁰ This may be a reminiscence of Woolston who, in passing, calls the temptation "a scandalous Story" (*Second Discourse*, p 65).

¹¹ Cf G. Lanson, *Voltaire*, p 172.

of attacks, the deists had only to make use, in a totally different spirit, of the treatises compiled by learned divines.¹² However, it does not seem likely that Voltaire consulted Spanheim when he wrote in 1733 *La Mule du Pape*, his first essay at criticism of Christ's miracles. The French deists are a much more probable source, for they had already found the story of Christ's temptation an easy target for their wit, as Père Bouhours discovered to his discomfiture. Voltaire merely elaborated a current theme, as, in the *Épître à Uranie*, another early deistical work, he gave utterance to ideas common to free-thinkers of the times. When he next treats this miracle, in 1762, it is joined to a list of other miracles derived from Woolston. Though the lightness and much of the grace of the earlier French manner remain, acting as a leaven on Woolston's more awkward and diffuse style, the tone has become more serious and violent. Both French and English influences have combined to shape Voltaire's final treatment of the miracle of Christ's temptation in the wilderness.

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PIERRE BELLO'S *SAINT EUSTACHE* AND ITS SOURCE IN SURIUS

In dealing with the source of Pierre Bello's *Tragédie sur la vie et martyre de S. Eustache*, Professor Lancaster¹ says that the "play follows closely the pious legend. His [Bello's] version is slightly

¹² Thus, Spanheim, in his *Dubia*, treats many of the matters in the Gospels which Voltaire ridicules most frequently, among them the following: the conflicting genealogies in Matthew and Luke, the appearance of the dove at Christ's baptism, the difficult sayings in the Sermon on the Mount, the question of whether Christ meant to abrogate the Jewish law or not. These similarities may not indicate a direct source, for, as Professor George R. Havens has kindly informed me, Spanheim's work does not appear in the MS catalog of Voltaire's library at Leningrad, but they are of interest as an indication that certain ideas which Voltaire used in his Biblical criticism were current in theological circles over a century earlier.

¹ First published in 1632 at Liège, by Jean Ouwerx, republished in 1865 at Liège by H. Helbig for the Société des bibliophiles liégeois. It is a photostat of the latter in the library of the University of Southern California that I have used in this study.

nearer the anonymous account in Greek, with a Latin translation, published in the *Acta Sanctorum* than to other forms of the story" ² It is true that Bello follows the legend closely, but his main, if not his only source was the life of Saint Eustathius by Surius ³ This Bello dramatizes from beginning to end, following, except for one scene, the same sequence of events

Whether Bello read the accounts in the *Acta Sanctorum* and in the *Golden Legend* is difficult to determine, since he made use of little or nothing exclusively found in these two versions It is possible that the words of the divine voice, section 7 of the *Acta Sanctorum*, "quoniam invidia commovebitur contra te diaboli, ea quod illum reliquisti, et festinat omnem ad inventionem circa te movere," may have suggested the appearance of Belzebub in Bello's play, but the rôles of Belzebub and the witch may equally well be due to Bello's desire to please his audience, which was accustomed to seeing mystery and miracle plays ⁴ Again, the *Acta Sanctorum* version may have furnished the incident not found elsewhere, in which the emperor Trajan in celebrating a victory expresses a wish to have Placide present, but learns that he has left the city However, from these two parallels it is not possible to say whether Bello used this account

Of the twenty-four scenes in Bello, seventeen are based on Surius. Only seven are Bello's invention, although one of these, the celebrating of a victory by Trajan, may have been suggested by the *Acta Sanctorum* version The account in Surius would appeal to a dramatist because it is much longer and the speeches are given in greater detail.

The incidents and details found exclusively in Surius and used by Bello are (1) the master of the ship threatens Eustache with his sword, when he objects to the sailor's seizure of his wife; (2)

² *A History of French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, Pt I, 1929, Pt II, 1932, I, 679 Miss Pascoe, *les Drame religieux*, Paris, Boivin (1933), p 98, mentions the *Acta Sanctorum*, the *Golden Legend*, Baronius, and Surius, but she does not attempt to distinguish among them

³ Surius, *Historiae seu vitae sanctorum juxta optimam Colonensem editionem*, Augustae Taurinorum, ex typ Petri Moriatti, 1875-80, IX (September), 478-495. I found the source of Bello's play while examining various possible sources of the *Martyre de Saint Eustache* of Desfontaines, whose works I am studying as a doctoral dissertation

⁴ Cf H. Helbig, *op cit.*, p. v.

the two small sons add to their father's grief at the loss of his wife by their questions concerning her, (3) the death of the seaman is explained as a punishment sent by heaven, (4) the stressing of the fact that Eustache tilled the soil in Egypt, (5) the distress of Eustache when the two Roman officers, ignorant of his identity, mention his wife and sons, (6) the discontent and enmity of the village people toward the Roman soldiers, among whom the latter were quartered for a few days, (7) Trajane's failure to reveal herself to her sons, after overhearing them tell of their lives, is explained as due to her shame caused by her present lowly state; (8) the emperor Adrian's use of promises, entreaties, and threats upon Eustache and his family to force them to recant, before casting them to the lions, (9) the lion's licking the martyrs (the other accounts state that the beasts merely bowed their heads in reverence and withdrew).

The three scenes comprising Act I are based on Surius, sections 2-5. Placide sees the vision of the Crucifix between the horns of a large stag; a divine voice speaks to him, urging him to go with his wife and sons to the Christian priest for baptism. His wife relates, after he recounts his adventure, hearing a voice in her sleep telling her that she and her family are to be baptized on the morrow. They go to the priest and after receiving instructions are baptized. In this act the story of Placide's conversion is related three times, the same number as given by Surius, sections 2-5.

From Surius, sections 6-9, Bello takes his material for scenes 1, 3, 5, and 6 of Act II. Eustache returns to the place where he first heard the voice, telling him that he will have to experience many tests before winning eternal glory. The plague falls with fury, and Eustache deprived of all his holdings goes with his family into exile. Scenes 2 and 4 are Bello's invention. In scene 2 Belzebub asks the witch Canidie to cause a plague to fall upon the household of Eustache. In scene 4, several workmen complain of their lot and are reminded that everyone believes his own to be the worst.

Act III, scenes 2, 3, and 5 are from Surius, sections 9-18. In these scenes the wife of Eustache is seized by the master of the ship and his sons are carried off by a lion and a wolf. A revolt breaks out in the empire, Trajan sends Acace and Antioque to search for Eustache, and these Roman officers come upon him tilling the fields. After hiding his identity from them, he is recognized by a scar. Scenes 1 and 2, which Bello invented, tell of Trajan's learning of

Eustache's departure and the driving away of Belzebug by the guardian angel of Eustache

Surius, sections 19-24, furnishes the facts for scenes 1, 4, and 5, of Act IV. These scenes reveal the return of Eustache to Rome where he is given the command of the army by Trajan. He is victorious and while resting with his army in a village, the villagers complain of the acts of violence committed by the soldiers and quarrel with them. The mother overhears her sons relating the story of their lives and recognizes them. Scenes 2 and 3 are of Bello's creation: in scene 2, the leader of the rebels in a long speech appeals to his men, in scene 3 Eustache speaks to his legions.

Surius, sections 25-31, is the basis for scenes 1, 2, 3, and 5 of the final act. These four scenes relate the appearance of Trajane before Eustache to request a passage to Rome. She recognizes him and through her story convinces him of her identity. The sons are also recognized. All return to Rome, where Adrian, who is now emperor, welcomes them and proposes a sacrifice to the gods. He is astonished to learn that his general is a Christian, and failing to make him and his family recant through promises, pleadings, and threats, he has them cast to the lions. As the lions refuse to cooperate with the emperor, the martyrs are forced to leap into a blazing furnace, shaped like a bull. The attendant, amazed to discover that the bodies are preserved, is converted, and the play ends with an appeal to the audience to emulate the virtues of the martyrs. Scene 4, the only scene of the act which is Bello's contribution, is a long prayer offered by the Christian priest.

Verbal resemblances are so numerous that space forbids quotations but the following is typical of the close resemblance found throughout the two works. The lines are taken from Trajane's speech revealing her identity to her husband.

Surius, section 26

O qui ex Placida vocatus es Eustathius, O qui crucis divina apparitione, quae tibi in cervo est conspecta, initiatus es mysterio pietatis, et olim uxorem in navi reliquisti, quae quidem sum ergo misera, quam ille barbarus per vim abstulit praetextu mercedis in mari navigationis, quando te quidem

Bello, v, 1

Votre nom est Placide, ou autrement Eustache, [sic]
Je le vois clairement aux traits de votre face,
C'est vous qui avez esté, chassant par les bois,
A la fois converti par la divine voix,
Lorsqu'un cerf vous montra en sa haute ramure,

lacrymantem emisit e mari, me
autem in navi retinuit, non honestas
animo versans cogitationes, sed
divina justicia eum mox est perse-
cuta, intactam tibi conservans con-
jugem Nam multa quidem gravia
et aspera interim pertuli, invio-
latum autem et impollutum tibi
servavi cubile Hoc dico, Deo teste,
et illius oculis, qui omnia intuentur

De Dieu Crucifié, l'admirable figure,
C'est moi qu'un marinier scélérat
et perfide
A ravi de vos mains sur la campagne
humide,
Mais ce Dieu, qui punit l'injustice
et le tort,
Irrité, le frappe d'une soudaine mort,
Si bien que ce vilain, que ce satyre
infame,
N'a point endommagé, ni mon corps,
ni mon ame,
J'en atteste le ciel, seul témoin
assuré
Des maux que du depuis j'ai,
pauvrette, enduré

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THE SWORD OF SAINT JOHN THE BAPTIST IN THE *PERLESVAUS*

In the *Perlesvaus* [P], Gauvain, on his quest for the Holy Grail, reaches the land of the Fisher King, but is refused admission until he brings *l'espee de cor Sainz Jehans fu decolez* (1718). A sword of John the Baptist occurs in no other Old French romance. This unparalleled occurrence can hardly be accounted for by the perennial veneration of John the Baptist. The importance which P assigns to this relic points to a more immediate impetus, to determine the source of which we have only to turn to the history of the disssevered head of the Precursor.

John the Baptist was martyred at Machaerus, but his head was buried at Jerusalem. It was found there in the fourth century, and subsequently at Emesa (fifth century), and Comana (ninth century), from this latter place it was carried to Constantinople.¹

¹ See Du Cange, *Traité historique du chef de S Iean Baptiste* (Paris, 1665), for a detailed history of the head. There is a critical and expanded discussion based on Du Cange in *Acta Sanctorum* (Boll.), June, v, 612-684. See also Ch. Salmon, *Histoire du chef de Saint Jean Baptiste* (Amiens, 1876). For a brief account of the relics of Saint John, see T. Innitzer, *Johannes der Tauffer* (Vienna, 1908), pp. 392-404.

When the French captured Constantinople (April 12, 1204), during the Fourth Crusade, they sacked the city. Among the spoils they gathered were numerous holy relics. Some time later (September 9, 1206),² Walo de Sartone, a canon of the collegiate church of Saint Martin of Picquigny, unearthed the most prized relic, the head of John the Baptist,³ which he found together with the head of Saint George in a vestibule situated between the Palace of the Arsenal and the church of Saint George. Walo returned home with the precious relic and delivered it to Bishop Richard de Gerberoy, who carried it to the cathedral church of Notre Dame of Amiens on December 17, 1206.

Depuis que le Chef de Saint Jean Baptiste fut apporté de Constantinople en la ville d'Amiens, la deuotion des habitans & des peuples circonuoisins y a esté grande, & elle s'est augmentée par les miracles qui s'y sont faits de temps en temps, dont le bruit s'est répandu dans toute l'Europe.⁴

No other church could make so strong a claim as Amiens to possession of the true head of Saint John the Baptist, but a large number of churches, many of them in or near Flanders, prided themselves on having some part of the head, ashes, body, or clothing of Saint John.⁵ The legitimacy of the claim or the date of the supposed acquisition cannot be determined in most cases, but the fact that many churches *claimed* possession of relics of Saint John attests that a new impetus was given to the popularity of the Precursor in the first years of the thirteenth century.⁶

From 1206 on, then, relics of John the Baptist were in great demand. Now the author of *P* was very much interested in relics,

² That is, the day after his first search (Salmon, *op cit.*, pp 20-23).

³ In reality, the *face* of Saint John (*idem.*, pp 54-55).

⁴ Du Cange, *op cit.*, p 125

⁵ *Acta Sanctorum*, *loc cit.*, pp 645 ff

⁶ A few of these false claims antedate 1206, but the only one which attracted wide notice was that of the church of Saint John of Angely (Du Cange, *op cit.*, p. 62), built by Pepin in honor of a supposed head of John the Baptist, originally brought to Pepin from Alexandria and re-discovered at Angely about 1010 (*Acta Sanctorum*, *loc. cit.*, p 648). The enthusiasm stirred up by this "discovery" must certainly have died down in the course of the two centuries before 1191, the earliest date at which *P* could have been written (Wm. A. Nitze, "The Exhumation of King Arthur at Glastonbury," *Speculum*, ix (1934), 355-361).

mentioning of Christ—the holy lance (33), part of the Holy Cross (2367), the crown of thorns (4524), the holy cloth (5034), the pincers (5240), part of the blood and clothing (5851), of Joseph of Arimathea—a mule (2998), a shield (5848), a banner (6074),⁷ of Saint John—the sword (1718) The revival of interest in Saint John and particularly in his relics may have suggested to the author of *P* the association of the Grail sword with the beheading of the Precursor, in this way, he appropriated an imaginary relic which had as yet no claimant.

The allegorical identification of the Fisher King with Christ (*Messias* 2788) is related to the idea of the relic of the Precursor as a prerequisite for admission to the Grail Castle, but it is a question whether it is cause or effect, especially since the sword motif is so carefully woven into the narrative, while the identification is momentary and casual.⁸ The association of the sword with Saint John is more probably a Christian explanation of the Grail sword which the author of *P* found in his source (the *Conte del Graal*), and the choice of John the Baptist may be attributed to the revival of interest in this saint following on the translation of his head to Amiens in 1206.⁹ If we may then assume that the relic of John the Baptist in *P* represents a topical allusion, the *terminus a quo* of the romance may be moved up from 1191 to 1206. The *terminus ad quem* would, by the same token, be not much later.

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⁷ The banner is not specifically ascribed to Joseph of Arimathea, but it belongs to Pelles, the Hermit King, and it is always associated with the mule which Joseph of Arimathea has sent to Pelles.

⁸ Other identifications with Christ occur in *P* "Li enfes [Melhot] senefie li Sauverres du monde" (2230) "La beste [glatissante] . senefie Nostre Seignor" (5984-86) Also the "Chastel au Noir Hermite . senefie enfer, et li Bons Chevaliers [Perlesvaus] en gitera çax fors qui dedenz sont" (2180-82)

⁹ No direct connection of *P* with Amiens can be shown, but the wide *réclame* given the translation of the head of John the Baptist to Amiens justifies the supposition that the author of *P* knew of the event.

SIR ORFEO AND WALTER MAP'S *DE NUGIS*

The Middle English lai of *Sir Orfeo* has been reprinted several times in recent years, the last edition being found in *Middle English Metrical Romances*, edited by W. H. French and C B Hale (N. Y., 1930). Allusions in French literature to a "lai d'Orfey" render certain the existence of a French original, now lost¹ The authentic Celtic character of the lai has been rendered equally certain by the studies of Professor Kittredge, Professor Schoepperle, and Professor Laura Hibbard Loomis² Professor Patch has also called attention to some Celtic and romance analogs for the supernatural realm under the hill,³ to which may be added the fifteenth century *Turk and Gawain*⁴

Both Kittredge and Patch have noted the affinity of *Sir Orfeo* and the tale of Herla related by Walter Map in his *De Nugis Curialium*.⁵ King Herla is represented as entering the side of a cliff and after an interval seeing a brilliantly shining castle, whose lord entertains him, and in this respect Orfeo and Herla have similar adventures Moreover, the realm which Orfeo and Herla visit is identified with the abode of the dead.⁶ In the Middle English

¹ Listed in *American Journal of Philology*, VII (1886), 181, *Study Romanesque*, XIV (1917), 193-95 Add *Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, ed H O Sommer (Washington), IV, 290 The reference to Alpheus in the *Roman des Sept Sages* (ed Jean Misrahi, Paris, 1933, v 28) does not concern the lai but the classical story

² *Am Journ of Phil*, VII, 176-202 G Schoepperle, *Tristan and Isolte* (London, Frankfurt, 1913), II, 541-44 L A Hibbard, *Medieval Romance in England* (N Y., 1924), 195-99

³ *PMLA*, XXXIII (1918), 612 Cf L C Wimberly, *Folklore in English and Scottish Ballads* (Chicago, 1928), 130, 332

⁴ *Percy Folio MS*, ed Furnivall and Hales (London, 1867-9), I, 90-102 Cf R S Loomis, *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance* (N Y., 1927), 100-102

⁵ Ed M R James (Oxford, 1914), 13 Trans M R James (Cymmrodorion Record Series, No 9, London, 1923), 13 Trans Tupper and Ogle (London, 1924), 15 Cf E S Hartland, *Science of Fairytales*, 178, 234

⁶ It is only in comparatively late medieval texts that the Celtic Other-world is depicted as a land of the dead In the earlier texts no dead persons are ever encountered there, and human beings often return from it Originally a blissful land of the gods, visited only by an occasional rare mortal, it came to be confused with the land of the dead and the Christian hell Cf *Folklore*, XVIII, 121.

poem it is filled with the slain, in Map's story Herla is warned on departing not to set foot to ground, and an attendant who does so, falls into dust,—a conclusion which closely parallels the early Irish *Voyage of Bran*.⁷ By what seems an odd coincidence, Map also describes Herla as leader of the phantom host,⁸ and elsewhere says that it was last seen in Wales about noon in the first year of the reign of Henry II.⁹ For this same host is plainly described in *Sir Orfeo*

Wele atourned ten hundred knyghtes,
Ich yarmed to his rygtes,
Of cuntenaunce stout and fers,
Wiþ mani desplaid baners,
And ich his swerd ydrawe hold,
Ac neuer he [Orfeo] nist whider þai wold. (vv 289-94)

The Irish parallels adduced by Kittredge, the Arthurian parallels adduced by Miss Schoepperle, the Welsh parallels found in Walter Map should leave no doubt of the Celticity of *Sir Orfeo*.

Walter Map in another story, moreover, furnishes a Breton parallel which has been completely overlooked,¹⁰ and which is interesting as confirmation of the prolog of *Sir Orfeo*, which definitely states that the poem is of Breton origin.¹¹

Quia de mortibus quarum iudicia dubia sunt incidit oratio, miles quidam Britannie minoris uxorem suam amissam diuque ploratam a morte sua in magno feminarum cetu de nocte reperit in conuale solitudinis amplissime Miratur et metuit et cum rediivam videat quam sepelierat, non credit oculis, dubius quid a fatis agatur Certo proponit animo rapere, ut de rapta vere gaudeat, si vere videt, vel a fantasmate fallatur, ne possit a desistendo timiditatis argui Rapit eam igitur, et gavisus est ejus per multos annos conjugio, tam iocunde tam celebriter, ut prioribus, et ex ipsa suscepit liberos, quorum hodie progenies magna est, et filii mortue dicuntur

In *Sir Orfeo* likewise we have a knight who long seeks his wife, finds her in a great company of ladies in a remote region, wins her

⁷ M. Joynt, *Golden Legends of the Gael* (Dublin, n. d.), Part I, 55 f. Cf. *ibid.*, 48

⁸ Also of the Wild Hunt. Cf. *Romanic Rev.*, III (1912), 191, XII (1921), 286

⁹ Trans. James, 207 Trans. Tupper and Ogle, 233

¹⁰ Ed. James, 173 Trans. James, 187 Trans. Tupper and Ogle, 218

¹¹ *Am. Journ. of Phil.*, VII, 183-85 On the last question cf. Marie de France, *Lais*, ed. Warnke (Halle, 1925), xx-xl, and Brugger's review *Zts. f. franz. Sprache u. Lit.*, XLIX (1926), 120 ff

back, and lives long afterward with her, though she has been among the dead

It may be suspected that this tale of Map's is an echo of the "lai d'Orfey," since it seems to have been written about 1182¹² and the lai might well have been earlier. Yet the complete absence of any feature from the Mider story, which has so profoundly affected the *Orfeo*, seems to indicate clearly that the story related by Map was not derived from the French lai, but on the contrary is one of the elements which combined with the classic story of Orpheus, the Irish tale of Mider and Etain, Welsh or Breton traditions of the Wild Hunt, the Phantom Host, and the subterranean palace of the dead, to form the French original of the altogether delightful *Sir Orfeo*.

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THE DATE OF THE *GENTILHOMME ET SON PAGE*¹

Beneke dated this farce around 1465 because of the line "Ouy, ouy, les neiges d'anten!"² which he thought was borrowed from Villon's *Grand Testament* of 1461. If this were true it would only show that the farce was written after 1461. Widenhofen rejected 1465 and suggested 1526 instead because the following lines seemed to be an allusion to a real event

Tu m'iras querre
Douze haquenées à Hantonne
Que le roy angloys me donne
Y valent bien chacun cent frans
Tu lui mairas mes chiens courans
Pour coupler avec ses levriers³

And the event is noted in 1525 by the Bourgeois de Paris

Au dict an 1525, environ le huitiesme octobre, passèrent parmi la ville de Paris vingt ou vingt cinq haquenées d'Angleterre que le roy d'angle-

¹² Trans James, p. xii.

¹ *Recueil Leroux de Lincy*, I, 10th play and *Recueil Mabille*, I, 197

² A. Beneke, *Das Repertoir und die Quellen der französischen Farce*, Jena, 1910, p. 44

³ A. Widenhofen, *Beiträge zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der französischen Farce*, Munster, 1913, p. 56.

terre envoyoit à monsieur le Daulphin, estant à Bloys et envoya aussi un grand nombre de chiens de chasse, comme cent ou plus, où y avoit grandz dogues d'Angleterre et furent menées à Bloys devers le Daulphin ⁴

Wiedenhofen's suggestion is a good one, but he neglected other evidence in the play which makes his date almost a certainty.

He noticed, to be sure, the allusion to a "Journée des Allemands," which, he says, "weist an die Regierungszeit Franz I" He guessed this probably because of the continual warfare waged between Francis and Charles and his German troops in Italy, Picardy and Navarre. The lines, however, point to some one major engagement

Quant de cela ie n'en scay rien
Mais vrayment y me souvient bien
Qu'a la journee des Alemans
Vous fuytes dans ung fosse
Et puy quand tout fut ebloce
Vous courutes au pillage ⁵

This must have been a pitched battle ending in a decisive victory over the Germans. Moreover it must have been important enough to be recognized by a fair audience and of fairly recent date. There was exactly such a battle, and it inspired a long description by our Bourgeois

L'an 1525, au moys de juing après Pasques, vindrent nouvelles comme il descendoit d'Allemagne en Lorraine plus de quarante mil Allemans qui se disoit tenir la secte de Luther, et disoient faire la vengeance de ce que le duc de Lorraine avoit faict brusler en son pais deux religieux Augustins Luthériens, dont l'un fut bruslé dedans la ville de Metz et l'autre à Nancy, et pilloient iceux et gastoient tout le pais, mais on ne sçavoit s'ilz venoient de par l'Empereur soubz ceste couleur. Dont le duc de Lorraine envoya devers Madame la Régente demander secours et ayde, dont il fut envoyé par elle douze mil hommes et deux cens lances qui furent menez par monsieur de Guise, gouverneur de Champagne, son frère puisné, et d'autre costé le duc de Gueldres, qui estoit son oncle, luy envoya aussi. Et depuis il advint qu'iceux Luthériens furent tous desconfitz et tellement qu'il y en eust beaucoup de tuez et mis en fuitte et fut la desconfiture le vendredy vingtiesme de may 1525 ⁶

Even had the "Gentilhomme" not sought refuge in a ditch, he

⁴ *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris sous le règne de François Premier*, publié par Ludovic Lalanne, Paris, 1854, p. 263.

⁵ *Recueil Leroux de Lincy*, vv. 64-69

⁶ Pp. 244-245

would have run little risk, for, according to the Duke of Lorraine, "par deux batailles il en fut desconfit jusques à trente deux mil hommes et n'y fut pas tué de nos gens deux cens hommes"⁷ Nor did the Duke exaggerate, for no mercy was shown these wretched rebellious peasants, and there was a great deal of booty for the "Gentilhomme" and his fellows as the peasants had been pillaging for days before the battle. There can be no doubt, it seems to me, that this is the "Journée des Allemands" mentioned in the play.

I cannot tell why Wiederhofen preferred 1526 to 1525. There are two historical events mentioned, both of 1525, and the play otherwise shows signs of being an occasional piece. It has no plot, no beginning, and no end. It is extremely short (262 lines) and lacks originality. It depends for its humor on the conventional debate between the boasting soldier and his common-sense squire and is thrown together without much regard for meter. It might well have been written and acted in the same day.

What might the occasion have been? There was little joy in France in 1526, and by 1527, at least one of the topical references in this farce would have been forgotten, but there were two joyous occasions in the late months of 1525. First, there was the public denial in Paris on October 15th that Francis had died in Spain. The rumour of his death had caused great uneasiness. Second, after several disappointing truces in the early summer a separate peace was signed with Henry VIII at Moor Park on August 30th.⁸ And although this treaty was known in London on September 8th⁹ and at Lyons on September 18th,¹⁰ it was not announced in Paris until October 20th.¹¹ There were official celebrations after both the 15th and the 20th of October, and it would be my guess that this farce was a modest part of the joyful activities of the last two weeks of October in 1525.

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⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 245

⁸ The "Bourgeois" called this pact the treaty of "Ardres," certainly confusing it with the treaty signed at that place on June 6, 1520. His editor says, "Le traité avait été signé à Moore." P. 260 and n. 1. See Rymer, *Foedera*, xiv.

⁹ See Holinshed, *Chronicles*, III, 711

¹⁰ *Bourgeois de Paris*, p. 260.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 264.

VILLON'S TESTAMENT, LINES 1610-11

There are two lines in the *Ballade de Grosse Margot* which have been as obscure as they are inelegant ¹

Puis paix se fait, et me fait ung gros pet
Plus enflambé qu'ung vlimeux escharbot

The best commentators always render *escharbot* by the modern term *bousier*, "a dung beetle," which is a stupid sort of scarab, sometimes lovely in coloring, but having no claim to the attribute *vlimeux* nor to *enflambé* ² G Paris and Thuasne were so well aware of this that they substituted *enflé* for *enflambé*, with but little improvement in the sense ³ It would seem that none of the Villon scholars have been familiar with the bombardier beetle of which the common species in northern Europe is *Brachynus crepitans* ⁴ This is a member of the *Brachynus* tribe of carabids. These beetles when disturbed discharge with a faint pop an irritant poison, consisting perhaps of formic and hydrochloric acid. If this volatalized liquid touches the skin there is a slight burning sensation which would entitle the creature to both the adjectives *vlimeux* and *enflamé*.⁵ I should read the lines

¹ Cf the position taken by Louis Thuasne with regard to these lines in his edition of the *Œuvres* (Paris, A Picard, 1923), III, 425-6. The Longnon-Foulet edition (3rd ed., Paris, Champion, 1923) translates *escharbot* by *bousier* in the vocabulary.

² The finest possible study of the *bousier*, which should make it clear that this is not the beetle Villon intended, is J-H Fabre, *Souvenirs entomologiques* (Delagrave, 1922), V, 1-176.

³ See note I, *supra* and Gaston Paris in *Romans*, XXX, 380.

⁴ Reitter, *Fauna Germanica. Käfer* (Stuttgart, 1922), I, 201. The *Brachynus expulsores* is less common than the *crepitans* in northern Europe and it is much smaller. Dr J M Valentine, a distinguished carabidist, has been my adviser in this matter of the carabids.

⁵ We quote from W S Blatchley, *Coleoptera* (Indianapolis, 1910), p 157: "They [*Brachyni*] occur under logs or stones, usually in damp places. In early spring some of the species are especially abundant and often gregarious in small colonies. When disturbed they emit from a little internal sack near the end of the abdomen a pungent, volatile fluid which serves them as a means of defense. This fluid is ejected with a sound like that of a small popgun, and when it comes in contact with the air it changes to a gas which appears like steam. For this reason the members of the genus are known as 'bombardier beetles'."

Then peace is made, and she breaks a puff of wind
 More fiery than a bombardier would pop

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LETTRE INEDITE DE MARGUERITE D'AUTRICHE

On trouvera plus loin une lettre qui, à notre connaissance, n'a jamais encore été publiée. Elle fut écrite par Marguerite quelques mois après que cette princesse fut devenue gouvernante des Pays Bas (18 mars 1507). La fille de Maximilien¹ recommande Georges de Themiseke, prévôt de Cassel² et de Harlebeke.³ C'est par cette dernière ville que Marguerite passa, tout enfant, quand elle se dirigeait vers la France pour y aller épouser le futur Charles VIII. Elle quitta Gand le 24 avril 1483 et, traversant Harlebeke et Courtrai, elle arriva à Lille, le 26 avril⁴.

Haneton est l'audiençier qui avait rédigé le contrat de mariage de Marguerite et de Philibert. Toute la délégation ducale, le haut clergé et les grands maîtres de la cour de l'archiduc assistaient à la cérémonie de signature du contrat (26 septembre 1501).⁵

¹ Depuis 1486, Maximilien portait le titre de *Roi des Romains*. C'est le 4 février 1508 qu'il se fit proclamer Empereur du Saint Empire Romain Germanique. La cérémonie eut lieu en grande pompe à la cathédrale de Trent. Il fut alors déclaré que dans tous les documents officiels, il serait désigné sous le titre de 'erwählte romischer Kaiser', mais qu'on l'appellerait ordinairement l' 'Empereur'.

² Cf. M. Bruchet et E. Lancien, *Itinéraire de Marguerite d'Autriche, Gouvernante des Pays-Bas* (Lille, 1934). Georges de Themiseke semble avoir joué un rôle assez important auprès de Marguerite. Nous voyons qu'elle lui écrivit une lettre le 4 septembre 1522, elle lui mandait de venir vers elle à Anvers où elle lui donnerait les instructions dont il aurait besoin pour un voyage en Allemagne (*op cit.*, p. 241). Le 26 Octobre 1522 (*op cit.*, p. 383), mention est faite du prévôt de Cassel qui a rendu compte à Marguerite d'une ambassade auprès du Pape, Adrien VI. En août 1524 (*op cit.*, p. 388), il est encore question de Georges de Themiseke à l'occasion d'une ambassade envoyée par Charles Quint au Pape, Clément VII.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 2. Marguerite se trouve à Harlebeke, le 24 avril 1483, au coucher.

⁴ Max Bruchet, *Marguerite d'Autriche, duchesse de Savoie* (Lille, 1927), p. 9.

⁵ *Op cit.*, p. 31.

Marguerite se trouvait à Malines⁶ depuis le 26 août 1507, elle en partit le 15 septembre pour aller à Anvers où elle devait rester jusqu'à la fin du mois. On sait, en effet, que, si la résidence habituelle de Marguerite, à partir de 1507, fut à Malines, elle n'en voyagea pas moins presque constamment. L'*Itinéraire* nous montre Marguerite allant de ville en ville et ne restant au même endroit souvent que quelques semaines, parfois même quelques heures.

S'en suyt le double de la lettre de madame la douairiere de Scavoie escripte a l'evesque de Tournay⁷.

Monseigneur de Tournay, j'envoie presentement messr George de Themiseke, prevost des eglises de Cassel et de Harlebeke, conseiller et maistre des requestes ordinaire de l'hostel du Roy monseigneur mon pere et de monseigneur mon nepveu, devers le roy treschretien, pour luy dire et remonstrer aucunes choses de la part de mondict seigneur et neveu et mon empereur que de luy le pourrez entendre plus a plain, vous pryant le vouloir sur ce croyre et en son expedicion luy faire la meilleur adresse que bonnement faire pourrez comme j'en ay en vous ma fiance et a tant monseigneur de Tournay je pryé Dieu vous avoir en sa sainte garde. Escrip a Malines le XIII^e jour de septembre XV^e et VII, et signé Marguerite et Haneton.

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NAZI (ARGOT FRANÇAIS), SYPHILIS, SYPHILITIQUE

M Raphael Levy a consacré une note à ce mot dans *The Jewish Forum* de mars 1935 : il fait sienne l'opinion de Sainéan, *Le langage parisien du XIX^e siècle*, p. 93, qui fait remonter le mot attesté d'après lui en 1900 (M Levy peut le dater de 1890, mais il est déjà dans Rigaud, 1878) à un *lazi*, abréviation pour "mal de Saint-Lazare" (prison des filles à Paris), qui serait dans Vidocq. Or, le vocabulaire de Vidocq (1837) ne porte, d'après Sainéan lui-même (*Les Sources de l'argot ancien*, II, 139), que "*lazi-loffe*, mal

⁶ Les documents permettent de signaler la présence de Marguerite à Malines, en 1507, du 4 au 13 avril, du 4 au 28 juillet, du 26 août au 15 septembre, le 1^{er} octobre, du 4 au 16 octobre, du 29 octobre au 4 décembre, du 13 décembre jusqu'à la fin de l'année. Elle ne quitte cette ville que le 4 février 1508.

⁷ Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), *Dupuy* 263, f. 55.

vénérien," que le glossaire de Sainéan explique par *loffé*, "vesse," "nigaud" + *lazi*, de Saint-Laze = Saint-Lazare. Mais qui sait si cette décomposition est juste? (pour ma part, une locution allemande, *lass sie laufen* [sc. les pauvres atteints par cette maladie, ou la maladie?]) rendrait au moins compte des deux éléments—c'était déjà l'idée de Villatte dans ses *Parasismes*). Quoi qu'il en soit, *lazi* n'est attesté chez Vidoc que sous la forme *lazi-loffe*. De plus, on ne voit pas bien pourquoi *lazi* serait devenu *nazi*, vu que le cas de *nentilles* pour *lentilles* est différent (dissimilation *l-l > n-l*) et que l'article indéfini *un* ne pouvait pas non plus changer *l* initial (*un livre > un* nvre*?).

Je fais remarquer que le docteur Lacassaigne dans son livre, *L'argot du "milieu"*, s. v *nasi*, *nazi*, cite aussi les mots *naze*, *nasin*, *nasiqué*, *nazbroque*, "très employés," ayant la même signification que *nazi*. Or *naze* et, par calembour, *nazareth* sont attestés depuis Vidocq au sens de "nez" et dérivent, comme Sainéan l'indique dans le glossaire de ses *Sources*, du prov. *nas*, "nez," de là *naser*, détester (cf. avoir quelqu'un dans le nez, Sainéan, *ibid.*). Le synonyme argotique *nasiqué*, "syphilitique," reconduit directement au prov. mod. *nasica*, "piquer, ronger, en parlant de l'artisan," *bos nasica*, "bois rongé," de *nasico*, "narine, naseau" (Mistral): un *nasiqué* est donc tout simplement "un pourri." L'argotique *nazin*, "fesse, anus" (Lacassaigne) aura des rapports avec *naser*. *Naze*, *nazi*, "avarié," dérivent de même du radical provençal. Pour les formes abrégées (en *-i* ou *θ*) v. Kjellman, *Mots abrégés*, pass.; pour *nazbroque* cf. argot *albroque*, "allumette" (Dauzat, *L'argot de guerre*, p. 181). Le mot *nazi*, "syphilitique," a rendu pendant un certain temps la vie difficile au terme politique allemand *nazi*, "national-socialiste" lors de son entrée en France à la suite des événements connus: une nuance narquoise s'accrochait au nouveau-venu, comme je l'ai fait remarquer dans mon article sur "La vie du mot *nazi* en français," *Le français contemporain*, II, 266, note 7.

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PÈRE GORIOT "DES MADELEINES D'ELODIE"

Mme Vauquer declares that *le Solitaire* is "si joli que nous pleurons comme des Madeleines d'Elodie"¹ The novel in question has been identified as that of d'Arlincourt (1821), but *Elodie* has not been accounted for. In fact, all translators and annotators leave her out or state that she has not been identified. As "Elodie" is the name of the lachrymose heroine of *le Solitaire*, there can be no doubt that Mme Vauquer is referring to her, but there is nothing in the novel, nor in the two melodramas derived from it, to explain "Madeleines d'Elodie," a phrase quietly omitted in all the translations of *le Père Goriot* that I have seen The speaker doubtless had in mind the common expression, "pleurer comme une Madeleine," and her addition of "d'Elodie" is merely an incoherent afterthought²

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A SIDELIGHT ON BARRÈS'S ATTITUDE TOWARD
POLITICS

While Maurice Barrès's interest and activity in politics are well recognized, his preoccupation with art is less so That he found a satisfying retreat in the world of painting is realized by all who have read his *Greco*, or *Du Sang de la Volupté et de la Mort*, but the predominance of his aesthetic life has not been fully appreciated. However sincere his political convictions, it is of some significance

¹ Cf the Conard edition of Balzac, VI, 409, and Horatio Smith's edition of *Père Goriot*, New York, Scribner, 1928, p 193

² Mme Vauquer is addicted to such Mrs Malaprop slips In this same sentence she speaks of "*le Solitaire*, un ouvrage fait par Atala de Châteaubriand" Perhaps it is worth noting that this whole long passage, beginning "Comment, ma voisine! s'écria madame Vauquer" and ending "d'aller à la comédie, répondit Victorine" does not exist in the manuscript of *le Père Goriot* (A183 of the Lovenjoul Collection), though it is found already in the first edition of *Goriot* (2 vols, Werdet, 1835), the only variant from the Conard text being that the explanatory "de Châteaubriand" (after "Atala") does not appear there, nor in the Charpentier edition of 1839

to observe that much of his interest in the Chamber arose from other than political reasons. He reacted to the Chamber far more often as an artist and philosopher than as a politician, for his experiences here afforded an occasion to indulge himself as an amateur of personalities and of art. The picturesqueness of this assemblage seems its least attraction, yet it was precisely in this capacity that it exerted a strong fascination over Barrès. He writes:

Napoléon disait—J'aime le pouvoir, moi, mais c'est en artiste que je l'aime—Ainsi j'aime la Chambre. Mais sons, accords, harmonie, le tout est intérieur. Il faudrait créer, développer, étaler mes raisons d'être à la Chambre—mes raisons politiques, mon rôle spécial. (*Cahier*, vi, 269, Plon, 1933)

The *Cahiers* contain illuminating notes taken on the sessions, at the time of his entrance, in 1906, notes done particularly from the point of view of a literary man with comments upon the deportment, voice, and gestures of the speakers. A gradual evolution of his attitude from a nearly juvenile pleasure at finding himself one of this body to a detached, adult view soon manifests itself. Although he becomes increasingly aware of the petty aspects and the constant disappointments to be met with, it still delights him to regard the meetings of this group as a spectacle.

Ce sont de grands ballets barbares. Leur attrait résulte de la disposition des groupes, de la musique. (v, 157, Plon, 1932)

The dramatic content, the color and poetry reveal themselves before his perceiving gaze, and he is more than ever struck with the undeniable strain of theatricalism everywhere prevalent:

La poésie des grandes séances est accessible à tout le monde parce qu'elle accompagne les faits qui se succèdent sur la scène, elle est aux gestes des orateurs et de la salle ce qu'est la musique dans un opéra. (*Ibid.*, 163)

Although entertained by this quality, he eventually sought more than an agreeable diversion. His interest develops from the aesthetic implications until he seeks a more fundamental comprehension:

Il faut que j'y trouve de la "beauté morale"—ce qui manque ici, c'est la recherche en commun de la vérité. (*Ibid.*, 131-3)

Somewhat later, during his second term, he begins a conscious analysis of his impressions.

Je ne me borne plus à goûter les beautés de la vie politique, je me plais à me rendre compte de mes impressions—je veux pouvoir pénétrer plus avant, jusqu'aux assises de ce qui s'étale devant moi,—c'est une beauté plus abstraite—plus épurée (*Ibid*, 163)

Ultimately, quite disenchanted, this Frenchman who remained at heart an incurable idealist, condemns the spectacular content of political life as its most monotonous feature.

Si je me plais dans cette salle malsaine, ce n'est pas à cause de son pittoresque bien monotone, vite épuisé, c'est pour sa gravité, son sérieux, son tragique d'âme. On y résout des problèmes religieux (*Ibid*, 192)

Yet the very inclusion of the word "pittoresque" in the passage seems only to emphasize Barrès's recognition of this factor in the political arena, and, indeed, a regret at having to admit its rather spurious appeal

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REVIEWS

Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch eine Darstellung des galloromanischen Sprachschatzes Von WALTHER VON WARTBURG Volume III (D-F). Leipzig und Berlin: Teubner, 1934. 946 pp (Beiheft Ortsnamenregister, Literaturverzeichnis, Übersichtskarte, gezeichnet von R. Hallig)

Le III^e volume de ce *magnum opus* qu'est le dictionnaire étymologique de M. von Wartburg a mis six ans pour son achèvement (1928-34), comme le premier (1922-28), mais l'augmentation des matériaux et des informations dans ce deuxième volume paru est si considérable vis-à-vis du premier que l'auteur doit avoir doublé ou triplé son labeur. En pensant à la lourde charge du professorat de Leipzig qu'il a assumée depuis 1929, on conviendra que la multitude des occupations, loin de nuire à l'œuvre capitale, lui a ajouté de la force et de l'ampleur, et que l'auteur a fourni un effort presque surhumain. Le 'scepticisme modeste' que M. von Wartburg manifeste maintenant dans la préface du nouveau volume—auparavant il avait envisagé l'achèvement de l'œuvre dans 10-15 ans—ne doit pas gagner le lecteur car même si l'œuvre restait inachevée, une vie d'homme ne suffisant pas à cette tâche immense de cataloguer le lexique d'une grande langue de civilisation, l'œuvre

resterait ce qu'elle est actuellement un monument de recherche patiente, d'abnégation scientifique et d'esprit critique—elle ne serait pas un *torso*, car chaque article donnerait une idée de la totalité. Ce n'est qu'un scientisme mal compris qui exige une complétude matérielle—le *Deutsches Wörterbuch* des Grimm est en lui-même complet, malgré la disparition prématurée de ces auteurs.

Le III^e volume se distingue du premier particulièrement par l'intérêt plus grand porté par l'auteur à la langue académique, alors que le premier volume cherchait en premier lieu à grouper aussi complètement que possible les formes dialectales. M. von Wartburg s'explique là-dessus dans la préface et aussi dans un article de la *Behrens Festschrift* (1929) il nous dit que la première conception de son œuvre s'inspirait de l'intérêt que réclamaient alors pour elles les études dialectologiques (sous l'égide de Gauchat et de Gilliéron), mais qu'il avait remarqué ensuite les faiblesses et les lacunes des dictionnaires de la langue académique (Littré, Dictionnaire-général) dans lesquels il avait d'abord mis trop de confiance, et qu'il a dû, en compulsant les travaux des lexicographes français du XVI^{ème} jusqu'au XVIII^{ème}, remédier à cet état de choses pour "bei diesem (le français académique) aufschluss über die Dialekte zu holen." On pourra, même après ces retouches, avoir l'impression que le monument qu'érige M. von Wartburg est fondé sur des bases fausses. Il subsiste dans son œuvre, pratiquement et assurément sans l'approbation théorique de l'auteur, quelque peu de cette ancienne conception, aujourd'hui périmée, que la véritable vie du langage se trouve dans les dialectes, non pas dans la langue académique, alors que les études linguistiques des dernières 30 années, pas seulement celles de l'école vosslienne à laquelle j'appartiens dans une certaine mesure (ou plutôt à laquelle me relie une certaine communauté d'idées), mais aussi et avant tout celles du maître de M. von Wartburg, de Gilliéron, ont prouvé la dépendance étroite des dialectes vis-à-vis de la langue de la capitale. Ce n'est pas parce qu'elle jette de la lumière sur la langue littéraire qu'on doit étudier les patois, mais parce que celle-là régit les destinées de ceux-ci. Le fait même de mettre sur le même pied des formes de la langue de Paris et de patois obscurs et particulièrement de multiplier les formes dialectales à l'infini tout en admettant sous bénéfice d'inventaire que nous sommes assez renseignés sur la langue littéraire—cette immolation du français littéraire aux patois est une erreur fondamentale qui fait tort à une "Darstellung" du lexique galloroman, à un *Thesaurus Galloromanicus*—imagine-t-on un procédé similaire dans le *Oxford Dictionary* ou le *Deutsches Wörterbuch*? Uriménil ou Ambert n'équivaudront jamais à Paris. M. von Wartburg, Suisse de naissance, n'a-t-il pas démesurément exagéré l'importance des dialectes, qu'il sait vivants dans son pays natal, en étudiant le français, langue unifiée s'il en fut? Il nous dit que le lexique de Paris est très pauvre, l'intérêt du citadin se

fermant à nombre d'occupations agricoles et champêtres. Mais n'est-il pas autrement riche de richesse *spirituelle*, riche de toute cette civilisation française qui pourtant s'est élaborée à Paris? Une époque à venir sacrifiera un peu les *Wörter und Sachen* aux "mots et idées" Pourquoi le *Vocabulaire de la philosophie* de Lalande manque-t-il dans la liste si copieuse où figurent les traités de cuisine, d'horticulture et les dictionnaires du commerce? Si j'examine l'article *forma* et que j'y trouve une *colonne* dédiée à I 1 "aussere Form" 2. "Form des Handelns," *trois colonnes* aux emplois techniques ("Schuhleisten, Hutform, Bank, Stuhl, Fenster, Bettgestell, Kaseform, Dock, Lager des Hasen, Strassenbett, Mistaufen, Mauke, Knoſpen, Verschiedenes") et *trois lignes* à *forme* au sens philosophique (avec l'indication problématique que *forme* "principe qui donne aux choses leur manière d'être" ne daterait que de Bossuet—et la scolastique médiévale?), je ne puis m'empêcher de trouver les choses spirituelles un peu sacrifiées, d'autant plus que les sens techniques ne peuvent dériver que d'une conception philosophique (et même ce "tas de fumier" qui en Mayenne, Sarthe, Maine-et-Loire etc s'appelle *forme* "ne pourra s'expliquer que par une attitude de l'esprit attachant à la forme des choses une importance primordiale et voyant cette forme même dans l'amorphe!) C'est du "gesunkenes Kulturgut," qui ne prend son sens qu'à la lumière d'une pensée, d'une conception du monde Mais même pour les mots populaires une analyse des emplois du français commun comme point de départ servirait mieux l'intelligence des développements dialectaux que la classification imposée par les matériaux ultra-riches de l'auteur L'article *futuere* par exemple comprend les subdivisions suivantes

I Beschlafen

I 1 Werfen, unsorgfältig hinlegen, schlagen

I 2 Gleichgültig sein gegenüber

M. von Wartburg a eu soin de nous avertir que beaucoup des acceptions secondaires sous II supposent comme encore consciente à l'esprit des usagers l'acception "coire," mais il n'a pas su tirer parti de cette remarque si juste en marquant le point de départ des idées si différentes qu'exprime ce verbe en français populaire sous II 1) on nous donne par exemple comme "dérivé" le participe *foutu* "perdre" et "capable," dans les dialectes *mal foutu* "mal bâti"—mais il est évident que *foutu* "perdu" vient d'une idée "outrager" "rudoyer," tandis que *foutu* "capable" (*il est foutu de faire quelque chose*) et *mal foutu* "mal bâti" dérivent d'une idée "engendrer, créer" qui n'a rien à voir avec *foutre*, "jeter" "mettre" "battre,"¹ ce que Clédât dans un article sur *foutre* dans

¹ L'auteur a raison, vis-à-vis d'une autre explication que j'ai donnée naguère et que j'abandonne volontiers, d'expliquer *foutre le camp* comme

la *Revue des langues romanes*, que l'auteur ne cite pas, avait bien mis en évidence. D'autre part *se foutre de* "ne pas se soucier de quelque chose" contient le verbe au sens propre et le pronom réfléchi est essentiel à la locution ("se souiller soi-même" en signe de mépris). Il manque l'acception "faire" dérivant de "engendrer, créer" (*qu'est-ce que tu fous [fiches] ici?*), *foutant* "contrariant, fâcheux" est mis sous II, 2, alors qu'il indique précisément le contraire de l'indifférence il faudrait le placer sous "outrager, rudoyer". Alors que sous *figicare fiche(r)*, euphémisme pour *foutre*, l'auteur a inséré un paragraphe II, 4 *fiche(r)* "interjection," le *foutre*¹ correspondant n'a pas été jugé digne d'un alinéa à lui. (D'ailleurs cette partie de l'article *figicare* devrait aussi être regroupée.) Pourquoi encore manque-t-il un sous-paragraphe *foutre* substantif (*un foutre*), par lequel seul les dérivés *foutreau*, *foutriquet* etc sont explicables? Somme toute, la variété dialectale que nous offre le dictionnaire de von Wartburg devrait être, à mon avis, insérée dans et pour ainsi dire absorbée par un dictionnaire du type de celui de Bloch² (auquel M. von Wartburg a collaboré), seulement à plus grande échelle. Le *Thesaurus Galloromanicus* devra présenter les faits lexicaux dans la subordination conforme à l'histoire de cette langue qui s'est formée précisément par la victoire sur les dialectes (j'imprimerais pour ma part les formes dialectales en petits caractères!). Un Français cultivé qui connaîtrait l'histoire de sa langue devrait au fond être ahuri de ce foinnement patois chez von Wartburg qui ne répond ni à sa conscience linguistique ni à son sentiment historique. J'ai toujours mis en garde les romanisants contre cette conception rousseauisante de la vie du langage et je tiens à répéter ici ce que j'ai dit ailleurs à propos du I^{er} volume du *FEW*. M. von Wartburg convient lui-même que sa philosophie du langage s'inspire à la réalité du patois paysan, dans le milieu duquel il a été élevé (par exemple *Lbl. f. germ. rom. Phil.* 1932 col. 143: "Ich glaube dass mein Aufsatz unverkennbar meine Herkunft aus dem Nahrboden der Mundart verrät") et il aime insister sur la spontanéité de ses vues qui ne serait endettée qu'envers la réalité, en tout cas moins qu'envers des hommes de science. Je crois qu'il insiste un peu trop sur la *nécessité* de ces vues—la *nature* (et la *nature* des faits linguistiques) peut être interprétée de façons les plus différentes et ce sont les hommes de science qui nous font entrevoir des côtés tout nouveaux dans cette nature crue vieille et toujours la même. C'est ce qu'exprime l'admirable paradoxe de

battre la campagne—seulement l'expression ne date pas de 1872, puisque la Dubarry a dit à son amant royal (le même qui est le premier en date dont on sait qu'il a dit *se foutre de*) *La France, ton café qui fout le camp!*

² Je n'hésite pas à qualifier le dictionnaire de Bloch de l'épithète qui doit faire le plus de plaisir à un Français conscient de ce qu'il y aura d'éternelle ment "encyclopédiste" dans toute œuvre de synthèse française: il est "le plus *humain*" de tous nos dictionnaires étymologiques romans.

Wilde s'appliquant, il est vrai, plutôt à l'art qu'à la science, mais également vrai pour celle-ci. ces derniers temps, la nature s'est mise à imiter les artistes. Je crois donc que la philosophie du langage qui semble naturelle à M. von Wartburg, ne l'est pas du tout et n'a valu qu'un certain temps, par un concours de circonstances assez fortuites (prédominance des études dialectologiques sous l'impulsion de Rousseau et des linguistes suisses, recherche de la vie du langage dans des milieux rustiques, préoccupations au sujet des lois du langage qu'on ne croyait atteindre que dans une atmosphère de pureté linguistique)

Les remarques critiques qu'on vient de lire n'atténuent ni ne rapetissent guère l'importance et la valeur intrinsèque de cette œuvre magistrale qui aura le bonheur d'informer des générations affirmant d'autres "philosophies" que nous, d'une façon consciencieuse et réaliste sur les faits lexicaux qui se sont développés en 2000 années sur le sol de la Gaule romane. On n'admira jamais assez une probité scientifique et une richesse d'information exemplaires

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La Passion d'Autun, publiée par GRACE FRANK. Paris: Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1934. Pp 234. Fr 60.

A new volume by the principal American scholar of the French mediæval theatre is gladly welcomed. Mrs. Tenney Frank's edition of the *Passion d'Autun* provides an excellent control of two texts which are indispensable to historical study of fifteenth-century drama in France. The slovenliness of both the manuscripts (designated as the *Passion de Biard* [B] and the *Passion de Roman* [R]) which constitute the so-called *Passion d'Autun* makes the editor's accomplishment only the more creditable.

The original purpose of each of the redactors behind B and R raises a problem which is fundamental to a just interpretation of the *Passion d'Autun*. Mrs. Frank's investigation of this question, both in the present edition and in earlier publications (cf. p. 8, n. 3), has led to conclusions as exhaustive as the available evidence would seem to admit. While the *Passion de Roman* is definitely dramatic in form, the *Passion de Biard* is dramatic apparently only in respect of its origin, some redactor (perhaps the copyist Biard himself) has interpolated numerous versified narrative passages in order to adapt a mystery-play to reading, or possibly to recitation. The differences between B and R are too extensive to warrant any attempt at a composite text of the *Passion d'Autun*. The editor adopts the only tenable course, that of publishing the two versions separately. In the introduction she reviews the manuscript tradi-

tion of B and R (and of the Sion fragment) in so far as it reflects their relation to the earlier *Passion des Jongleurs* and *Passion du Palatinus*. Her conclusions here, as elsewhere in the volume, are tempered with due qualifications¹ It may be added that Mrs. Frank's linguistic study of B and R constitutes a useful chapter on Burgundian dialect

The editor has set up her two texts on the conservative principle (wise in this instance) of deviating from the manuscripts as rarely as possible. While the blunderings of both manuscripts have already been met with consistent ingenuity in the edition, a few suggestions may be hazarded here on items of textual detail.

The final verses of the *Passion de Biard* require, in an edited text, a rearrangement which Mrs. Frank discusses minutely on pp. 25, 163, and 165-67 In the manuscript, vv. 1851-69 appear after v 2117, *i e.*, at the end of the text The order would, to me, seem preferable if the verses were arranged as follows 1-1850, 2057-2117, 1851-2056 The one change, in the laws of editorial practice, is no more violent than the other, and a review of the text itself shows the superiority of the proposed sequence over that in the edition. The sermon in vv. 2012-56 is manifestly more typical and fitting as the termination of a mystery text than the gloomy lines ending at v 2117. This conviction is borne out further by vv 43-87 of the Sion fragment vv. 43-82 correspond to vv 2019-56 in B, and are followed immediately by the five verses in which the players take leave of their audience (cf p. 165). Concerning Mrs. Frank's reasons for her method of arrangement, it does not seem that the presence of vv 2046-49 would alone (as indicated on p 165) suggest to the author the appropriateness, in a *Passion*, of the *Planctus Christi morientis* in vv 2057-2117. Moreover, Mrs. Frank herself "attendrait ce *Planctus* quelque part dans le texte avant le *Consummatum est*" (p. 166) Her contention (that no lacuna or other indication points to any location within the body of the text) is no more applicable to a complete² *Planctus* than to the complete sermon in vv 2012-56, if only for the reason that in the manuscript itself neither *Planctus* nor sermon terminates the text Consequently, if the manuscript sequence is to be tampered with at all (and I agree with the editor that it should be), there is no longer any cause to reject the more logical ending with v 2056.

Since the complete lack of metrical regularity in B and R is emphatically recognized by the editor, she need scarcely have elaborated (p 51, and as in notes to vv 2, 22, 268-69, 828-29, 929) on the many possible corrections which the text might invite.

¹ The editor has, however, misinterpreted (p 22, n 1) the summary included in the review of the *Passion du Palatinus* in *MP.*, **xxi**, 324

² That the *Planctus* is complete is attested by the Cambrai poem which Mrs. Frank prints in full (p 167)

Furthermore, the diaeresis has been introduced or not at pleasure, or with an apparent intent to regularize in terms of octosyllabics (e.g., *Jurf* and *Jurf* interchangeably, *muer* 1203 and *muer* 1648, *rues* 1009, but note for instance *esbayrés* 247 and *hesse* 1361, 2068). One should be no more tempted (even in notes) to rectify or interpret the metre of the *Passion d'Autun* than to tamper with the versification of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Anglo-Norman

In the *Passion de Biard*, v. 1255 (*Estachré le sy bien ad vie*), the editor interprets the dubious *ad vie* as *a he*³ despite the fact that B contains no other case of *ad* for *a*. Consistency would be better served by application of the same treatment to the imperfect *-ient* in vv 1296 and 2032. The fusion *i l* (= *ils* + *le*) 1942 is more astute than convincing, as there is no need, after v. 1940, to designate again the object of *feroent morir*.

A number of corrections should be made in the transcription of B. In v 1678 the manuscript reads *tourmes* rather than *convues*, the deleted word discussed inconclusively in the variant is *tretrés*. *Visaige* 684 should be replaced by *usage*, *malin* 1419 by *matin*, *vouleron* 1787 by *voulons*, and the manuscript has *je* between *car* and *le* 1814. In v 168 (var) B reads *Aye*, in 187 *aussy*, 196 *doulcement*, 204 *oingnement*, 234 *diciples*, 389 *parler*, Ru 427 *Cayphas*, 440 *deuengne*, 600 (var) *luy*, 782 *nuniz*, 943 *chansonnète*, 1034 *doleur*, 1094 *ann*, 1187 *culpe*, 1305 (var should show bar of nasality in abbreviation of *comme*, note *comen* as expansion of this same abbreviation in 1674, 1734, 1939), 1512 (var should read "vous rayé après je"), 1649 *Jamas*, 1683 *viengne*, 1813 (var does not record letter erased before here), 1954 *-viengne*, 2010 *sun*. Expansion to *respoit* would be more consistent in Ru 557. Why an accent in *lyève* 1917, but not elsewhere? Cedilla should be added in *francoys* 1238 and an accent in *pitie* 2082.

In the *Passion de Roman*, why alter *et* (= *est*) in v 237 but not in v 361? The text should read *vous ant* in v 509 instead of *vous sant* (cf p 57). In v 82 R reads *seulx*, in 199 *decraches*, 200 (var) *chinnimer*, 207 *auras*, 217 *pandu*, 217 *dauant*, 301 (var should read "d'abord écrit sertonemant"), 353 *scau*, 384 (var does not record letter deleted after *plus*), 387 *ay*, 388 *jugemant*, 461 *troues*, 473 *condampne*, 474 *troueres*, 479 (var does not record crude insertion of *de* in *déhorés* above the line), 481 *fecstes*, 507 *quart*, 514 *pandu*, Ru 633 *ung*, 689 *dessant*, 832 *pouray*, 918 (first *r* in *offrandre* not in MS). The remark in the variants for v 489 is valid for v 927 as well.⁴

In the linguistic study of the *Passion*, an *-i* rime with the pronoun *luy* (vv 307, 359, 946, 1424) is not impressive evidence for equivalence of *ui* *i* (p 32). The editor accepts as rimes such assonances as *dure conducte*, *homme paroles*, *faire maistre*, *sepulcre puisse* (cf pp 33-35). In two places (pp 35, 37) *menurent* 538 would attest the perfect in *-i*, while in two other places (pp 36, 38) this same word would be accented on the

³ In the light of this explanation is Mrs Frank justified (p 32) in adducing this as evidence of *ue ie* rime? The manuscript, incidentally, reads *advie*.

⁴ Occasional words, transcribed correctly in the published texts, are mis-copied in the editor's commentary. These words occur in *Biard*: vv 100, 124, 139, 180, 199, 242, 347, 595, 1179, 1656, 1751, 1889, 1901, 1990, and in *Roman*: vv 98, 165, 527.

final syllable The glossary is evidently selective, but nothing seems to explain the inclusion of such unexceptional words as *ambler*, *barat*, *disme*, *gloux*, *noyse*, *prison*, to the exclusion of, for example, *tornés* (or better, combine *mes tornés* into a single word?) R 259, 1 B 1942, *defilemant* R 90

The comparative brevity of the foregoing criticisms, even in a short notice, and the limitation of comment in the main to matters of detail, are amply indicative of Mrs Frank's success with one of the most poorly transmitted of Old French texts.

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La Divina Commedia di DANTE ALIGHIERI. Edited and annotated by C. H. Grandgent Revised edition New York D. C. Heath, 1933. Pp xlii + 1003, including an index.

In Professor Grandgent's revised edition of the *Divine Comedy* we have a notable contribution to Dante studies that crowns in a fitting way the work of an eminent scholar and inspiring teacher, who has interpreted Dante to several generations of Americans. Published in 1909, this book was the first annotated American edition of the Italian text of the *D. C.*, and, to-day, twenty-five years later, it still occupies that unique position Then, as now, it served a twofold purpose, stated in its preface it was intended primarily for the general literary public, though adapted also to academic use. It is only from repeated use in the college classroom and from constant observation of how indispensable this edition is to one's unacademic but literature-loving friends who aspire to the reading of the *D. C.* in the original, that one realizes in what a masterly way the editor has fulfilled both aims For, while Professor Grandgent, by avoiding a pretentious display of unnecessary erudition, has steered clear of dull pedantry discouraging to novice and scholar alike, it is an incontestable fact, quite evident to any student of the *D. C.*, that nothing essential to the comprehension of the great poem has been omitted.

Though the editor modestly claims that the chief innovation is the substitution of the Vandelli text of the *D. C.* for the Moore text of the previous edition, innumerable alterations are to be found in the Introduction, the Preliminary Notes to each of the three *cantiche*, and especially in the Arguments preceding each of the one hundred cantos, in the bibliographical references of these various explanatory divisions, as well as in the notes to the text itself. These changes reveal that careful, painstaking, accurate, scholarly work so characteristic of the eminent philologist, and, at the same time, they are inserted without destroying the literary charm of the Introduction or the clear expository art of the Argu-

ments, and without overloading the foot-notes with unnecessary, distracting information. From a great number of examples, one might cite the additions to the Arguments of *Inf.*, XI (where further light is thrown on Dante's arrangement of sins in comparison with that of St Thomas and Aristotle), *Purg.*, XXII (where important additions and modifications are made concerning Statius), and *Par.*, XI (in which pertinent information is inserted). In several places the footnotes have been enriched by the fruit of the editor's philological investigations since the first edition (*Inf.*, XVIII, f-n 61, *Inf.*, XXVIII, f-n 37; *Purg.*, XIV, f-n 76, *Purg.*, XVII, f-n. 37; *Purg.*, XIX, f-n 81, etc.)

There are minor translation changes in the interests of a clearer interpretation and closer exactness (*Purg.*, II, f-n 71, *Purg.*, III, f-n 64, *Purg.*, XXXI, f-n 123, *Purg.*, XXIX, arg., etc.). A change from "winding" to "undescribed" for the passage from Hell to Purgatory (Introd., XXXIV), to cite a concrete example, represents one of the editor's own investigations, as well as that of others, and makes one aware of how much scholarly work has gone into the revised edition.

For those interested in further investigation Professor Grandgent supplies abundant bibliographical aid, not only in the general bibliography (enlarged and brought up to date) of the Introduction, but in the bibliographies of the Preliminary Notes, and especially in those of the Arguments and the text itself. One can confidently state that nothing of importance in Dante studies written in the twenty-four years since the first edition was published has escaped the editor's wary eye, be it in Italian, English, German, French, Spanish, and even in Dutch. When one considers the number of studies produced during that time in a field where diligent workers are ever abundant, one is aware of the enormous task accomplished. But even greater admiration is aroused by the masterly way in which a whole book or several learned articles are condensed so that one knows at once from a brief sentence or two the author's interpretation and point of view. Thus, one brief note (f-n. 1, Introd., XXX) summarizes the theory of Asín Palacios concerning the Mohammedan sources of the *D. C.* as he has expounded it in two books, and indicates all the criticisms that have appeared of that theory. The much-mooted question of Dante's sojourn in Paris, to cite another example, is admirably condensed in two foot-notes, one to the Introduction (f-n 3, p. xv), and one to *Par.*, XXIV (Add. ref. to the Arg.). The same is true for the problem of the dating of the *D. C.*, the many scholarly discussions of which (together with their criticisms) are packed into one note (Introd., XXVI, f-n. 1). There are so many instances of this compact condensation that it is, of course, impossible to list more than a few of them, but if one desires further insight into Professor Grandgent's method, let him examine (choosing almost at random)

the following the additional notes to the Arguments of *Inf*, XX, XXVI, XXVIII, *Inf*, XVIII, f-n 72, the additions and the new references to the Preliminary Note of the *Purgatorio*, the new references to the Arguments of *Purg*, I, XIII, and to those of *Par*, IX, XXIV, XXV, XXVI, *Par*, IX, f-n 54, *Par*, X, f-n. 97, *Par*, XXIII, f-n. 30 and 94, etc

A valuable addition to the revised edition is an "Index of proper and other names." Also, some illustrations and diagrams that clarify astronomical descriptions (*Purg.*, XXVII, arg, *Par*, XXVII, XXX). One wishes that the Botticelli illustration of Canto XII were clearer and that more Botticelli drawings might have been included (as they were in Professor Fletcher's translation of the *D C*) The many who have had the good fortune to read the *D. C* with Professor Grandgent will remember the fascinating ease and artistry with which the great teacher was wont to illustrate various passages with drawings on the blackboard, and they will regret that more of these drawings have not been included that of the formation of the eagle among the spirits of the just in heaven from the *M* of *justitiam* with the Florentine lily as an intermediate stage, for example There are a few misprints, inevitable in an edition of over 1000 pages; some might prefer a more condensed system of abbreviation for periodicals (SD for *Studi danteschr*, etc), and there are those who might object to the fact that the editor does not always adopt Vandelli's readings (*Inf*, XXX, 67; *Inf*, XXXI, 42, 67, 145; *Purg.*, XX, 67, 119, etc). But while the Vandelli edition is the most desirable one as a whole, few would regard every choice and conclusion made by that editor as infallible, especially when it is considered that he follows in the main one ms (the Trivulziano) out of a possible 600 and that sometimes his conclusions must of necessity be based on conjecture.

If there be any who would object to the scholarly objective method of interpretation (which, incidentally, does not exclude, but rather enhances the literary and esthetic appreciation of the great poem), those of us (not necessarily belonging to the older generation) who are interested in presenting Dante to our students, and not merely in lyrical subjective rhapsodies expressing our egocentric personalities, can only express gratitude for Professor Grandgent's soundness of judgment and serene objectivity that allow him to present with the art of the trained expositor, from the great mass of Dante studies of the past quarter of a century, everything that really interprets the *D C*. without allowing freak, unfounded, personal opinions (and, as the *Times Literary Supplement*, London, June 21, 1934, has noted, "It will never be possible to prevent the formulation of freak theories about Dante or about Shakespeare") to intervene between the great poem and the reader.

The Use of Poetry and the Use of Criticism Studies in the Relation of Criticism to Poetry in England. The Charles Eliot Norton Lectures for 1932-1933. By T. S. ELIOT. Cambridge. Harvard University Press, 1933. Pp x + 149. \$2 00

A new volume from Mr Eliot has become an important event for students of literature. And the present volume has importance, even though there is perhaps nothing here so fundamental to poetry as the essay on "Tradition and the Individual Talent," nothing which so happily brings together different schools of learning as his connection of Seneca with the Elizabethans, nothing quite so illuminating as his interpretation of Marlowe

Mr Eliot now attempts what he calls "a few light sketches" in a consecutive study of the relation of criticism to poetry in England from the time of Sir Philip Sidney to the present day. But Mr Eliot, as I see him, has not, in either prose or verse, a consecutive mind. It is a part of his scrupulous sincerity that he gives what comes new to him and does not forge the links which do not come. Hence he is at his best when he chooses here and there to follow what lures him and in this consecutive study he still chooses, with no wish for any kind of completeness. He picks what strikes him, and has a genius for observing what has not been sufficiently noticed by others. He is never caught by the old ruts into which the professional critic is apt to subside. Indeed he seems hardly to know when what he says is new and startling, and drops it by the way as something taken for granted. Three passages of interpretation will stand out in the memory of most readers—on the isolation of Johnson, on the ruin of Coleridge, on the poetic development of Yeats.

The connecting thread of theory is present but it is tentative, and Mr Eliot will not press it into an artificial completeness. He still views the development of his subject in the light of the relation between tradition and the individual talent. In the introduction he sets himself three subjects: the history of criticism as a process of readjustment between poetry and the world in and for which it is produced, the consideration of what is permanent in poetry, and what is merely the expression of the spirit of an age; and the limitations and prejudices of our own age and nation about poetry and critical ideas. In defining English poetry, he will commit himself no further than to the idea of a pattern in the mind of the reader which grows and is modified by everything he reads. This pattern represents the building of the nation's poetic tradition, and that which is permanent in its poetry is stored in the tradition. The great poet is he who has played the greatest part in making this tradition. In a comparison between the greatness of Wordsworth and that of Landor the significant point is that "Wordsworth is an essential part of history; Landor only a mag-

nificent by-product" But the great poet is "one who not merely restores a tradition which has been in abeyance, but one who in his poetry re-twines as many straying strands of tradition as possible" This is Mr. Eliot's strongest conviction and his most important contribution to the critic's view point Development and change in poetry are due to what enters it from outside, from social life and the taste of his audience, and the poet's problem is the adjustment of the new matter to the poetic tradition The mere revolutionary interruption is Mr. Eliot's abhorrence (is Wordsworth, is Shelley "the riffraff of the early part of the century"? or is an imaginary Arnold speaking here?). Keats, like Shakespeare, was employed only with "the highest uses of poetry" the others too exclusively with the new, with sociological changes and contemporary theory. The unity of taste between the scholar dramatist and his barbarous audience, between England and the continent, in the Elizabethan age, gave poetry its most favourable circumstances Dryden had a civilised though a limited audience with eighteenth century democracy the poet was in worse circumstances, and when he has not even a class to address he adventures in solitude and becomes an alien from his tradition

Mr. Eliot attempts a few other theoretical directions With his long passage on the relation of belief to poetry in Shelley and his conclusion that beliefs interfere with poetry only when they are immature and incoherent, he is himself evidently dissatisfied. He finds in Shelley's poetry an exception to the view which he has elsewhere accepted that the enjoyment of poetry is not interfered with by disagreement with the beliefs which it contains His mentor, here as elsewhere, is Mr. I. A. Richards (*Science and Poetry*), and he says surprisingly "Mr. Richards deserves the credit of having done the pioneer work in the problem of Belief in the enjoyment of poetry" The proof that Signor Croce had already settled this question in a more fundamental way may be seen in the fact that he here provides the answer which cannot be elicited from Mr. Richards's theory of pseudostatements. A state of mind, an emotion, an aspiration may possess the poet as a result of thought and where this takes place we have the matter for poetry we are reading what happened in one individual and are concerned with the expression of individuality, not with the beliefs. But in Shelley's poetry there is often a kind of cleavage he versifies abstract ideas to which his reason has agreed, "ideas which Shelley bolted whole and never assimilated," and gives quite separately the lyric poetry of the visionary world on which they set his imagination to work We naturally argue against poetry which is only argument, and bad argument at that. Mr. Eliot really had the point when he said of Dante "the insistence throughout is upon states of feeling; the reasoning takes only its proper place as a means of reaching these states."

There are other subjects on which Mr Eliot's matter is in striking agreement with Croce's theory—for example in his distinction between the poem and the emotional experience which precedes the poem. Mr Eliot's experience—as reader and writer—is of great interest here. “What the poet experienced” he says “is not poetry but poetic material. the writing of the poetry is a fresh ‘experience’ for him.” So Croce “the substitution for this tumult (passion) of another tumult, the longing to create and to contemplate.” “By the time it has settled down into a poem, it may be so different from the original experience” says Mr. Eliot “as to be hardly recognisable. The ‘experience’ in question may be the result of a fusion of feelings so numerous, and ultimately so obscure in their origins, that even if there be communication of them, the poet may hardly be aware of what he is communicating, and what is there to be communicated was not in existence before the poem was completed.” Mr Eliot believes, as I think Croce does not, that the reader experiences not the preceding emotions of the poet, but the poem, and here I am in agreement with Mr. Eliot and welcome his very definite statement “That which is to be communicated is the poem itself, and only incidentally the experience and the thought which have gone into it. . . it has a reality which is not simply the reality of what the writer is trying to ‘express’.” “What we experience as readers is never exactly what the poet experienced.” Hence Mr. Eliot, as one would perhaps expect, hopes little as to communication. “The poem's existence is somewhere between the writer and the reader” and “what a poem means is as much what it means to others as what it means to the author.” The full measure of his scepticism about communication is best gauged by a remark on obscurity, “We should be glad, I think, that the man has been able to express himself at all.”

It must be remembered that Mr Eliot considers himself (as no one else considers him) an amateur in criticism. He allows himself his prejudices and feels no responsibility in uttering them: “I suppose that Addison is what one would describe as a gentleman, as one might say, no better than a gentleman”, or of Shelley, “the man was humourless, pedantic, self-centred, and sometimes almost a blackguard.” These statements are like those of the poets in that the question of belief does not disturb our pleasure in them. But there is something to be said for the methods of the conscientious academic pedant. Mr. Eliot seems as if he *will* not understand what some of his authors mean. Everybody knows that Coleridge's statements seldom bear a clear meaning: but it is nevertheless possible to interpret much of his meaning by a study of his mind and work. This is what Mr Eliot will not do for his authors: he refuses to understand them with all the obstinacy of a philosophical tutor addressing himself to the essays of his stu-

dents Why, he asks, on the distinction between Fancy and Imagination, is memory mentioned in connection with Fancy and ignored in connection with Imagination? The answer is surely plain. As Mr. Eliot himself has shown, we are not concerned, for Imagination, with the memories which lie behind the making of the poem, but with what Imagination does to them. Let us borrow from Mr. Eliot the words which he supplies to interpret Dryden's "invention," "the sudden irruption of the germ of a new poem, possibly merely as a state of feeling"—words which, I am persuaded, are much beyond what anyone in Dryden's age could have thought. This "irruption" Coleridge does not find in Fancy, which deals with memories unmodified by one "state of feeling," and therefore for Fancy memory appears in the forefront.

At a time when critical controversy rages almost as fiercely over the question of poetry and meaning as it once did over the Ancients and Moderns, I grudge that Mr. Eliot should choose to view the modern mind as chiefly pre-occupied with the relation between poetry and religion. He certainly succeeds in presenting Mr. Richards in the guise of a mystical romantic, but I doubt if this is Mr. Richards's main interest or the way in which he views himself. On the vexed question of the obscurity of modern poetry, he will only suggest that all poetry provides "meaning" as a kind of drug for the intellect, in order to set free the response of aesthetic sensibility. I think that such a theory necessarily impoverishes poetry, by narrowing its range. But one would have liked the master of modern technique to make some connection between his distaste for revolutionary innovation in tradition, his cherishing of the "minor virtues" and of "writing well" in poetry, and the actual productions of the modern school. His own defence may be summed up, I suspect, in his words. "We must write our poetry as we can"; but this statement cannot be applied to the deliberate imitators of his technique, and it is evident that he does find in them, what most of us miss, a preservation of tradition in their verse rhythms and "writing well" and even the "minor virtues." One would have welcomed some detailed illustration.

A. E. DODDS

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Milton's Geistesgeschichtliche Bedeutung Von HANS-OSKAR WILDE Heidelberg Winter, 1933 Pp iv + 144 + 16.
(Germanische Bibliothek)

John Milton's "Eptaphium Damonis" Printed from the First Edition with a New Translation By WALTER W SKEAT Cambridge University Press, 1933. Pp. 22 \$0 80

Milton's Persönliche und Ideelle Welt in ihrer Beziehung zum Aristocratismus. Von HILDEGARD BRUNNER Bonn: Hanstein, 1933. Pp 11 + 50 (Bonner Studien zur Englischen Philologie, Heft XIX.)

Dr Wilde's study is a very earnest attempt to interpret Milton's poetic thought in its relation to the history of culture (Kulturgeschichte). The author, according to his own statement, began his inquiry by proposing to himself the question, "Why is it impossible for God to leave man in Paradise after he has fallen?" His answer is that Adam and Eve have broken, not the arbitrary command of a tyrant, but the law of nature itself. This law is indeed definable as the will of God—"What I will is fate" but it is also definable as the foundation law of human society—"God and Nature bid the same." Milton's own driving purpose is toward the realization of a human society which shall be responsive not to political expediency, but to value. His theme in *Paradise Lost* is the conflict between the subjective or passionate and the objective or rational forces in humanity, as championed respectively by Satan and Christ. His hero is "Der um Gemeinschaft, um eine ewig-neue Gemeinschaft ringende Mensch,"—in other words, mankind, fallen indeed, and therefore no longer an instinctive servant of the law of nature, but instructed in the way of righteousness and determined to win through conscious effort the new Paradise of *Wertgehorsamkeit* in a regenerated community.

When Milton wrote *Paradise Lost* he still maintained something of his earlier confidence in man's capacity to conquer the irrational, later, wearied by age and overwhelmed with political disappointment, he lost this faith. In *Samson Agonistes* he places the issue in the hands of God. We hear no more of reason and the law of nature, both the poet and his hero surrender blindly to the divine guidance. Milton thus passes from a partly philosophic to a wholly religious "Weltanschauung." In so doing he resolves the elements of conflict within himself and is enabled to sink his personality in his work. *Samson Agonistes* is therefore the purest of his creations, a work of prophecy, subjective and objective at the same time.

These ideas are not wholly new to Milton criticism but they are here presented with uncommon suggestiveness and philosophic

breadth. Obviously Dr. Wilde's study receives some of its emphasis from traditional German thought concerning the relation of the individual and the state. It remains, however, essentially an exposition of Milton, and we cannot quarrel with the author for making a major English poet the champion of his own Teutonic conviction that "only by the spirit can a nation become great and free"

In Professor Skeat's book the Latin text of Milton's elegy on Charles Diodati is reproduced from the unique British Museum copy of an undated anonymous edition presumably printed for private circulation shortly after Milton's return from the continent in 1639. It is to this edition that Milton refers in a letter to Carlo Dati, dated April 21, 1647. Since Dati has not acknowledged receipt of a copy of the poem Milton assumes that it has gone astray. The text is, except for a few errors and the word *Londini* given in the title-page, identical with that published in the 1645 edition. The translation, a happy one in couplets, with occasional short lines after the manner of *Lycidas*, is the work of a son of the Reverend W. W. Skeat, made in memory of the late Sir Israel Gallancz.

Miss Brunner's book undertakes not only to describe Milton's actual relationship to the aristocratic classes but to analyze the aristocratic element in his thought and art. On the first topic the author misses a good scholarly opportunity. She might, instead of assembling a few stock references, have gathered much out-of-the-way data bearing on the social status of Milton's friends and the probable degree of his intimacy with high-born families like that of the Countess of Derby. Was Milton actually in contact with the social group which produced *Arcades* and *Comus* or was his relationship a merely professional one through Lawes? What is implied by his marriage with the daughter of Sir Richard Powell? These and similar questions are not fully dealt with by Milton's biographers and they might be broadly and interestingly answered out of the social history of the times. The second problem leads into a *selva oscura*, psychological and philosophical, in which too many writers on Milton are now wandering. Miss Brunner says little that is new and much that to the reviewer is absurd. Milton is said to represent the old Germanic "Aristocratismus," as opposed to its decadent offshoot, the "Aristokratie" of the English court. He is the "Vertreter des willentlich geistig bestimmter typus der nordischen Rasse," a "mächtiger Helden und Fuhrernatur," who, one is led to infer, would do well in a national socialist state. In the last chapter Milton's aristocratic leanings are illustrated by his many references to noble metals and precious stones!

JAMES H. HANFORD

Studies in Spenser's Complaints By HAROLD STEIN. New York: Oxford University Press, 1934. Pp. xii + 195. \$2 50.

Mr Stein's careful and generous efforts to relate his work to other studies in *Complaints* make this volume a useful handbook in which new interpretations are offered with such lucidity of detail that his arguments are subject to ready check. Since the evidence indicates that the *Complaints* collection had Spenser's sanction and correction in the press (pp 3-20), the work is rightly presented as a unified discussion rather than as a series of separate articles. Yet the study of nine varied and variously dated poems results in an organization by which clarity is obtained at the expense of occasional (and unavoidable) awkwardness, largely of repetition. Part I deals very successfully with the volume as a whole, the circumstances and time of publication, Part II, with the dating of the individual poems, Part III, with the allegory in *Vergils Gnat*, *Mother Hubberds Tale*, and *Muopotmos*, Part IV, with the revision of early verse represented by the sonnet groups at the end of the *Complaints*,—an excellent study of poetic technique, and Part V is a bibliographical appendix.

The date of publication is fixed within the limits of December 29, 1590 (Stationers' Register entry) and March 19, 1590/1 (date of purchase recorded in a British Museum copy), or, very probably, in February, 1590/1. The printed volume is held to be the first collection of the poems, since there is no instance of borrowing prior to 1591 in which the borrower used more than one of the *Complaints* poems. Dates of composition for the individual poems are fixed late, not without a contradiction in method. In dating the *Tearles of the Muses* 1590 and parts of the *Buines of Time* just as late Spenser's dedications are interpreted with literal exactness (pp. 40, 42-3), but in dating *Mother Hubberds Tale* (1580 and 1590 rather than 1575 and 1580) Spenser's statement that the poem is early work "cannot be taken at its face value" (pp. 58, 87-8). The assumption (p. 72) that complimentary works were in all probability new works is groundless. Mr Stein presents more plausible though more indirect evidence for his late dating of *Mother Hubberds Tale* in the section on allegory, wherein he summarizes the contemporary allusions to the poem, none earlier than 1591. He infers (p. 80) from Harvey's reference—"Mother Hubbard, in heat of choller, forgetting the pure sanguine of her sweete Feary Queene, wilfully over-shott her malcontented selfe"—that *Mother Hubberds Tale* followed the *Faerie Queene*; yet Harvey is the one person who could place the poems in that order and still leave us grounds for an early date. Harvey gave his famous judgment on the *Faerie Queene* in the 1580 correspondence, even his 1592 allusion, with a more complimentary opinion, could refer

to circumstances in 1580, *i. e.*, could mean that Spenser put aside his newly begun epic to write his satire. Or the allusion may refer merely to the order of publication. Unless the earliest reference to the *Faerie Queene* is accounted for, it is difficult to agree with Mr. Stein (p. 80, n. 4) that Harvey's statement by itself "would seem to dispose of any theory like Professor Greenlaw's which dates the situation and reaction in 1580."

The most striking change in allegorical interpretation, dependent upon the attempt to shift the date of the poem, is the reading of *Mother Hubberds Tale* as an allegory of the succession, "a satirical prediction of the unfortunate circumstances that would arise after James's accession to the throne with Burghley and Robert Cecil in the saddle" (p. 95). The Fox is Burghley, the Ape, James VI; the Lion, the English people. But is it likely that James, who, as Mr. Stein observes (p. 96), was angered by the reference to his mother in Book V of the *Faerie Queene*, would have overlooked a *Mother Hubberds Tale* with such a meaning? The State Papers for Scotland record several instances of writers especially designated to answer works which impugned, however remotely, James's right to the succession. One of these writers was Walter Quin, a favorite panegyrist, whose name is associated with James's resentment of the *Faerie Queene* reference to his mother (Carpenter, p. 42). In 1595 Quin wrote a poem in French which contained lines denouncing Cecil as an avaricious man seeking to "aggrandize his little Reynards" (*SP* 52/57, item 79, p. 658; *CSP, Scotland*, II, 699, 701). In other words, Spenser, who by this hypothesis is hostile to James, and the king's protégé, writing four years after the publication of *Complaints*, are in agreement about Burghley. Possibly evidence such as this could be brought into line with the new interpretation, but in any case the comparative neglect of the "literature" of the succession is a weakness in Mr. Stein's hypothesis second only to the difficulty of explaining away the evidence for an early date in Spenser's dedication.

Disagreements about interpretation, unduly emphasized here because of the biographical and literary interest of *Mother Hubberds Tale*, cannot affect the general usefulness of Mr. Stein's well-knit, impartial studies of the tantalizing problems of the *Complaints* volume. The work is presented in an attractive format, and is free from typographical errors. p. 128, n. 5, for book read look.

ERNEST A. STRATHMANN

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At the Court of Queen Elizabeth By RALPH M SARGENT
 London and New York Oxford University Press, 1935 Pp
 xiv + 230 \$3 00

The uninformative title of Professor Sargent's book is made clear by the subtitle, "The Life and Lyrics of Sir Edward Dyer," and students of the Elizabethan period will welcome his full-length biography of an important courtier, diplomat, patron of literature, and poet. The life, treated in 162 pages, is based upon first-hand investigation of letters and other documents in the Public Record Office and elsewhere. The fourteen lyrics, with their introductory, textual, and explanatory notes, run to about 60 pages.

No doubt it is of small moment that the notes abound in odd references like "p G3ab," "p Bvab," or that the commonplace stories of Hyacinth and Niobe are explained in detail, or that several instances of Dyer's patronage of books and authors are omitted, among them the dedication to him in 1579 of T. N.'s two-part work, *A Pleasant Dialogue betweene a Lady called Lustra, and a Pilgrim*, and Henry Lok's eulogistic sonnet in *Ecclesiastes* (1597). Nor can any one person even hope to find all the manuscripts of the author or poems on which he may be working. Mr. Sargent has turned up a transcript of a "lost Cornwallis MS" but has overlooked what seems to be its original, MS 1.112, in the Folger Shakespeare Library. He has also overlooked the most important extant source of Dyer's verse, MS. Harleian 7392, with its early texts of the poems he numbers 1, 2, 3, 9 (all assigned to "DY" or "Dier"), as well as of two poems which have escaped his notice entirely and of two more of which he prints only fragments as No 11. No 5 will be found in MS Additional 28635, Nos 1, 8, and 9 in MS Folger 1.112 (the first signed with Dyer's name, the last with the name deleted), and No 12 in three Folger MSS (1.27, 452.4, and 2071.7), the last of which also contains (fol 199) "Who list to hear," which Mr. Sargent believes (p. 203) to be Dyer's.

The treatment of the texts of Dyer's poems leaves something to be desired if literal accuracy be the standard. For example, in the three reprinted from *The Phoenix Nest* the punctuation is modernized apparently at random and various changes of spelling or wording are made without comment. No 7 also occurs in *The Phoenix Nest* (1593), the compiler of which, we are told (p. 213), "plainly had access to some corpus of Dyer's work." If that statement be true (as I think highly probable), why reprint No 7 from the later *England's Helicon* (1600), which has no independent authority but merely copies and edits the earlier text, and why silently adopt one unnecessary reading from *The Phoenix Nest*? The discussion of the Dyer canon, which seeks to establish the

authorship of fourteen and the spuriousness of twelve compositions, is sound and workmanlike. On the whole, the book makes a real contribution to knowledge.

HYDER E. ROLLINS

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A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages. By F. J. E. RABY. Oxford. At the Clarendon Press, New York. Oxford University Press, 1934. 2 vols. Pp. xii + 408; viii + 388. \$12.50.

These are valuable volumes, worthy companions of Mr. Raby's history of Christian Latin Poetry (1927) which they supplement. They cover a large and uneven field, from the Silver Age to the Thirteenth Century, but they can be read with pleasure and in comparison with Manitius's monumental *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (which even he has been forced to leave uncompleted) they seem unified and clear. Mr. Raby has done well to restrict himself to the poetry of his long period and to divide the ecclesiastical from the secular.

The secular verse, the theme of the present history, is less easy to organize than the religious, but the author finds a useful connecting thread in the rhetorical tradition established by the later poets of classical antiquity (Ovid, Seneca, Lucan, Statius), and thus he shows us moulding and sometimes hobbling the Latin poetry of the next thousand years. Indeed, it is Mr. Raby's contention that this influence has never died.

The poetical tradition from the Middle Ages to our own time [he says (II, 125)] is unbroken, for the Renaissance brought nothing decisively new. It turned men back again to the classical Latin poets and to the very sources from which the medieval poets and rhetoricians had drawn. But a poet like Spenser was, through native tradition and Italian and French influence, the heir of the medieval Latin versifiers, and through a multitude of poets who felt his influence he has kept alive that tradition in the modern English world.

Mr. Raby has read laboriously and intelligently and has sifted the periodical literature of many countries for new material. His bibliographical references are a very valuable part of the book. They offer grateful evidence of the amount of important study that has been done in the last generation in the way of determining authorship and purifying texts,—chiefly by the notable group of German scholars who have been following the paths of Wilhelm Meyer, and in no small degree by the contributors to *Speculum*. Much more, of course, remains to do before a history of this period can be written which shall do real justice to the merits of individual poets. As Mr. Raby himself says, with special reference

to the twelfth-century songs that are the brightest flowers in his field (II, 322). "Until reliable and intelligible texts of the whole corpus of Latin lyrics are available, no comprehensive and decisive study is possible" It is true in other departments of medieval Latin poetry than the lyric, but the advances of recent years are impressive, and Mr Raby's gleaning after his immediate, more specialized, predecessors gives us a materially firmer grip upon the personalities and impulses of the Middle Ages

Concerning the origin of Latin song in the Middle Ages he takes safe, if ambiguous, ground. The Latin lyric, he holds, developed later than the religious sequence and borrowed from it At the same time, he thinks, it was based on vernacular poetry, which "was always there"

The 'literary' vernacular lyric [he explains (II, 337)] issued from that popular poetry which must have existed from the most primitive times This popular poetry is the background which we must assume all through the history of medieval poetry, and there is, of course, plenty of evidence for its existence Equally with what we have called the 'literary' vernacular, the Latin lyric made ample use of popular themes

This seems to beg several questions, for we can hardly now prove that vernacular song, popular or "literary," was always "there" in the particular times, places, and intensities that would seriously account for the outbursts of Latin lyric.

In his quotation of the *Confessio Goliae* (II, 184) Mr. Raby abides by the emendation, "turre Aricie," which he defended in a note in *Speculum* (July, 1932), dubbing the manuscript reading, "turre Alethiae," almost pointless But it could hardly have been pointless in the twelfth century in view of the wide acquaintance with the so-called Eclogue of Theodulus, which, as Mr Raby reminds us, "became a textbook in the medieval schools" (I, 228). The heroine of that debate, Alithia, symbol of Biblical righteousness triumphant over Greek paganism, fits the context very well, as Professor Hanford has pointed out (*Speculum*, Oct., 1931).

TUCKER BROOKE

Yale University

The Staging of Plays in the Spanish Peninsula Prior to 1555. By RONALD BOAL WILLIAMS Iowa City, 1935 Pp 142 University of Iowa Studies in Spanish Language and Literature, 5.

Of the many studies in the drama before Lope de Vega this doctoral dissertation is the first long work devoted exclusively to staging and the first extensive investigation of staging based almost exclusively on internal evidence. By examining the available Castilian and Portuguese texts appearing between 1492 and 1555

W. has attempted to gather all possible information concerning place of presentation, stage setting, properties, costumes, and "practices with respect to the dramatic unities of time and place" (p. 7). The book consists of analyses of plays, arranged by authors and schools and, somewhat loosely, according to chronology and structural complication. The analyses are, for the most part, accurate and sufficiently complete, and many inferences as to the staging of each individual play seem thoroughly sound. Although quotations are few and the page references not always adequate, W. has successfully demonstrated the significance of textual evidence and has contributed valuable notes to the staging of many plays.

A certain lack of perspective underlies W's study. He regards his somewhat arbitrarily delimited period¹ as definite and self-sufficient. It is never illuminated by reference either to the religious drama in Eastern Spain (W's title is thus misleading) or to European stage practices, and a number of false conclusions have inevitably resulted. W fails to see the multiple stage, typical of medieval Europe and fifteenth-century Spain. For the *platea* or neutral stage he invents unnecessarily the term "unlocalized scene." The elevated stage, well known in Valencia, Elche, and Majorca,² he believes, was a contribution of Diego Sánchez de Badajoz (pp. 68, 138).³ Through failure to take a broader view he forces his plays into a too rigid classification of schools. Plays like the *Auto de la quinta angustia*, Horozco's *Historia de Ruth*, and even Lucas Fernández's *Auto de la pasión*, which continue in expanded forms the drama of the church, can have little to do with Encina or Torres Naharro. Even when, following Gillet, he admits the multiple staging of the *Josephina*, he insists that the stage must represent a public square (p. 136), although setting for the tomb and the well and much of the action are imagined far from the city.

Several of W's claims, although acceptable to modern expediency, are insufficient as demonstrations of early sixteenth-century staging. A "complicated arrangement of streets" (p. 139) must be denied the immediate successors of Torres Naharro, for such a stage was unknown before the later influence of Italian staging. Besides, the texts do not require it. In the *Túdea* and the *Tesormna* two different houses are imagined. But, since they are never used simultaneously, the minimum setting for one house, with imaginary changes in identity, would have sufficed. W's suggestion of a back-stage or, preferably, a stage divided by a partition for three of Gil

¹ The *terminus ad quem* is only vaguely explained (pp. 7, 68, 139), the date 1555 never.

² Cf., for example, Mérimée, *L'art dramatique*, 45-56, Milá, *Obras*, vi, 341-347, Llabres, in *RAEM*, v (1901), 925.

³ To the two plays using the *tablado* mentioned by W. may be added the *Farsa teologal*, the *Farsa de Salomon*, and the *Farsa de Santa Susaña* (*Recopilación*, I, 112 SD, 234 SD, II, 145 SD).

Vicente's plays, must likewise be rejected. There is no textual indication of either, the partitioned stage has no analogy whatever, and neither device was necessary since the mansions of a multiple stage, already long known on the peninsula, would have served admirably—one for the *Farça de Ines Pereira*, and probably two for the *Quem tem farelos* because Ayres Rosado seems to pass from one house to another.⁴ For the *Auto da India* a simple interior scene with a window is more likely, for no outdoor scene was obligatory.⁵

Comment on minor errors, omissions of detail, and controversial points must be withheld here. A full index would have increased the usefulness of the book, especially since the dramaturgical and staging material is sometimes confused and not arranged by topics. Textual references might have been made, whenever possible, to lines instead of pages. A few plays have been omitted without explanation: the *Senex et amor*,⁶ probably performed (1500?) and more dramatic than Cota's *Diálogo*, which W analyzes, the *Comedia Ypolita* (1521?),⁷ the *Coplas de la muerte* (printed about 1530),⁸ Luis Milán's *Farsa* (1530-1538),⁹ and the Portuguese *Farsa Penada* (dated 1542) and Antonio de Lisboa's *Auto dos Ladrões* (before 1549).⁸

W has had the courage to break ground in a new field of Spanish scholarship. His careful analyses command respect, and his pioneering work, in spite of its shortcomings, will materially aid future studies in early Spanish staging.

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En torno de Ricardo Palma By GUILLERMO FELIU CRUZ Vol. I, *La estancia en Chile*, Santiago de Chile, Prensas de la Universidad de Chile, 1933 Vol. II, *Ensayo crítico-bibliográfico* Santiago de Chile, La Ilustración, 1933

The centenary of the birth of the Peruvian *tradicionista* Ricardo Palma in 1933 gave occasion for the appearance of a number of books concerning his life and literary production. Among the

⁴ Ed. Mendes dos Remedios, II, 318, 324-325, 242-244

⁵ All the lines are spoken indoors except four words by Lemos when he hails the house (probably from off stage) before entering (*ibid.*, 261)

⁶ Cf. Crawford, *Spanish Drama before Lope de Vega*, Philadelphia, 1922, Bibliography

⁷ Ed. Philip Earle Douglas, Philadelphia, 1929

⁸ Carolina Michaelis de Vasconcellos, *Autos portugueses de Gil Vicente y de la escuela vicentina*, Madrid, 1922, pp. 35, 46. Probably Sebastião Pérez's *Da bella menina* and the works of Baltasar Díaz were also written before 1555 (*ibid.*, pp. 41, 47)

valuable contributions should be pointed out the two volumes on Ricardo Palma by Guillermo Feliu Cruz, professor in the University of Chile and custodian of the Bibliotecas Americanas, J. T. Medina and D. Barros Arana in the Biblioteca Nacional de Santiago. In the first volume, entitled *La estancia en Chile*, the Chilean scholar presents Palma's relations with Chile from the time of his exile in that country when he was only twenty years of age. Feliu's investigations represent twelve years of work. Besides showing the fine traits of Palma's character he has gone deeply into the study of Palma's writings. His aim in studying the literary production of the Peruvian is to prove what tradition gave to Palma and what Palma put into tradition to make it fresh and living. Palma is shown as representing the soul of three great epochs: the gracious spirit of the viceroyship, the heroic enthusiasm of the struggle for independence, and the convulsive, democratic temperament of the Republic. These phases of the life and work of Palma are excellently told in chapters that are preceded by an appropriate quotation from the author of the *Tradiciones*. Each chapter is preceded also by a summary of the contents. The book is illustrated with ten pictures of Palma taken at various periods of his life from 1864 to 1918, the year before his death.

The second volume on Ricardo Palma by Feliu Cruz is divided into two parts: an "ensayo crítico-bibliográfico" and "notas bibliográficas." With the reserve of a true scholar Feliu considers his work deficient. When the centenary of Palma's birth was approaching he was torn between whether he would publish the small number of two hundred titles which he had collected or whether he would destroy all his papers. He decided to publish his bibliography, however, when there appeared in 1929 a work on Ricardo Palma by Luis Alberto Sánchez, ex-Sub-Director of the National Library of Lima, which contained only sixty-one titles. Rather than in the number of citations in the bibliography, the merit of Feliu's work lies in the fact that he has given the table of contents of each work mentioned and has added comments by himself or other critics.

Feliu regrets that he has not been able to consult the bibliography on Ricardo Palma by Raúl Porras Barrenechea, a member of the staff of the Biblioteca de Lima, and that of Sturgiss E. Leavitt, whom he knew when Professor Leavitt was working in Santiago. Feliu refers only to the study made by Professor Leavitt in 1919, which was published in the *RR*, Vol. XIII, Apr.-June, 1922, and later placed in libraries as a reprint from this magazine. Feliu does not seem to have learned that Leavitt's bibliography of Peruvian literature that was published in the *RR* over ten years ago was extended to almost twice its original size by the addition of about six hundred entries and was published by the Harvard University Press in 1932. Feliu in these two volumes has added an important

critical and bibliographical study of the great Peruvian writer whose works have enjoyed immense popularity and who has formed a link between the old Creole spirit and the new cosmopolitan spirit

ESTHER J CROOKS

Goucher College

Autour des sources indigènes Etudes d'étymologie française et romane Par L SAINÉAN Firenze Biblioteca dell' Archivum Romanicum, 1935. Pp viii + 653

This work by the late M Sainéan attempts to determine the source of various words which our dictionaries classify as of unknown or uncertain origin Sainéan insists that such words and many for which hypothetical Latin or other foreign etymons have been proposed are indigenous creations and that, if one will only place them in their native environment, utilizing all the information available regarding them, one can determine what brought them into being Although this theory leads him into unfair attacks upon the historical phoneticians and the linguistic geographers, it does furnish in practice a needed and wholesome corrective to what he calls "the vague fictions of the grammarians" (p 546) Such influences as onomatopoeia, metaphorical transpositions, hypocoristic names applied to animals, and the like, undoubtedly have given rise at all times to new words in all languages, and S has performed a real service by calling attention to the need for investigating them Moreover, many of his proposed derivations from such indigenous sources—especially when fortified by a wide-ranging use of the criteria furnished by phonology, chronology, dialectal variants, geographical distribution and analogues in other languages—carry a large measure of conviction

But the single method of approach for which he claims so much cannot, in the nature of the case, be universally and exclusively applicable Granted that "création métaphorique" and "création spontanée" are important factors in the enrichment of language, granted that exaggerated hopes have been entertained of discovering tenable Celtic, Latin, Frankish or other foreign etymons for French words, granted that too many lexicographical collisions have been posited and too much stress laid upon language's potential desire to avoid homonymy, nevertheless, in trying to determine the origin of any given word, every possible source must be investigated and one can no more rely wholly upon "sources indigènes" than upon "sources étrangères" The former may supplement but cannot replace the latter

Moreover, until the human mind can be analyzed with more precision than seems possible at present, it is better in the case of semantics based upon "sources indigènes" to posit plausibility

rather than to claim proof. Who is to determine whether the first man that called the weasel a "belette" did so because of its "gentillesse réelle" (*sic* Sainéan, p. 25) or because of a desire to exorcise the evil disposition superstitiously attributed to the animal (*sic* Urtel, *ZRPh* xxxvii, 210), especially when both lexicographers use the same evidence in trying to establish their differing views? And even if S.'s connection (511-2) of *choyer* with O F. *choue* (mod. *chouette*) be acceptable, Meyer-Lubke's guarded admission of this acceptability seems preferable, in the present state of our knowledge, to S.'s insistence upon the infallibility of his derivation. Again, such a categorical statement as "le critérium chronologique est décisif pour la détermination d'une origine reculée" (510) surely needs modification in view of the vast amount of material that has been lost or exists, if at all, unchronicled.

This volume, more loosely organized than its predecessors, seems to have been written primarily to answer various objections that have been raised against the author's views. It attacks the divergent etymologies proposed by his critics, repeats with amplifications proposals made in his earlier works, and adds a considerable number of new hypotheses. Full indices make it convenient to use and unprejudiced lexicographers will find that, when stripped of immoderate pretensions and polemical bias, its pages contain many original, stimulating and plausible suggestions.

GRACE FRANK

Bryn Mawr College

La Tradition des comiques anciens en France avant Molière Par
MARIE DELCOURT Paris Droz, 1934 Pp 97 Bibliothèque
de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège.
Fascicule LIX

In this brief treatise Miss Delcourt seeks to determine the value of Terence, Plautus, and Aristophanes to French dramatists between 1500 and 1650. She finds that Terence was cherished at first as a guide in dramatic composition, then as a moralist, but that he exerted little influence in 1570-1650, when Plautus attained considerable importance in questions of structure, in character-drawing, and in suggesting comic themes. The influence of Aristophanes throughout the century and a half was almost nil. She adds a chapter on the tradition that made Terence more elegant and more regular, Plautus more vulgar than they really were. She recognizes the fact that the two Romans exerted, through Italian and other imitators, influence that is difficult to estimate. Indeed, to treat such a subject thoroughly, one would have to write a detailed study of French comedy and to consider many other sources of inspiration than those that are discussed in this work. Yet one feels that the

author's conclusions are sound in the main and one is impressed by the modesty and clarity with which they are expressed. I must, however, take a few exceptions to certain of her statements.

P 50, she admits that the text of *Alizon* now extant was written no earlier than 1634, but she believes that a version existed during the reign of Henri IV, her chief argument is that the publisher, according to the author, had decided to "faire revivre dame Alizon," who had been dead for over twenty years, but he also tells us that he had learned from a friend about a widow's love-affairs and had decided to make a comedy of them in order to amuse the public, for whom many serious plays had recently been written, as he here says nothing about an earlier comedy and is obviously referring to the large number of tragedies produced in 1635, it is certainly unwise to conclude that he had in mind an *Ur Alizon*, written early in the century, rather than the widow of whom he made a comic heroine, there is, indeed, no reason to suppose that the play existed before 1636. Pp 55-6, she argues that the anonymous *Capitan* is older than Mareschal's *Véritable Capitan Matamore* because it is closer than the latter play to the *Miles gloriosus*, but the same line of reasoning would make one suppose that Villiers's *Festin de Pierre* preceded Dornmond's, which is certainly not a fact. P 93, she asserts that no one praised Plautus between 1642 and 1683, but, if she had read the preface to Nicole's *Phantosme* (pub 1656), in which Plautus is preferred to Terence, she would not have made this statement. P 2, Chappuzeau claimed to have imitated, not a Spanish play, but a Spanish author, a novelist, as a matter of fact. P 4, how can one be sure that La Fontaine's *Eunuque* was never acted? P 65, there is no reason to believe that Rotrou's *Sosies* was first played in 1636.

H CARRINGTON LANCASTER

BRIEF MENTION

Les "Novelas exemplares" de Cervantes en France au XVII^e siècle By G HAINSWORTH Paris, Honoré Champion, 1933 Pp 298 (*Bib de la RLC*, Vol 95) The author, whose articles concerning the fortune of Cervantes' *Novelas exemplares* in France have appeared in the *Bulletin hispanique* from time to time, has now given a full sized work on the subject. Forty-four pages of Bibliography show that he has explored the field widely. The book is divided in two parts. Part I deals with the *Novelas exemplares* and their popularity in France and Part II presents a discussion of the Spanish short story and the evolution of the genre in France. The second part has a more ample scope than the title of the work would lead one to expect. Mr Hainsworth's thesis is that Spanish short stories are not only responsible to some extent for the existence of the French short story but that they have determined its character. He aims to show that in the seventeenth century the French short story did not receive its chief influence from the short story of Italy, as in the preceding century and the following century,

but from that of Spain. He endeavors to prove that the French took from Cervantes and his school romanesque and realistic qualities, the idea of using a short story for the teaching of an abstract idea, the artistic formulation of a series of extraordinary adventures, the beginnings of a story "in medias res," and the introduction of comic remarks into a tragic account. To this end Mr. Hainsworth has studied in detail the works of other Spaniards as well as those of Cervantes, has considered their translations into French, and has compared with these works the French short stories of the century to show that their distinguishing characteristics are more similar to those of the Spanish type than the Italian type. Mr. Hainsworth includes a careful study of previous works on all phases of the subject. The form of the book is excellent. It is provided with extensive footnotes, an index, and a bibliography divided into twenty parts. Misprints are but few. Mr. Hainsworth's work is valuable because it renders accessible in one volume a large amount of information concerning the French and the Spanish short story in the seventeenth century. It is heartily welcomed by students of this genre.

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ESTHER J. CROOKS

Onomastique des trouvères. Par HOLGER PETERSEN DYGGVE. Helsinki. Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae, B XXX, 1, 1934. Pp. 255. Any onomasticon compiled from Old French sources must be gratefully received since so few lists of mediaeval proper names are available. The present volume is therefore designed to supply a real want. It attempts to record all proper names occurring in the songs of the trouvères, and will be especially valuable to historians seeking references to persons, places and events, to students of literature concerned with the correct attributions of poems or the use by the trouvères of biblical, epic and legendary material, in short, to all those capable of extracting such treasures as lie buried in real and imaginary nomenclature. Unfortunately, the task was a difficult one and its inherent problems have not always been solved with success. For example, the poems known as *chansons d'histoire* are indiscriminately cited from at least three different editions. Cross references are sometimes confusing rather than helpful (e.g. from Aie to Engleterre). So well known a trouvère as Rutebeuf is represented by only a single poem and the onomasticon is consequently the poorer by many items. The absence of variants, except in sporadic instances, also curtails the usefulness of the volume, and identifications are not always reliable (e.g. there is no evidence that Aielot in R 1385 is a *bergère*, and R 1381 cited *s. v.* Aielot should appear *s. v.* Emmelot). In short, the present work will undoubtedly be of the greatest service, although it represents, both in arrangement and execution, a tentative beginning rather than a finished achievement.

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GRACE FRANK

Der Einfluss der Psychoanalyse auf die englische Literatur. Von REINALD HOOPS Heidelberg · Winter, 1934 (Anglistische Forschungen, Heft 77.) Pp viii + 340 10 M This little volume has for its aim "den Umfang, die Art und die Bedeutung des Einflusses der Psychoanalyse auf die englische Literatur festzustellen," but it confines itself to contemporary fiction, with a few pages on poetry and drama It opens with an outline of Freudian theory, based on the *Vorlesungen zur Einführung*, 1924, sketches briefly the beginnings of psychoanalysis in critical practice, proceeds to an examination of the works of fourteen novelists, notes a waning of interest and influence in the last decade, and concludes with a short *Ergebnis*, rating the importance of psychoanalysis rather low the influence of Freud on the novel has been more in the exploitation of old material than in adding much that is new

Dante Gabriel Rossetti By L WOLFF Paris Didier [1934]. (Les Grands Écrivains Étrangers) Pp xvi + 320 The interest of this book lies in its attempting to do what several writers, perhaps better equipped, have avoided or abandoned — to give us a formal biography of Rossetti In his treatment of Rossetti's private life Professor Wolff steers a cautious middle course between the reticence of some and the flamboyant frankness of others He adds little or nothing, he tries to conceal nothing, and though he has sometimes trusted rather dubious guides (as in the formation of the P R B and in the death of Mrs Rossetti), he has faithfully tried to present a complete picture so far as our common knowledge permits His account of the paintings and drawings is admittedly derivative and accordingly of little value His criticism of the poetry is suggestive without being particularly penetrating On his translation into French of "The Blessed Damozel," "Sister Helen," "The Stream's Secret," and other poems I cannot venture to comment But his analysis of the man is adequate, and considering the difficulty of the task his success on the whole is more than commendable

Essays by Divers Hands Being the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom. New Series, XII Edited by R W MACAN London [and N Y] Oxford Univ Press, 1933 Pp xx + 162 \$2 75 In the first of the six essays of this volume¹ — "Pre-Raphaelitism in Art and Poetry" — Mr. Laurence

¹ The other five are "Some English Utopias," by Harold Child, "The Nature of Dramatic Illusion," by Charles Morgan (some helpful speculations on what makes a play succeed on the stage), "Sir Walter Scott in his Works," by Dame Una Pope-Hennessy, "Boswell and Lockhart," by Sir Robert Rait, and "The Centenary of Goethe's Death," by Professor J G Robertson

Housman talks engagingly on the essence of Pre-Raphaelitism (he says nothing on art in the sense of painting) and then by way of illustration quotes, and comments with contagious enthusiasm, from Morris' *Defence of Guenevere* volume.

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CORRESPONDENCE

SI < SIT The ownership of *Romana* has been transferred to a holding company of its friends organized under the name "Société Romania," and the administrative and editorial headquarters are united at 2 Rue de Poissy, Paris, with the old but ever young editor at the helm. The first number of the sixty-first volume thus inaugurates a new stage in the life of this distinguished journal, and its opening article, "Origine de la conjonction *si*," by Professor G. G. Nicholson, constitutes a leader of no mean interest. That the Romance forms *se*, *si*, 'if,' are derived from Latin *se* has always been unquestionably accepted in spite of grave phonetic obstacles. These forms point to a Folk-Latin background *se* or *sed*, and the existence of *se*, *sed* in Latin documents is well authenticated. Nicholson boldly proposes *sit*, subjunctive of *esse*, transformed into a conjunction 'if' just as *licet* had already in Latin been converted into a conjunction 'although'. He has no difficulty in showing that *sit* meets the phonetic requirements, and his analysis, on the basis of this etymology, of the various Romance constructions with *se* is penetrating and enlightening. Intent upon this portion of his demonstration, he has failed to touch upon a pertinent syntactical question. If *si tu le crois, tu te trompes* is by its origin equivalent to "albeit you believe it, you are wrong," we might anticipate a subjunctive *croies* (note the subjunctive in O. Fr. *se Dieus me puint aidier*, cited by N. as an illustration of the persistence in *se* of the *sit* value), and this leads me to think that a stage has been overlooked in the transformation of a *sit*, 'soit,' into a *sit*, 'si'. At all periods a standard equivalent for the protasis of conditional sentences has been an interrogation. *Si id credis, erras* is equally well rendered by *Id credis? Erras*. In this type of question *sit* could readily establish itself. *Id credis? sit! Erras*. Here we have a conditional expression combining the indicative and the *sit*, the development of a feeling that the *sit* is a mere conditional sign and its location before the verb are a natural enough sequence. The most surprising feature about this *œuf de Colomb* is that we have had to wait so long for it to be stood up on end. The more honor to Professor Nicholson, whose article merits the interest it is sure to awaken.

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RECENT PUBLICATIONS

ENGLISH

[The English list includes only books received]

Bartlett, Adeline C—Larger rhetorical patterns in Anglo-Saxon poetry *New York*. Columbia U Press, 1935 Pp xii + 130 \$2.25 (Columbia U Studies in Eng and Comparative Lit, CXXII)

Beattie, Lester M—John Arbuthnot, mathematician and satirist *Cambridge, Mass* Harvard U Press, 1935 Pp xvi + 432 \$3.50 (Harvard Studies in Eng, XVI)

Bhattacharjee, Mohinimohan—Platonic ideas in Spenser *London* Longmans, Green, 1935 Pp xii + 200

Cecil, David—The stricken deer, or the life of Cowper *New York*. Oxford U Press, 1935 Pp 322 \$0.80 (World's Classics, CCCCXXXV)

Chaucer—The pardoner's tale Ed by Carleton Brown *Oxford* Clarendon Press [N Y Oxford U Press], 1935 Pp xi + 63 \$0.85

Clark, E. E. (ed)—Poetry, an interpretation of life *New York* Farrar and Rinehart, 1935 Pp xxx + 584 \$1.50

Deane, C V—Aspects of eighteenth century nature poetry *Oxford*: Basil Blackwell, 1935 Pp 145 7sh 6d

Donner, H W (ed)—The Browning box, the life and works of Thomas Lovell Beddoes as reflected in letters by his friends and admirers *Oxford* [and *New York*]: Oxford U Press, 1935 Pp lxxvi + 190 \$5.00

Edwards, Jonathan—Representative selections Ed by C H Faust and T H Johnson *New York* American Book Co, 1935 Pp cxlii + 434 \$1.00 (American Writers Series)

Freydorf, Roswith von—Bildhafte Sprache in Shelley's lyrik *Quakenbruck*: C Trute, 1935 Pp x + 131

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Hodgkin, R H—History of the Anglo-Saxons 2 vols *Oxford* Clarendon Press [N Y. Oxford U Press], 1935 Pp xxviii + 382 + 5, xii + 383 to 748. \$10.00

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Judge, Cyril B—Specimens of sixteenth-century English handwriting *Cambridge, Mass* Harvard U Press, 1935 Pp [xvii + XXIV plates] \$3.50

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Monk, Samuel H—The sublime a study of critical theories in XVIII-century England *New York* Mod Lang Assoc of America, 1935 Pp viii + 252 (M L A General Series)

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Piper, Edwin F—Canterbury pilgrims. *Iowa City* Cho Press, 1935 Pp 59 \$0.90 (Whirling World Series, III)

Robinson, Edwin Arlington—King Jasper, a poem With an intro by Robert Frost *New York* Macmillan, 1935 Pp xviii + 110 \$2.00

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Wilson, J. Dover.—What happens in *Hamlet* *New York*. Macmillan, 1935 Pp viii + 334 \$3.50

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GERMAN

Adt, Wilhelm — Das Verhältnis Stefan Georges und seines Kreises zu Holderlin *Diss Frankfurt*. 1934 89 pp

Alkemade, Mechtild — Die Lebens- und Weltanschauung der Freifrau Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach Mit 6 Tafeln Beilagen und dem Briefwechsel Paul Heyse u Ebner-Eschenbach [Deutsche Quellen und Studien Bd 15] *Wurzburg* Triltsch, 1935 423 pp M 13 35

Altwegg, Wilhelm — Johann Peter Hebel [Die Schweiz im deutschen Geistesleben Der illustrierten Reihe Bd 22] *Frauenfeld, Leipzig* Huber [1935] 296 pp M 9 20

Arndt, Ernst Moritz — Heimatgrüße Aus den Hss hrsg von Erich Gulzow *Stettin* Fischer & Schmidt, 1935 18 pp (Contains 5 unpublished letters of Arndt) 50 Pf

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Bach, Werner — Die ahd Boethiusglossen und Notkers Übersetzung der Consolatio *Diss Halle Wurzburg* Mayr 1934

Bauerle, Paul — Die Volksballaden von Wassermanns Braut und von Wassermanns Frau *Diss Tübingen* Gobel, 1934 103 pp

Bardeli, Walter — Theorie des Lustspiels im 19 Jh *Diss München Eisenach* Kahle, 1935 64 pp

Beer, Willy. — Untersuchungen zur Problematik des expressionistischen Dramas (unter bes Berücksichtigung der Dramatik Georg Kaisers und Fritz von Unruhs). *Diss Breslau* 1934 75 pp

Beils, Wilh — Goethes Beziehungen zu Hessen *Diss Teildruck Marburg*. 1932 95 pp

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Bessler, Hanna — Studien zum historischen Drama des Jungen Deutschland *Diss Leipzig*. Frommhold & Wendler, 1935 99 pp typewritten

Bestian, Hans — Balladendichtung und Weltgefühl. *Diss Bonn Wurzburg* Triltsch, 1935 84 pp M 2 50

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HERMANN COLLITZ

1855-1935

The sudden death of Professor Hermann Collitz on May 13th took from our midst the Nestor of American philologists and one of the most distinguished students of linguistics we have ever had in America. His eminence as a scholar had already been recognized in Europe before he came to this country in 1886. It was therefore but natural that he should have been chosen as the first president of the Linguistic Society of America. Previous recognition of his contributions to linguistic science had been accorded him when in 1916 the University of Chicago conferred on him the honorary degree of L. H. D. He had also been president of the Modern Language Association of America, co-editor of *Modern Language Notes* 1902-1913, co-operating editor of the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 1909-1929, and of the *American Journal of Philology* 1920-1929.

Born in the little town of Bleckede in Hanover, Germany, February 4, 1855, Collitz entered the University of Göttingen in 1875 where he devoted himself especially to the classical languages and Sanskrit, but with considerable attention also to Iranian, the Slavic and Germanic languages. Among his teachers here were Hermann Sauppe, Adalbert Bezzenberger and Theodor Benfey, and above all August Fick, to whom he owed his interest in comparative linguistics. In 1878 he went to Berlin to study with such famous scholars as Johannes Schmidt, Albr. Weber, Karl Müllenhoff, Wilhelm Scherer, H. Zimmer and V. Jagić. It was in Berlin that Collitz met Maurice Bloomfield, also a student at the university, with whom he was later to be associated at the Johns Hopkins University. A

detailed account of Professor Collitz' life and works will be found in the biographical sketch contributed by his wife, Dr. Klara Hechtenberg Collitz to the *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz*, Baltimore, 1930 Cf also E H Sehr Address on the presentation of Professor Collitz' portrait to the J H U in the *J. H. U. Alumni Magazine* (Nov 1927, pp 66-69)

Professor Collitz' works cover a wide range of interests as well as an extensive period in the field of linguistics, as is at once apparent by a mere glance at the appended bibliography His earliest publications, particularly his article in *Bezzenbergers Beiträge* 2, 291-305 *Über die Annahme mehrerer grundsprachlicher a-Laute*," of which Wackernagel in his *Altindische Gram.* page 5 says "Schliesslich stellte Collitz BB 2, 303 ff wissenschaftlich fest, was Benfey 1837 und Humperdinck 1874 (Collitz BB 11, 222 f) nur gemutmasst hatten, dass der griech. Vokalismus den grundsprachlichen am genauesten wiedergebe" and his *Die Entstehung der indo-iranischen Palatalreihe*, BB 3, 177-234 connect him closely with the pioneer period of comparative linguistics It is recalled that Friedrich Pott was one of the examiners when Collitz habilitated at the University of Halle in 1885 with his paper on *Die Flexion der Nomina mit dreifacher Stammabstufung im Altindischen und im Griechischen*, published in BB 10, 1-71.

It is perhaps not without interest to note here that during the 1870's when a group of young men (Osthoff, Brugmann, Paul, Braune, Sievers), all connected with the University of Leipzig and at first facetiously called 'Junggrammatiker,' began to direct their shafts at the older linguists, it was none other than Sievers who tried to get Collitz to join them, but without success, partly because he considered many of the attacks against the older men as totally unjustified and partly because of school rivalry (cf BB 11, 203-242).

Altho Collitz' interest in the classical languages never ceased during his long life (witness his active participation in the publication *Griechische Dialektschriften* begun in 1883 and finished in 1915) his attention was more and more directed to problems in comparative Germanics from the time of his appointment as Professor of German at Bryn Mawr College in 1886 His most notable contribution in this field is *Das schwache Präteritum und seine Vorgeschichte*, which contains also two important supple-

mentary chapters on the Latin Perfect and the Greek Passive Aorist. With this work he opened a new series of American publications in Germanic Philology entitled *Hesperia*. This series now contains eighteen numbers together with a supplementary series. *Studies in English Philology* with twelve numbers. In the Introduction to the first volume (*Das schwache Präteritum*) Collitz fights for recognition of the contributions of American scholars by their European colleagues. If for no other reason than this he deserves our everlasting gratitude, for the almost disdainful neglect of American learned journals in Europe was absolutely inexcusable as Collitz remarked "Ein aufmerksamer Beobachter, denke ich, wird leicht finden, dass die amerikanische Wissenschaft sich längst nicht mehr auf Benutzung des Ertrages deutscher Geistesarbeit beschränkt, sondern beständig an wissenschaftlicher Selbständigkeit und Unabhängigkeit zugenommen hat und zunimmt"

Another important problem in Germanics to which Collitz devoted a great deal of attention was the Germanic vocalism. He took issue with the prevailing view that the Westgermanic and Norse languages (including the runic inscriptions) presented in many respects an older condition than Gothic. Collitz presents strong arguments for the priority of Gothic vocalism and his views seem to be making converts even tho but slowly.

Still another abiding interest was his beloved Low German. In 1903 appeared his *Waldeckisches Wörterbuch nebst Dialektproben*, which contains his well-known essay on the *Dialect of the Heiland*. Before this (1898), however, he had published as a *Sonderabdruck* of the first part of the Introduction to the *Waldeckisches Wörterbuch* *Die Niederdeutsche Mundart im Fürstentum Waldeck* and the *Home of the Heiland* (1902) in *PMLA*. He was also particularly fond of his *Vorlesungen und Übungen* in Low German which he gave periodically.

A mere reading of the titles in the bibliography of his publications at once reveals the fact that his *Arbeitsgebiet* par excellence was comparative linguistics, and in this the phonology and morphology of the Indo-European languages. He had always maintained that a proper understanding of the sounds and sound changes (*Lautgesetze*) in the various languages offered the only objective basis for real scientific study. He objected strenuously to the extensive use the 'Young Grammarians' made of analogy,

altho he fully recognized its existence as a linguistic phenomenon Syntax took a decidedly secondary place in his philological investigations. He also never ventured on the thin ice of so-called *psychologische Sprachforschung*. In the later years problems in Indo-European mythology claimed a share of his attention. Cf *Wodan, Hermes und Pūshan* (1924), *Antediluvian Kings and Patriarchs in the Light of Comparative Mythology* (1928), *König Yma und Saturn* (1930).

Altho a number of Collitz' published articles and longer works have not met with general acceptance it must be said to his credit that he rarely obstinately held to a point of view to the bitter end, unless he felt that the opposition had failed to destroy his argument or substituted a more plausible one. And it can furthermore be said that he was always ready to tackle the most difficult problems if they seemed vital to him. He never ventured to do so, however, until he was sure that he had fully qualified himself in advance. We frequently find in his earlier writings devastating polemics against scholars who had failed to acquire the essential preliminary and preparatory knowledge (cf *BB* 18, 239, *AnzfdA* 5, 330). Another matter that Collitz did not mince words over is the reconstruction of phantastic Indo-European forms (cf *MP*, xv, 39 ff).

A summary such as this would not be complete without a word in regard to Professor Collitz as a teacher. It was really a privilege and a pleasure for the mature and well-prepared student to attend his lectures and 'take his courses' on the Germanic languages. His Gothic course was anything but a translation course. It was an introduction to Indo-European Grammar as well as Germanic. It had two faces like the god Janus. A prerequisite was a knowledge of the classical languages as well as Sanskrit on the one hand, and at least one or two Germanic dialects on the other. Similarly his seminars in Old High German or Old Norse were not a mere interpretation of the text, but they presupposed a knowledge of Gothic. None of his courses were isolated, to be pigeon-holed and labeled as OHG, OS or ON, as seems to be a method very prevalent in many of our American universities. It goes without saying that the students who could profit by this kind of teaching were few and far between.

Professor Collitz was a kindly and gentle man of deep convictions, which he was always ready to defend vigorously. His comprehensive

knowledge and profound learning he was ever eager to share with students and colleagues. During his long life he had built up the best private library on comparative and Germanic linguistics in this country. It contains also many first editions of German writers and even several parchment MSS

Professor Collitz' death leaves a void not only in the life of the writer, who knew him perhaps most intimately during an association of twenty-five years, but also in that of those who are most active in promoting linguistic work in the universities of the U. S. A.

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¹ In quoting current periodicals the following abbreviations have been used

AnzfdA	= Anzeiger für Deutsches Altertum und Deutsche Literatur
AfslavPh	= Archiv für Slavische Philologie
AJP	= American Journal of Philology
APA	= Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association
BB	= Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen, herausgegeben von A. Bezzenberger
CP.	= Classical Philology
DLZ	= Deutsche Literatur-Zeitung
IF	= Indogermanische Forschungen
JAOS	= Journal of the American Oriental Society
JEGP	= Journal of English and Germanic Philology
JHU Circ	= Johns Hopkins University Circular
KZ	= Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung (Kuhns Zeitschrift)
Lang	= Language, Journal of the Linguistic Society of America
MLN	= Modern Language Notes
MP	= Modern Philology
Ndd. Korr. bl.	= Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung
PBB	= Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur (Paul u. Braunes Beiträge)
PMLA	= Publications of the Modern Language Association
Scand. Studies	= Scandinavian Studies and Notes
ZidPh	= Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie (Zachers Zeitschrift).

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NOTKER'S ACCENTUATION OF THE PREPOSITIONS *AN, IN, MIT*

The purpose of the following discussion is a further exposition and in part correction of statements made on pages xiii-xiv of our edition of Notker's *Boethius* concerning the accentuation of the prepositions

AN From his examination of the occurrences of the preposition *an* in *Boethius* Fleischer¹ (p. 142) concluded that the rhetorical accent must have played some part in the accentuation. He was, however, unable to find any rule governing the omission. Carr² (p. 187) has shown that in the *Categories* and *De Interpretatione*, with but few exceptions, *an* is accented throughout. This agrees with our observations on the other Notker manuscripts. In *Boethius*³ we find 189 *án*, 115 *an*, in *Marcianus Capella* 132 *án*, 37 *an*, in the *Categories* 149 *án* in both MSS, 6 *án* in A (*Sangallensis* 825) against *an* in B (*Sangallensis* 818), 4 *án* in B against *an* in A. Twice the preposition is lacking in B where A reads *án*, and vice versa, A once (p. 464.2) lacks the preposition where B reads *án*. Only five times (376.26, 383.3, 397.12, 402.11, 411.17) have both MSS *an*. We may fairly conclude that the parent MS. of A and B also lacked the accent at these places. *De Interpretatione* is carefully accented in the first three books, and in these *an* is found but five times (499.5, 503.7, 523.10, 531.14, 532.10), as against 26 *án*. In the last three books *an* far outnumbers *án* (65 to 14), but as accents are so frequently omitted in other words we need not attach any importance to this proportion. *De Syllogismus* has only *án* (17 times). As *De Musica* and the *Psalms* have only a few cases of *án*, they can be disregarded. These totals, more than two to one for the accented preposition, in themselves indicate the probability that *an* was always accented. An analysis of the statistics confirms the supposition.

¹ O. Fleischer, *Das Akzentuationssystem Notkers in seinem Boethius* *ZfdPh.*, xiv, 128 ff., 285 ff.

² C. T. Carr, *Notker's Accentuation System in his Translations of Aristotle's 'Categories' and 'De Interpretatione'* *MLR.*, xxx, 184-203.

³ All references to Notker's *Boethius* and *Marcianus Capella* are to our editions in the *Altdeutsche Textbibliothek*, numbers 32-34, 37. References to the other works are to Piper's edition.

It is a striking fact that the *Boethius* shows the highest percentage of *an*. Either the scribe of the complete extant MS or the scribes of earlier MSS were careless, or they intentionally omitted the accent under certain circumstances. The distribution of *an* is a very unequal one, the middle portion showing a preponderance of *an*, whereas the beginning and the end have more *án*. By books the distribution is as follows: I 34 *án*, II *an*, II 53 *án*, 14 *an*, III 41 *án*, 37 *an*, IV 31 *án*, 37 *an*, V 30 *án*, 16 *an*. In *Marcianus Capella* three-fourths of the unaccented *an* are in that portion, less than half of the whole, written by the second scribe. The remarkable uniformity in the *Categories*, the first three books of *De Interpretatione* and *De Syllogismus* is likewise significant. To assume that Notker changed his usage, as Weinberg⁴ did in his analysis of the initial consonents, involves us in irreconcilable difficulties. Under such circumstances it would be impossible to explain the alternation between *án* and *an* in identical or similar phrases in immediate proximity, as *Bo* 117 1-2, 248 10 and 19, 351 23, 366 18 and 21, *Piper* 376 21 and 26, 397 7 and 12, 402 8 and 11, where in one case both MSS read *án*, in the other A reads *án*, B *an*. That only scribal carelessness can account for all these instances, a brief examination of the phrases in which *an* occurs will at once show.

As the preposition *in* follows a definite rule in its position before the definite article, it is appropriate to begin at this point with *an*. Fleischer gave a partial, not very accurate analysis of the accentuation in *Bo* and Carr has given figures for *Cat* and *De Interpret*. The complete summary, corrected from the MSS., follows. In *Bo* there are before the accented article 19 *án*, 26 *an*, before the unaccented article 105 *án*, no *an*. If the scribe intended to follow the rule of *in*, he made numerous errors. The instances of *án* before accented article occur twice on the same page or within the same line with *an* in the same position: *án* 40 16, 41 16; *an* 41 3, 41 16, *án* 138 21, *an* 138 19. The omission of the accent is, moreover, in the main restricted to the second half of the *Bo*. Up to page 196 there are only six instances of *an* before the accented article, as against 16 *án*, from that point to the end, 20 *an* and 3 *án*. In the *Cat*, *De Interpret.* and *De Syll.* there is no trace of the rule for *in* as applied to *an*, the accent being omitted before

⁴ I Weinberg, *Zu Notkers Anlautsgesetz*, Tübingen, 1911

the article, accented or unaccented, only 402 11 and 503 7 In *MCp* the only *an* before an article accented or unaccented, occur 20 3, 37 14, 140 12, 169 1, 179 10, five times as against 84 *án*! Before words other than the article there is, particularly in the *Bo* again a trend toward the use of *an* before an accented word. Before *én* *Bo* 2 *án*, 2 *an*, *Cat* 3 *án*, *MCp* 2 *án*. Before an adjective *Bo* 12 *án*, 31 *an*, *Cat* 18 *án*, *De Interpret.* I-III 10 *án*, 1 *an*; *De Syll* 1 *án*, *MCp* 13 *án*, 7 *an* (six of the latter in scribe β). Before a noun *Bo* 6 *án* (five in the first half), 20 *an*, *Cat* 19 *án*, 2 *an*, *De Interpret.* I-III 1 *án*; *Mcp.* 11 *án*, 7 *an* (six of the latter in scribe β) Before a pronoun *Bo*. 46 *án*, 34 *an* (the majority of the latter in the second half), *Cat* 59 *án*, 1 *an*, *De Interpret.* I-III 3 *án*, 3 *an*, *De Syll* 2 *án*, *MCp* 24 *án*, 16 *an* (14 of the latter in scribe β)

The combined evidence of the first half of *Bo*, *Cat*, *De Interpret.* I-III, *De Syll* and the part of *MCp* written by scribe *a* leaves no doubt that Notker's usage was to accent *án* throughout. Some of the later scribes tended to omit the accent not only before an accented article but before all accented words. This was notably the case with the scribe or scribes of the parent MS. of *Bo* and the second scribe of the *MCp* MS.

IN. In the above-mentioned article (p. 140 f.) Fleischer also established the rule that the preposition *in* retained the accent only before an unaccented word, in this case the unaccented article. He does not give complete figures, but after reexamining all the occurrences we have been able to confirm his conclusion. We found in approximately 570 cases only four where *in* was erroneously accented before an accented word 114.30, 236 2, 296 21 (perhaps correct), 379 11. Of other apparent errors, 5 8 and 69 3 are misprints in Piper's text, in the latter case read *daz*, 100 12 *in* must be deleted (cf. Naumann,⁵ p. 74). The accent was erroneously omitted 69.14, 83 21 and twice in line 373 11. Carr (p. 187 f.) confirms the rule for the *Categories*. In *MCp*, however, there are numerous exceptions, almost all of them instances of *in* wrongly provided with accent. Of the 296 cases of *in* only three should have the accent, 3 7 *in dien brûtechēmanaton*, 172 6 *in dero innerostun*

⁵H. Naumann, *Notkers Boethius, Untersuchungen über Quellen und Stil*, Strassburg, 1913

mitti, 193 6 in *des lampadis uuis* At 33 13 in *dia blòotfàreuuun zéssa martis* the accent on the article was omitted, and at 39 2 we must read *in dien éumberinen*. On the other hand, in 88 cases of *in* 59 should not have been accented, e g 14 10, 17 10, 19 10, 16 8, 22 2, 76 7, 81 20, 87 9 etc At 83 3 15 the MS should read *in dero* instead of *in déro* The first scribe has 56 errors, the second but 3 Apparently the second scribe followed quite closely the rule that *in* should appear only before an unaccented article, a rule which he was disposed to extend to the preposition *án*, whereas the first scribe seems to have applied the rule for *án* to *in* Space does not permit listing the large number of instances in the *Psalms* It is sufficient to state that while there are some instances of *in* before an accented word, by far the greatest number occurs before the unaccented article In view of the frequent omission of accents in the *Psalms* the retention in these cases is important There is therefore little occasion to doubt that the rule first formulated by Fleischer for the *Boethius* holds for all the MSS and represents Notker's own usage.

Mrr Fleischer (p 142) came to the conclusion that the preposition *mit* is left without accent in adverbial phrases (*mit réhte*, *mit nôte*) though otherwise accented throughout Carr (p 188) considers the evidence of the two MSS of the *Categories* conclusive that *mit* was accented under all circumstances. The accentuation in the *Bo* MS does seem to support Fleischer's conclusion (cf our Introduction to *Bo*, p xiv), but this evidence is in part of a doubtful character The preposition appears without accent 17 times (38 29, 71 10, 71 11, 75 16, 105 16, 118 3, 134. 31; 150 7, 154 1, 169 19, 199 19, 265 14; 268 4, 274 11, 370 25, 383.10, 396.18) In all the remaining 435 instances it has the accent, including the following cases of *mit réhte* 180 24, 202 7, 245 28; 258 16, 335.1, 382 28, 393 12 Of the cases without accent, fourteen are in the phrase *mit réhte*, two in *mit nôte*, and one with the Latin noun *cestibus* Clearly only the accentuation in the adverbial phrase requires explanation It is significant that in the first half of *Bo* the scribe writes regularly *mit réhte* The first instance of *mit réhte* is 180 24 In the remainder of the MS *mit* and *mit* are about equally divided. There may have been originally an accent at 199 19 as Piper thought, though it is not visible in the photostat The section, pages 170 to 258, which shows no

instances of *mit* with the exception of the doubtful instance just mentioned, is distinguished by much greater care in accentuation and orthography than most of the rest of the *Bo* MS. It is our opinion that the accentuation of *mit* in the adverbial phrases of this portion of the *Bo* is of greater importance than the fact that *mit* in adverbial phrases outnumbers *mît* two to one in the entire MS. At all events, the evidence of the *Bo* is not against the assumption that *mit* was accented throughout.

The *Categories*, as Carr points out, have overwhelmingly accented *mît*. There are 45 cases of *mît* and only 3 of *mit*. In adverbial phrases it occurs only ten times with accent in both MSS (478.31 and 488.10 are found only in MS. B and with accent) viz. 370.21, 379.6, 379.25, 383.8, 384.6, 397.8, 397.13, 429.10 (in B *mît* 'auf Rasur'), 439.28, 451.5. In the following cases only one of the two MSS has *mit*: 370.21 A *mît* *rêhte*, B *mit*, 397.25 A *mit* *êhte*, B *mît*, 423.22 A *mît* *uûu*, B *mit*, 437.26 A *mît* *allo*, B *mit* *âllo*. In *De Interpretatione* and the following rhetorical works *mit* is frequently unaccented, the total figures being 42 *mit* against 32 *mît*. There are no cases of adverbial phrase. But this high frequency of the unaccented preposition is of no importance whatever, as the instances are to be found solely in the middle portion in a small section which is otherwise defective as to accentuation and orthography. From page 497 to 541 there are 19 *mît*, no *mit*, 542.20 to 607.22, 32 *mit* but no *mît*; 607.22 to 684, 11 *mît*, no *mit* (683.16 MSS. G and H have the unaccented form). In *Marcianus Capella* there are 216 cases of the preposition, of which only the following are without accent: 54.5, 128.12, 142.14, 154.1. Only one of the four is in the part written by the first scribe, who is more careful about placing accents than the second. In the phrase *mît* *rêhte* the first scribe writes 4 *mît* and one *mit*, the second scribe, 2 *mît* and 3 *mit*. *De Musica* has only 2 *mît* in 17 instances of the preposition, and the *Psalms* (St. Gall MS. R) have but 5 *mît* in approximately 750 occurrences. The fragments offer a few variants. The second Wallerstein fragment (U²) has *mit*, R *mit* at 644.8. The 'Seonerblatt' (U) shows the accented form in 28.24, 29.3, 29.16 against the unaccented in R, on the other hand, at 30.17 U *mit*, R *mît*. The 'Basler Blatter' at 577.21 offer *mît* against R *mit*. These few cases of the accented preposition tend to confirm the belief that, like the other works, the earlier MSS. of the *Psalms* accented *mît* throughout.

On the evidence of *Bo*, *Cat.*, *De Interpret* and *MCp.* it is apparent that the omission of the accent on the preposition *mit* is the exception even in the adverbial phrases. *Bo* alone has a preponderance of unaccented cases and these occur for the most part in those portions which are less carefully written also in other respects. There is consequently every reason to believe that *mit* always had the accent in Notker.

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"WHAT GOES THROUGH WATER AND IS NOT WET?"

The old riddle "What goes through water and is not wet" has various answers. From the beginning of its recorded history in the sixteenth century, three answers, viz "the rays of the sun,"¹ "a shadow" or "smoke,"² and "a calf in its mother's body," are

¹ E Flores, "Adivinanzas corrientes en Chile" *Revista del folklore chileno* II (Santiago de Chile, 1911), Parts 4 and 7 (with continuous pagination), p 151, nos 705-6, R Lehmann-Nitsche *Adivinanzas rioplatenses* (Buenos Aires, 1911), p 99, nos 107 g-h, Demófilo (= A Machado y Alvarez), *Colección de enigmas y adivinanzas* (Seville, 1880), 238, no 847, F Rodríguez Marín, *Cantos populares españoles* I (Seville, 1882), 188, no 252, F Pelay y Briz, *Endevinillas populares catalanas* (Barcelona, 1882), p 93, no 134, E Rolland, *Devnettes ou énigmes populaires* (Paris, 1877), p 2, no 5, A F Butsch (ed.), *Strassburger Ratselbuchlein* (Strassburg, 1876), p 18, R Wossidlo, *Ratsel* ("Mecklenburgische Volksüberlieferungen" I, Wismar, 1897), p 120, no 372a, L Hanika-Otto, *Sudetendeutsche Ratsel* ("Beiträge zur sudetendeutschen Volkskunde" XIX, Reichenberg, 1930), p 50, no 159a, E L Rochholz, *Alemannisches Kinderlied und Kinderspiel* (Leipzig, 1857), p 244, no 62, R Huss, "Nordsiebenburgische Ratsel" *Jahrbuch der Luemburgischen Sprachgesellschaft* (1928), no 121 (cited from Hanika-Otto, p 146, note on no 159), E Ruoff, *Arabische Ratsel gesammelt, übersetzt und erläutert, ein Beitrag zur Volkskunde Palastinas* (Diss., Tübingen, 1933), p 13, no 13. Compare Hanika-Otto, p 65, no 287. These works will be referred to henceforth by the author's name.

² Lehmann-Nitsche, pp 98-99, nos 107 a-f, Rodríguez Marín, p 313 (citing a Spanish text of the sixteenth century), G Pitre, *Indovinelli, dubbî, scioglilingua del popolo siciliano* ("Biblioteca delle tradizioni popolari siciliane" XX, Palermo, 1897), p 160, no 525, Hanika-Otto, p 50, no 159d (smoke); A. Karasek-Langer, "Volksrätsel aus den deutschen Sprachinseln in Galizien," *Karpathenland*, II (1929), 182, no 22 (smoke), A. Gorovei, *Ţîmăturile românilor* (Bucharest, 1898), pp 377-8, nos

known, practically speaking, wherever the riddle is told. The answer "the sound of a bell,"³ which is not found before the end of the last century, is also rather widely current. Finally, two answers, viz "a card" and "the eye," which appear only in an Argentinian collection of recent date, have a very limited currency and can be discarded without hesitation.⁴

The four established answers to the riddle fall into two classes—one concerned with the intangible and impalpable quality of the sun's rays, a shadow, or sound and another concerned with the altogether physical notion of a calf in its mother's body, an egg in a duck's belly, or the like. In the first three answers, it is hard to demonstrate the direction in which borrowing and substitution has occurred, since two of the answers are as old as any record of the riddle and the third has found a distribution almost as wide as the two old answers. In the French form of the riddle, e. g. "Qu'est-ce qui passe au-dessus de l'eau sans faire d'ombre?" the mention of the shadow in the question rather than as the answer suggests that it may have been shifted from answer to question. Possibly the same sort of shift may be seen in "¿Qué cosa es cosa—que entra en el río—y no se moja,—no es sol ni luna—ni cosa ninguna?"⁵ Here the answer "shadow" may have replaced the original answer "the sun," which then found a place in the question. Such anticipations of the answer by introducing it into the question are frequent in oral variants of riddles. Further support of the idea that the "sun" is the original answer to the question may be seen in related riddles with the same answer of the sun and which show

1870-2, Ruoff, p. 12, no. 10. I have not found Pitre's reference (p. cxxv) to "Biblioteca de las tradiciones españolas" v, 231, but compare Rodríguez Marín, p. 313. I have not seen A. Machado y Álvarez, *Advinanzas francesas y españolas* (Seville, 1881), p. 7, no. 5, which is also cited by Pitre.

³ L. F. Sauvé, "Devinettes bretonnes," *Revue celtique*, iv (1879), 63, no. 15, V. S. *Mélusine*, i (1878), col. 254, no. 3, Rolland, pp. 9-10, no. 21, J. F. Blade, *Proverbes et devinettes dans l'Armagnac et Agenais* (Paris, 1880), p. 215, no. 81.

⁴ These last two answers are neither widely known nor of long standing nor particularly appropriate to the riddle. The answer "a card," which is found in Lehmann-Nitsche, p. 98, nos. 105a, b, has arisen by contamination with another riddle (see *ibid.*, p. 254, no. 620a). The answer "the eye" is found only once (*ibid.*, p. 99, no. 108), and is presumably the result of some confusion.

⁵ Demófilo, no. 935.

similar confusions, e g. "Es gêt durchs fenster und schneidt s̃ net,"⁶ "Si fällt wås in brunn und plumpst nit,"⁷ which has the variant answers "a shadow" and, more rarely, "a feather," "Wos gaiht ubas Strauh und rauscht niat?,"⁸ "Wos geht durch's Darne und sticht se net?,"⁹ which also has a variant answer "shadow," and the Czech riddles "Padne to do studně a deset páru koní to nevytáhne" (It falls in the well and ten pairs of horses do not pull it out),¹⁰ which vaguely suggests the Humpty-Dumpty riddle, and "Jelen moře přeskočí, ani nohy nesmočí" (A stag leaps over the sea and does not even wet its feet *Ans* The moon and the night)¹¹ All of these riddles are of the same type, and all of them are more closely associated with the sun than with any other answer This intimate association suggests that the sun was the original answer Per contra, the various questions popularly associated with the answer "a shadow" are of an entirely different sort "The sound of a bell" is not, so far as I am aware, associated with any other question. Although "the sun" appears to me to be the original answer to the question, I shall not insist farther on the matter.

The last answer to our riddle appears in various forms which we need not distinguish sharply¹² "A calf in its mother's belly" is the most widely distributed and the oldest of these variants and may therefore be the original form of this answer. "An egg in a

⁶ Wossidlo, p 120, no 372a, Hanika-Otto, p 49, no 151; Feifalik, *Zeitschrift für deutsche Mythologie*, iv (1859), 374, no 40

⁷ Wossidlo, p 120, no 372a, Hanika Otto, p 40, no 84, Feifalik, pp 374, no 38 (sun), 381, no 83 (shadow)

⁸ Hanika-Otto, p 48, no 148, A Schleicher, *Litauische Märchen* (Weimar, 1857), p 208 (shadow), F. W Schuster, *Siebenburgischsachsische Volkslieder* (Hermannstadt, 1865), p 267, no, 22 (moonlight).

⁹ Hanika-Otto, p 49, no 152

¹⁰ Feifalik, p 374, no 39

¹¹ Hanika-Otto, p 118, no. 1

¹² Lehmann-Nitsche, p 98, no 106, Rolland, p 25, no 46 citing also a Hungarian variant in *Magazin für die Literatur des Auslands*, 1856, p 364, Schuster, p 279, no. 76, Renk, *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* v (1895), 152, no 176, Huss no 106; Pitre, p cxxv (citing a Spanish example from the sixteenth century), Sampson, *Journal of the Gypsy-Lore Society*, n s., v (1911-2), 248, no 10, Szendrey, *Ethnographia*, n s., xvii (1921), 78, Hanika-Otto, p 50, no 159, A C. Pires de Lima, *O Livro das Adivinhas* (Porto, 1921), p 82, no 245 W Schulze points out the contamination of our riddle and the Odin-riddle; see "Das Rätsel vom trachtigen Tiere," *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, iv (1924), 23.

duck's belly" is found only occasionally and seems to be a sporadic variation. Finally, "Es gehen ihrer sieben durch den Bach und nur eins wird nass. Ans Zuchtsau mit sechs Jungen" ¹³ has been recognized to be a contamination of our riddle with the ancient Odin-riddle of the *Heidrekssaga*. "Who are the two, who have ten feet?" etc.

From the beginning of the history of our riddle, we find two answers, viz "the sun" and a pregnant animal. Since both answers are appropriate, one might simply stop at this point without seeking a reason for the existence of two such dissimilar answers to the same question. Riddles with more than one answer are frequent enough, but there is, however, a possible explanation for this particular combination of answers. Just such metaphors as we find in this riddle were used in the Middle Ages to explain the miracle of the Virgin Mary's purity. As the sun passes through glass without breaking it, so Mary became a mother and yet remained a virgin ¹⁴. The comparison is at least as old as Athanasius in the fourth century and has been widely used ever since. Possibly one may also cite as a parallel the comparison of the painless birth of Jesus to the light leaving a star, ¹⁵ but this is neither so ancient nor so apposite as the previous comparison. The ease with which the substitution of the shadow for the sun is made is seen in the use which Hans Folz made of this comparison.

Man sagt gleich als der schattenn
Die wasser thu durch watten
Und sich nit necz
Und als der sunnen scheine
Dring durch die fenster eine
Und sie nit lecz,
Also Got sun den milden
Du, meit, geper, die zwo natur,
Als man gedicht vil vindet ¹⁶

¹³ Hanika-Otto, p. 50, no. 159 and see the preceding note.

¹⁴ A. Salzer, *Die Sinnbilder und Beworte Mariens in der deutschen Literatur und lateinischen Hymnenpoesie des Mittelalters II* (Linz, 1887), 71-74, W. Grimm (ed.), *Konrads von Wurzburg Goldene Schmiede* (Berlin, 1840), p. xxxi. Yrjö Hirn collects and discusses examples dating from the ninth century and later, see "La verrière symbolique de la maternité virginale," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, **xxix** (1928), 33-39.

¹⁵ Salzer, II, 78.

¹⁶ A. L. Mayer (ed.) *Die Meisterlieder des Hans Folz* ("Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters" **xii**, Berlin, 1908), 151, no. **xxxiv**, § 6, ll. 370-8.

To return, then, to our riddle—it seems probable that the patristic comparison of Mary's virginity to the water or glass through which the rays of the sun pass unaltered is allied to the traditional riddle: "What passes through water without being wet?" *Ans* The rays of the sun or a calf in its mother's belly" The riddle, which might seem to be only a countryman's observation of nature, is entangled with an ecclesiastical invention current among the Church Fathers. Of such strange threads are the fabrics of ecclesiastical and popular tradition woven!

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RAINER MARIA RILKE'S POEM ON HEINRICH VON KLEIST

Strangely enough, Rainer Maria Rilke's poem on Heinrich von Kleist has not been included in the six-volume edition of his collected works¹ Fortunately, however, it has been preserved and included in the notes appended to a volume of his letters² Had he not referred to this early poem in one of these letters, it might have escaped publication even in this hiding-place where it will probably be seen by relatively few readers It deserves a place with the numerous other poems on Kleist, fifty-three of which were collected and published in 1927 by Georg Minde-Pouet³ before Rilke's poem had become accessible

Rilke's *Gedicht an Kleist* was written on January 14, 1898, at the grave of Kleist at Wannsee to which he made repeated visits. In a letter of November 5, 1900, he wrote to Paula Becker that up to his sixteenth or seventeenth year of age he had regularly visited churchyards on All Souls' Day, often going to the graves of strangers or of relatives with the thought that every hour is the hour of death, and that death has a dial with infinitely many numbers But in more recent years the only grave he had been in

¹ Rainer Maria Rilke, *Gesammelte Werke*, Leipzig, Insel-Verlag, 1930

² Rainer Maria Rilke, *Briefe aus den Jahren 1907 bis 1914*, Leipzig, Insel-Verlag, 1933, p 382 f

³ *Gedichte auf Heinrich von Kleist Eine Auswahl* Als Privatdruck zusammengestellt von Georg Minde-Pouet, Leipzig, Poeschel & Trepte, 1927.

the habit of visiting on All Souls' Day was that of Kleist at Wannsee. He added the following melancholy but appreciative comment:

Spat im November ist er da draussen gestorben, in einer Zeit, wo viele Schüsse fallen im leeren Walde, fielen auch die zwei schweren Schüsse aus seiner Waffe. Sie unterschieden sich kaum von den andern, vielleicht dass sie etwas heftiger waren, kurzer, atemloser. Aber in der lastenden Luft werden die Geräusche alle ähnlich und stumpfen sich ab an den vielen weichen Blättern, die überall im Sinken sind.⁴

Rilke's friend Furstin Marie von Thurn und Taxis-Hohenlohe wrote that in the winter of 1913-1914 he was reading Kleist, reading many of his works for the first time, mature as he was, they affected him all the more powerfully, because there were no earlier impressions of them to combat.⁵ In a letter to her of December 27, 1913, Rilke voiced enthusiastic admiration for the Prussian poet:

Der Kleist war schon, sag ich Ihnen, ach wenn ichs Ihnen doch sagen konnte, da ist unsereiner nichts dagegen, so ein Piepvogel, aber einmal müssen Sie, ganz neu und nüchtern, über den Prinzen von Homburg kommen, über das Guskard-Fragment. Wunderschon ist das alles und so blind und rein gekonnt, so aus den Tiefen einer harten Natur herausgebrochen.

Ich ging als junger Mensch immer gern an sein Grab, damals wars noch eine Wildnis herum, obwohl die Bahn nahe vorbeigeht, ein Kranz von der Sorma war dort, aber das Gitter rostete in Vergessenheit, der Ruhm hatte nicht nötig, sich darauf zu stützen, der stand frei. Zu jener Zeit schrieb ich (noch weiss ichs oder weiss es wieder) in mein Taschenbuch:

'Wir sind keiner klarer oder blinder,
wir sind alle Suchende, du weisst,—
und so wurdest du vielleicht der Finder,
ungeduldiger und dunkler Kleist . . '

Gott, ich kannte wenig von ihm und meinte seinen Tod, den seltsamen, weil ich nur das Seltsame verstand, jetzt aber meine ich sein Leben, weil ich langsam anfangte, vom Schönen einen Begriff zu haben und vom Grossen, so dass mich der Tod bald nichts mehr angeht.⁶

The three other stanzas of the poem, as printed in its entirety in the notes, read:

⁴ Rainer Maria Rilke, *Briefe und Tagebücher aus der Fruhzzeit 1899 bis 1902*, Leipzig, Insel-Verlag, 1931, p. 68 f.

⁵ Marie von Thurn und Taxis-Hohenlohe, *Erinnerungen an Rainer Maria Rilke*, München, Oldenburg, 1933, p. 74.

⁶ Rainer Maria Rilke, *Briefe aus den Jahren 1907 bis 1914*, p. 313 f.

Eng und angstlich waren dir die Tage,
 bis dein Weh den letzten wild zerriss—
 und wir alle klagten deine Klage
 und wir fuhlen deine Finsternis

Und wir standen oft an tiefen Teichen,
 denen schon das Nachten nahe war,
 und wir nahmen Abschied von den Eichen,
 und wir kamen unsern Brauten reichen
 letzte Rosen aus dem letzten Jahr

Aber zagend an dem Rand der Zeit
 lernten wir die leisen Laute lieben,
 und wir sind im Leben lauschen blieben
 still und tief und wund von jungen Trieben—
 und da wurden uns die Wurzeln breit⁷

In a letter of December 30, 1913, there is a further reference to Kleist. After writing that he had been reading at random, Rilke continued.

C'est de cette façon que je viens de connaître l'œuvre d'un très grand poète allemand, Kleist, (qui s'est suicidé en 1811) ah—quelles beautés partout, quelles victoires, qui serait assez avare de croire de les payer trop cher de toute détresse qui ehoit sur son compte, si à la fin les pages de l'avoir surabondent tellement qu'il serait impossible à jamais d'indiquer la somme de toute cette fortune.⁸

Rilke, the sensitive esthete, who was quite dependent on the mood of the moment for his own poetic productivity, was impressed not only by the virility of Kleist's style and character, but doubtless also with the fecundity of an author who within a decade wrote eight dramas, eight *Novellen*, numerous political and miscellaneous minor writings, collaborated with Adam Muller in editing the journal *Phobus* and published the *Berliner Abendblätter*, Berlin's first daily evening newspaper. Rilke's poem and appreciative letters constitute one of the sincerest tributes paid to Heinrich von Kleist by another poet.

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⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 382 f.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 323.

KLEIST'S PRINZ FRIEDRICH VON HOMBURG,
LINES 172-174

Prinz Friedrich's words describing Natalie's action

Hoch auf, gleich einem Genius des Ruhms,
Hebt sie den Kranz, an dem die Kette schwankte,
Als ob sie einen Helden kronen wollte,

seem, in view of their context and the stage-business involved, startlingly hyperbolic. Natalie had simply held out a laurel wreath as though to place it on the Prince's head, he himself has just spoken of her action moderately enough (163), and he is replying to Hohenzollern's matter-of-fact question. "Nun, und die, sagst du, reichste dir den Kranz?" (171).

The Prince's high-flown words do, however, apply strikingly to a painting, now No 306 of the Gemaldegalerie in Dresden, which Kleist may very well have seen during his several visits (1800, 1801, 1803, 1807-1809) to the Saxon capital. It is the work of Annibale Carracci (1560-1609), it represents a winged youth (incidentally of Kleist's favorite type, "blondgelockt" like the Prince himself) in flight, a blaze of golden light about his laurel-crowned head, in his left hand, *raised full above his head*, is a crown, to which his aspiring gaze is directed, on his upraised arm are four laurel wreaths of victory, such as were customary at the Greek games. The whole conception is thoroughly in Kleist's ambitious spirit.¹

This painting, according to the records of the Dresden gallery, was acquired in 1746 and was hanging, during Kleist's lifetime, in the same collection (then housed in the Johanneum) with Raphael's Sistine Madonna, which we know Kleist profoundly admired and often visited.

His first acquaintance with the gallery, during his rationalistic period, was, to be sure, a matter of superficial sight-seeing (v, 103, 7-10), but less than a year later, in a deeply stirred and highly emotional state of mind, he has become extremely sensitive to artistic impressions (v, 222, 1 ff). Daily, he reports, he visits

¹ The conceptions of a winged spirit and of coronation come to be favorites with Kleist cf e g in the present play lines 902 f, 1062 f, 1333 ff, *Werke*, Bibliograph Inst ed (hereafter cited by vol and p), II, 267, 23-24 (very like Carracci's youth), v, 342, 25 ff, v, 356, 16 ff

"the Italian masterpieces," chief among which is Raphael's Madonna (v, 222, 9 ff) The fact that the latter at that time was together with all the other Italians (not in a separate room as at present) increases the probability that Kleist saw Carracci's picture also The entire collection was much less extensive than it is now, and Carracci's painting, because of its size (over 6 by 4 feet) and its character, would hardly have escaped his notice Originally entitled "l'onore" or "il valore," it bore, at least as early as 1771, the German words "Genius des Ruhms" (cf 172), words which for Kleist were pregnant with meaning, and which do not, as far as I know, represent a common conception.

As subsequent passages in Kleist's letters prove (e g v, 232, 20-24, 235, 20), the artistic impressions of that Dresden stay, suffused as they were with intense private emotion, persisted for a long time It would be strange, too, if Kleist, during his long sojourn in Dresden from 1807 to 1809, when *Prinz Friedrich von Homburg* was taking shape in his mind, had not revisited the paintings which had once affected him so deeply.

At any rate, it seems to me more likely that the unusually vivid and heroic picture of lines 172-174 is the result of a pictorial impression² than that, as Erich Schmidt suggested,³ these lines are a reminiscence of Goethe's *Egmont*

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THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE ORIGINAL OF GOETHE'S "HOCHLANDISCH"

In 1828 Goethe published in *Über Kunst und Alterthum* (Band vi Heft 2, now Weimar Edition, iv, 335) three stanzas with the above title and beginning: "Matt und beschwerlich," the author-

² For the marked effect of pictorial impressions on Kleist, cf v, 342, 20 ff, the origin of *Der zerbrochene Krug*, and probably of *Homburg* itself (Kretschmer's painting, cf iii, 9, 35 ff) The beautiful figure of lines 1833 ff. in *Homburg* may also be a reflection of Carracci's painting Kleist's two letters to Adolphine von Werdeck, recently published as a "Privatdruck" for the Kleist-Gesellschaft, bring new proof of Kleist's lively interest, indeed absorption, in paintings, especially those representing individual persons

³ iii, 430, Klarchen, incidentally, appears as "Freiheit," not as "Viktoria."

ship of the original of which seems to be still unknown to Goethe scholars. Goethe sent these verses with his letter of July 20, 1827 to Carlyle, who may well have been puzzled by them, though it has sometimes been suggested that he probably supplied Goethe with the original! When the Correspondence between Goethe and Carlyle was finally published in 1887, these verses were accompanied by an English version made (or approved) by the editor, C E Norton, and beginning "Faintly and heavily," but with no explanatory note. More than twenty-five years ago Carlyle's nephew the late (Sir) Alexander Carlyle even wrote me that he felt sure that these verses were in fact not translated by Goethe but really written by him without any original, either Scottish or English. Duntzer and others have looked vainly for an original, especially in books containing the well known Scottish Ballad "Get up and Bar the Door" (Child's No. 275), of which Goethe's version was enclosed in the same letter to Carlyle (both were also sent to Zelter in June and July 1827). I, too, made and had made in the British Museum and elsewhere a very extensive similar search, but in vain.

However (as noted in the Weimar Edition, Vol v, part 2) the "Festgabe zur Enthüllung des Wiener Goethedenkmals," Vienna 1900 (forming No 9 of Vol xiv of the *Chronik des Wiener Goethe-Vereins*) included as a *Beilage* an admirable facsimile of an autograph manuscript dated June 1827, in the possession of the Duke of Cumberland, in Gmunden, having been presented to his grandmother Queen Friederike of Hannover by Eckermann after Goethe's death. This manuscript, headed at first "Altschottisch" partly erased and replaced by "Hochlandisch," is written very clearly in ink on a single large page with a light vertical line down the middle, the English original written as three stanzas of eight lines each being on the left, and Goethe's version opposite them on the right. On pasted-down slips Goethe has substituted "Felsen ersteigt er" for "Kühnlicher steigt er" (line 4) and "Hat er muhselig | Also den Tag vollbracht" for "So melancholisch | Hat er den Tag verbracht" (lines 9-10), as recorded in the Weimar *Lesarten*. Though the variants of this manuscript of the German version have thus been duly recorded, the original which accompanied it seems never to have been reprinted. There is nothing here to indicate its authorship or source in any way, or even to supply the slightest clue which might be followed up. Goethe wrote the original thus.

Faint and wearily	Tho so melancholy	Eating, quaffing
The way worn traveller	The Day is past by,	At past labor laughing
Plods uncheerly	It would be folly	Better by half in
Afraid to stop	Now to think on it more,	Spirit than before
Wandering drearily	Blith and jolly	O how merry then the
And sad unraveller	He that can hold fast by	Rested traveller
Of the mazes t'wards	As he's sitting	Seems while sitting
The mountains top	At the Goatherd door	At the goatherds door

A mere lucky chance finally enabled me to settle the question of authorship. In 1910 I picked up in an old book shop in Glasgow two promising-looking little volumes, one of which, entitled *The English Musical Repository a choice selection of entertaining English Songs, adapted for the Voice, Violin, and German Flute* (London B Crosby & Co, 1807) has the song "Faint and wearily the way-worn traveller" listed in the Contents, and printed on page 222, with simple music, to be sung by "Agnes" and "Sadi," but without any indication of authorship of either words or music. The other little old volume contains a number of miscellaneous items bound up in no particular order, in the middle is the *pièce de resistance*, namely *The Whim of the Day, for 1794. Containing An Entertaining Selection of the Choicest and most Approved Songs, now singing at the Theatres Royal, the Anacreontic Society, the Beef Steak Club, and other Convivial and Polite Assemblies, To which is added the Sentimental*. [title-page cut here]. London Printed by and for J. Roach, Russel Court Drury Lane, 1794 Price One Shilling, in which our verses appear on pages 30-31 as sung in Duet by Mr Bannister, jun and Mrs Bland, among "Songs, Duets, Chorusses, &c. sung in the Play of the MOUNTAINEERS . . . with Universal Applause." Again no author is named, but every school boy ought to know that the title-page of the first authorized edition reads *The Mountaineers; A Play, in three acts, written by George Colman, (the Younger) and first performed at the Theatre Royal, Haymarket, On Saturday, August 3, 1793* London. Printed for J. Debrett . . . 1795. I have examined also in the British Museum an earlier pirated and inaccurate edition with title reading *Printed for the curious and not sold by the Booksellers in general. 1794*, and without Colman's name. In the authorized edition our verses are sung as a Duet by Sadi and Agnes in Act III Scene II: "The Outside of a Goatherd's cottage. Sadi and Agnes discovered before the door at a table, eating and drinking." This

Duet is here printed as two stanzas of ten lines each, the fifth to eighth of each being much shorter than the others, and accordingly placed much farther towards the right of the page. Goethe's translation and transcript omit entirely the last six lines of the first stanza, and he transcribed and translated the second stanza of ten lines as if it were two stanzas of eight short lines each. I still have no idea from what book or other publication he made his transcript—evidently not from any of the four known to me. At least we now know by whom his original was originally written—unless indeed Colman himself used words written by someone else, known or unknown, which seems at least very improbable. Where Goethe wrote "He that can hold fast by" the 1793 edition reads "he the kag holds fast by", the 1794 edition has "he the keg holds fast by", the 1794 *Whim of the Day* reads "he the cag holds fast by", and the 1807 *English Musical Repository* has: "he the cann holds fast by"

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AN AHNFRAU SCENE IN SCHILLER'S WALLENSTEIN

Fashions in literature change about as rapidly as they do in clothes and when such a fashion is outmoded it may appear as ridiculous as a 1925 knee-length evening dress at a formal reception in 1935. Especially is this the case if the fashion in question has become the object of a particularly telling satire.

Grillparzer considered it a great calamity in his life that Gervinus (1842) and other literary historians because of one drama, in fact his first, *Die Ahnfrau*, 1817, counted him as belonging in the same class with Werner, Mullner, and other *Schicksalsdichter*, whereas according to one of his epigrams his position was "wo Schiller und Goethe stand." The satire which Platen (*Die verhangnisvolle Gabel*, 1826) and others had heaped on the *Schicksalsdramen* made the *genre* appear no longer respectable, yet no one ever placed Schiller in the same category even if much in his works was singled out as smacking of fate tragedies.

There is a passage in *Wallenstein* in basic conception of thought similar to *Die Ahnfrau*, which so far as I know has never been

pointed out in any study on Schiller and Grillparzer It is contained in Thekla's monolog in *Die Piccolomini*, Act III, Scene 9

Es geht ein finst'rer Geist durch unser Haus,
Und schleunig will das Schicksal mit uns enden
Aus stiller Freistatt treibt es mich heraus,
Ein holder Zauber muss die Seele blenden
Es lockt mich durch die himmlische Gestalt,
Ich seh' sie nah und seh' sie naher schweben,
Es zieht mich fort mit göttlicher Gewalt,
Dem Abgrund zu, ich kann nicht widerstreben
(Man hort von ferne die Tafelmusik)
O' wenn ein Haus im Feuer soll vergehn,
Dann treibt der Himmel sein Gewolk zusammen,
Es schießt der Blitz herab aus heitern Höhn,
Aus unterird'schen Schlunden fahren Flammen,
Blindwutend schleudert selbst der Gott der Freude
Den Pechkranz in das brennende Gebäude'

My attention was called to this passage through an illustration by Johann Heinrich Ramberg in *Minerva für das Jahr 1811* (reproduced in *Friedrich Schiller*, Otto Guentter, Leipzig, 1925) in which Thekla is represented as speaking these lines in the vaulted room of a castle while in the background there appears a ghostly figure with a drawn dagger The artist Ramberg did not attempt to portray events as they were shown on the stage—for example, in another illustration he pictures Max's death on the battlefield—but he used his imagination freely The very fact that to a contemporary Schiller seemed to be making use in his *Wallenstein* of a figure resembling the *Ahnfrau* shows that to the readers of that day the greatest German dramatist belonged among the writers who portrayed avenging ghosts as the Nemesis of noble houses. If Ramberg had made his illustration a few decades later he would probably have refrained from picturing the ghostly figure "mit dem verhängnisvollen Requisit" But as it was, Werner's *Der vierundzwanzigste Februar* had just had its première under Goethe's direction in Weimar, February 24, 1810.

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IBSEN—HETTNER—CORIOLANUS—BRAND

While Ibsen was engaged on *Brand* (at the time still planned as an epic poem) he wrote to Bjornson from Rome, January 28, 1865 ¹

The beauty of the antique sculpture becomes more and more evident to me, as you predicted in your letter that it would. The perception of it comes in flashes, but such an occasional flash casts its light over vast areas. Do you remember "The Tragic Muse," which stands in the room outside of the rotunda in the Vatican? No statue that I have yet seen in Italy has taught me so much as this. I verily believe that it has revealed to me what Greek tragedy was. That indescribably great, noble, calm joy in the expression of the face, that richly wreathed head which has something supernaturally exuberant and bacchantic about it, those eyes, that look inward and yet through and far beyond the outward object they are fixed on,—such was Greek tragedy. The statue of Demosthenes in the Lateran, the faun in the Villa Borghese, and the faun (Praxiteles') in the Vatican (Braccio Nuovo), have also given me a deep insight into Greek life and character, and have, moreover, helped me to understand what the imperishable element in beauty really is. Would that I could bring this understanding to bear upon my own work.

Where did Ibsen get his theoretical ideas of tragedy and beauty? If a symbolical statue like the Muse of Tragedy is to mean anything to the observer he must bring to it some abstract notions. Which critic had taught Ibsen what the "imperishable elements of beauty" were? Whose ideas did he want to bring to bear on his own work? The answer is found in Henrik Jaeger's biography of Ibsen for which he himself had furnished the data to the author. We read in this connection ²

He did not concern himself greatly with dramaturgical studies of a theoretical description. He read Heiberg's prose writings, especially the noted essay on the vaudeville, and he got hold, while on his travels, of Hermann Hettner's *The Modern Drama*, which had just appeared, and which he found to be a very interesting and stimulating book. This was about the whole of his theoretical reading. (Jaeger here refers to the summer of 1852.)

(Speaking of *Lady Inger of Oestraat*). The work shows that his theatri-

¹ *Letters of Henrik Ibsen*, translated by John Nilsen Laurvik and Mary Morison, New York, Fox, Duffield and Company, p. 82.

² *Henrik Ibsen. A Critical Biography* by Henrik Jaeger. From the Norwegian by William Morton Payne, Second Edition, Chicago, A. C. McClurg and Co., 1901, pp. 83 and 89.

cal occupations had enabled him to profit by some of the principles developed by Hermann Hettner in his little book. Hettner had condemned with great force the loose sort of chronicle play that had been called forth by admiration of Shakespeare's "histories" and had emphasized the necessity for employing strict rules of composition, and for making the historical drama a "psychological tragedy of character," if it were to pass for a work of genuine art (*Lady Inger* was published in 1855)

On the same subject we read in Koht,³

While Ibsen was in Dresden nothing else held his interest as did this declaration of a program by Hettner. He read and studied it, and later it seemed to him that he had been in the city for four months, though in reality it was less than two, so rich was the summer to him because of this one book, in whose strong idealistic demands he recognized his own spirit

At the same time, November 27, 1855, Ibsen gave a lecture before a Bergen literary society, on Shakespeare.⁴

Even more than most authors, Ibsen was loath to acknowledge the influence of others on his work, and therefore the fact that he admits his indebtedness to a critic is highly significant. Hettner discusses Greek drama in passing, and stresses the fact that Shakespeare was second only to the Greeks as a master of tragedy. In discussing Shakespeare's English historical plays, Hettner characterizes them in a manner that might be termed "exuberant and bacchantic."⁵ "Diese wilden Manner mit ihrem hartherzigen Trotze und ihrer lowenartigen Tapferkeit, und diese furchtbaren Weiber, diese grausen Erinnyen, in deren Herzen nicht der Gott der Liebe wohnt, sondern der Gott des Hasses und des Fluches." Of all Shakespearean plays discussed in the book by far the most space is devoted to *Coriolanus*—seven pages as against three for *Julius Caesar* and much less for others. Otherwise generally a very sharp critic, Hettner speaks of this play in superlative terms.⁶

Und wie wir den Lear, den Macbeth, den Othello und alle diese grossten Werke unseres Dichters Charaktertragodien nennen, insofern sich die Schürzung und Losung des Knotens, bis auf die feinsten Motive, mit

³ Halydan Koht, *The Life of Ibsen*, New York, W. W. Norton and Co., 1931, I, 80

⁴ Koht, *op cit*, I, 117

⁵ Hermann Hettner, *Das moderne Drama*, hrsg v P. A. Merbach, Deutsche Literaturdenkmale des 18 u 19 Jhdts, B. Behrs Verlag, Berlin u Leipzig, 1924, p. 17.

⁶ Hettner, *op cit*, pp. 31, 27.

innerster Notwendigkeit aus dem Charakter des Helden herauspinnt, so glaube ich jenes Wort, das ich schon oben aussprach, jetzt mit allem Recht noch einmal wiederholen zu dürfen, dieser Coriolan ist trotz seines historischen Stoffes, durch und durch eine psychologische Charaktertragödie, ja er ist sogar ein unerreichbares Muster derselben

Der dritte Akt, der den tatsächlichen Zusammenstosz darstellt, ist vielleicht das Groszte, das Shakespeare gedichtet hat

The letter to Bjornson of January 28, 1865, shows plainly that Ibsen is not quite satisfied with the plan for the work which occupies him, and that he is not writing much, but rather thinking strenuously on the proper form into which to cast his *Brand*. In fact he says in the paragraph following the one quoted above "I often lie for half a day among the tombs of the Via Latina or the old Appian Way, and I do not think this idling can be called waste of time" The work occupying him at the moment was a sermon to the Norwegian nation which was to embody his wrath over their cowardice in the Danish-Prussian War of 1864, he was putting it into the form of an epic poem for which Welhaven's *Norges Daemring* and Paludan-Müller's *Adam Homo* were in a general way the models. But the episodic quality of such a narrative poem did not satisfy Ibsen; as his letter shows, he wished that he might be able to lend his work the greatness of genuine tragedy

In his next letter to Bjornson, written from Ariccia, September 12, 1865, he tells of his success in discovering the proper form for *Brand* and of the effect this had on the manner in which he worked at it ⁷

Things are going well with me now, and they have really been doing so the whole time, except on the one or two occasions when I have been at my wit's end, not only where to turn to for money, but with regard to my work also. It would make no progress. Then one day I strolled into St Peter's—I had gone to Rome on an errand—and there I suddenly saw in strong and clear outlines the form for what I had to say

I threw to the winds all that I had been unavailingly torturing myself with for a whole year, and in the middle of July began something new, which progressed as nothing has ever progressed with me before. The work is new, in the sense that I only began to write it then, but the subject and the mood have been weighing on me like a nightmare ever since the many lamentable political occurrences at home first made me examine myself and the condition of our national life, and think about things that before had passed me lightly by. It is a dramatic poem, modern in subject, serious in

⁷ *Letters*, p. 85 f

tone, five acts in rhymed verse (not a second *Love's Comedy*) The fourth act is now nearly finished, and the fifth I feel I can write in a week I work both in the morning and the afternoon, a thing I have never been able to do before

I believe that in the revelation Ibsen experienced in St Peter's, Hettner's teachings, especially his superlative praise of *Coriolanus*, were of prime importance For Ibsen thereupon not only made Brand the tragic hero of a drama instead of the author's mouth-piece in an epic, but he also made him as like Coriolanus as would be possible considering the data and the setting with which Ibsen started

Practically the entire story as far as we have it in the *Epic Brand*, down to minute details, is used in the drama One striking change, however, is found in the scene in which Brand enters the village where the starving population are receiving their dole In the epic version Brand preaches a stirring sermon, quite in keeping with his calling as a preacher But in the drama Brand gains the admiration and the following of the masses by the same means through which Coriolanus does it in Shakespeare's drama, namely, by risking his life in a deed of almost superhuman bravery Brand sails the boat through the storm in the face of almost certain death, just as Coriolanus had alone entered the city of Corioli These acts influence the attitude of the Norwegian and the Roman populace toward the respective heroes in a decisive manner It is evident at a glance how much *Brand* gained in dramatic force by this change.

Unlike Peer Gynt's God, Ibsen was economical—this is one of his most characteristic traits as an author To what an amazing extent this economy is carried out in working over the *Epic Brand* into the drama is told in detail and with some amusement by Karl Larsen in his introduction to the *Epic Brand** Practically all the characters of the drama already have their place in the epic Brand (at one time called Koll), his mother, Agnes, Einar, Gerd, the Doctor, the Clerk, and the villagers The models for these characters were to a large extent derived from persons Ibsen had observed in his travels in the mountains of Norway in the summer of 1862, from the same experience he derived the general setting,

* *Henrik Ibsens Sämmtliche Werke*, Zweite Reihe, 2ter Bd., Berlin, 1909, pp 47-91.

down to such details as the particular kind of parsonage, the dilapidated church, and the ice-church La Chesnais⁹ is of the opinion that though one cannot even guess from the remains of the *Epic Brand* (it extends about as far as the end of Act I of the play) how the plot was to proceed, it seems quite certain that the hero's death through an avalanche was already determined through the death in 1863 in the same manner of a missionary to Africa, H C Knudsen, whom Ibsen had known some years previously in Bergen, and who has a number of similarities to Brand. In view of the fact that the setting and all the chief characters of the drama were quite fixed in the *Epic Brand* it is interesting to note which characters Ibsen added in the dramatic *Brand* the Mayor, the Dean, the Sexton, and the Schoolmasters, i e the leaders of the people who correspond to the Tribunes in *Coriolanus*, forming the opposition to the hero.

It would be hard to find two other characters in the works of great dramatists who are spiritually so closely akin as are Brand and Coriolanus. In a famous letter to George Brandes from Dresden, June 26, 1869, Ibsen makes a statement that many critics have quarreled with¹⁰

Brand has been misconstrued, at least as regards my intention (to which you may answer that the critic is not concerned with the intention). The misconstruction has evidently arisen from the fact of Brand's being a priest, and from the problem being of a religious nature. But both these circumstances are entirely unimportant. I could have constructed the same syllogism just as easily on the subject of a sculptor or a politician, as of a priest.

Shakespeare constructed this same syllogism with tragic inevitability on the subject of a politician, Coriolanus, who wishes to become consul but is too proud to ask the people for their votes. Brand shows the same unreasonable pride on numerous occasions.

⁹ The best account, so far as I know, of the journey of Ibsen in 1862 as a source for *Brand*, making use of Ibsen's notes recently turned over to the University Library in Oslo by Madame Berghot Ibsen after Sigurd Ibsen's death in 1930, is found in the introduction to Volume VII of *Henrik Ibsen, Oeuvres Complètes*, traduites par P G La Chesnais, Paris, 1935. The introductions in this edition are of great value to Ibsen scholars, both for the material they present as well as for the bibliographical indications in the footnotes.

¹⁰ *Letters*, p 173

The essential quality of both is a heroic hardness that leads them to deeds of bravery but also to unpardonable excesses, Coriolanus, the patriot, goes over to the army of the enemy and attacks Rome, while Brand, the priest, causes through his fanaticism, the death of his wife and child. Due to the paradox in each of the two characters every reader is at liberty to regard Coriolanus as a noble Roman or as a traitor, while *Brand* was received by numerous readers as an edifying religious tract (against which Ibsen protested in the letter to Brandes), and yet Shaw can say quite justly ¹¹ "Brand dies a saint, having caused more intense suffering by his saintliness than the most talented sinner could possibly have done with twice his opportunities"

Incidentally, both of these feelings regarding the respective heroes are held by the mob, at first each is acclaimed as a great leader, later Brand is driven out with stones, while Coriolanus is to be hurled from "the rock Tarpeian." Naturally enough both express great contempt for the *mobile vulgus*.

You common cry of curs' whose breath I hate
As reek o' the rotten fens, whose loves I prize
As the dead carcasses of unburied men
That do corrupt my air

Coriolanus, Act III, Scene 3.

First God's image you outwear,
Live the beast within you bare,
Then to Mercy cry your needs,
Seeking God—as invalids!
So, His Kingdom's overthrown
What should he with souls effete
Groveling at his mercy-seat?

Brand, Act V

And, if possible, even more contempt for the leaders of the "mutable, rank-scented many".

Behold, these are the tribunes of the people,
The tongues of the common mouth, I do despise them,
For they do prank them in authority,
Against all noble sufferance

Coriolanus, Act III, Scene 1

Brand says to the Mayor with scathing sarcasm:

So all your cunning, all your art,
Aimed but to win the people's heart?

Brand, Act IV

¹¹ G. B. Shaw, *The Quintessence of Ibsenism*, New York, 1913, p. 54.

On the subject of the hero's tragic guilt Ibsen had read in Hettner ¹²

Coriolan geht nicht zu Grunde, weil er ein starrer Aristokrat ist, das Volk verachtet und diesem seine wohlverworbenen Rechte rauben will, er geht zu Grunde, weil er sich durch seinen beleidigten Stolz sogar zum höchsten Verbrechen, zum Verrat am Vaterlande, fortreiszen laszt

Coriolan, obwohl edel und grosz, ist zugrunde gegangen an seinem Trotze, der sich nicht scheute das Vaterland zu verraten aus beleidigter Eitelkeit.

The Doctor in Act III sums up Brand's character by saying that he has *quantum satis* of Will, but his *conto caritatis* presents a white, virginal page In other words, Brand and Coriolanus are essentially noble, but both also possess a tragic flaw that leads to their downfall

A comparison with Coriolanus sheds light also on the much-discussed ending of *Brand*, where the dying hero asks whether a *quantum satis* of Will would carry weight with God, whereupon a Voice calls through the crashing thunder "He is the Deus caritatis" Theology should have no place in the interpretation of this scene, Ibsen protests against this in the letter to Brandes quoted above It means simply that the poet gives his stamp of approval to the hero, despite the latter's faults Similarly in the last scene of *Coriolanus* the First Lord is made to say of the murdered Coriolanus, a traitor to his country

Bear from hence his body;
And mourn you for him, let him be regarded
As the most noble corse that ever herald
Did follow to his urn

In other plays, e g *Julius Caesar* and *Hamlet*, Shakespeare uses the same device Since Brand is buried by an avalanche, Ibsen could not have his hero borne off-stage by his opponents to the accompaniment of a generous eulogy, but he had to use a "Voice" For this Goethe had set him an example in *Faust*

While Ibsen succeeded in making Brand a noble, tragic character who meets an inevitable doom quite comparable to Shakespeare's Coriolanus, yet there is one respect in which the Norwegian patriot, still beside himself with wrath over the shameful betrayal of Denmark, "the brother in need," fell far short of what *The Tragic*

¹² Hettner, *op. cit.*, pp 26, 31

Muse with "those eyes that look inward and yet through and far beyond the outward object they are fixed on" might have taught him. In portraying Brand's opponents he was not objective, he did not treat the Mayor, the Dean, the Schoolmaster or the Sexton with the fairness with which Shakespeare paints his tribunes who, it must be admitted, "are fighting the battle of their class with prudence, intelligence, and skill, against the stupidity and oppression of the upper class"¹³ Ibsen himself recognized and criticized this, for it is printed in his official biography written by Henrik Jaeger. The passage must have come directly from Ibsen, since he was the only one to know of the existence of an *Epic Brand* prior to about 1900¹⁴

It was first begun by Ibsen as an epic poem, when he afterward gave preference to the dramatic form, he considered dramatic requirements only in so far as they were fitted to his polemical aim. He gave little attention to probability or to strict dramatic motive, these matters were of little consequence in the ideal sphere in which his hero was placed, he did not even take pains to make his characters speak as it might be supposed they actually would speak, he was so engaged by his controversial and satirical aims that his characters were made to satirize themselves in comically overdrawn descriptions¹⁵

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¹³ Stopford A. Brooke, *On Ten Plays of Shakespeare*, New York, 1916, p. 226—My friend, Mr. Juul Dieserud of the Library of Congress, has called my attention to the fact that the Norwegian *Foged* (translated in the William Archer edition as "mayor") was in no sense chosen by the people as their leader, but was appointed by the King, as were also the district doctor and the Provst (dean). The *Foged* was a tax collector and the head of the sheriffs or bailiffs (*lensmenn*) of his district of half a dozen parishes. These men are not leaders of the people interested in raising their position as are the tribunes, but rather deceivers who lie to the congregation shamelessly, e. g., in regard to the opportunities for catching herring. Brand scorns the people for their spiritual lukewarmness, Coriolanus for their general inferiority. Owing to the fact that the hero of one play is a priest and of the other a politician the parallelism between the two dramas is far from complete in detail.

¹⁴ Jaeger, *op cit*, p. 186

¹⁵ While I was engaged on this article my colleague George Coffin Taylor asked me one day whether I did not think that Shakespeare's *Coriolanus* had influenced Ibsen's *An Enemy of the People*, especially in the spirit of contempt for the mob manifested by the chief character of each play. I

POETIC FORM IN *CONQUISTADOR*

In the various reviews that I have chanced to see of Archibald MacLeish's interesting Pulitzer prize poem of 1932, *Conquistador*, I have not noticed any reference to the apparent indebtedness of the line form in that poem to Old English verse. The normal line of Old English poetry, of course, is a line of four accents, broken by a cesura and united by alliteration, the alliterative letter appearing in the first accented syllable of the second half line, and one or two accented syllables in the first half line. Mr MacLeish has not used a line with exactly these characteristics very often in his poem, but he has employed one or more of these characteristic devices with so great frequency that the similarity of effect is striking. Furthermore some lines may be selected that follow the Old English pattern very faithfully. Thus

We that to west now weirdless by fates faring
Follow on star-track, trust have we neither now

(p 52, 1932 ed.)

Here the first line is of type A, as classified by Professor Sievers. Again, other examples,

- | | |
|-----------------|---|
| (p 25) | Westward under the wind by wave wandered |
| (<i>Ibid</i>) | Of difficult ways there were and the winter's snow |
| (p 63) | That way do they stand on the ships at Saltes |
| (p 11) | These words were my life, these letters written. |
| (p 80) | All the crows of the sky have crossed our fires, |
| (p 102) | Taste the salt of their tears on their silent tongues |

Each half of this last line conforms to Professor Sievers's type B line. One might cite other examples, but these, distributed as they

certainly believe that this is true, even though immediate sources can be cited in Ibsen's ostracism after the publication of *Ghosts*, in Thaulow, Björnson, and Jonas Lie as models. (Cf any good discussion of the play, for example in Koht). Since I have nowhere found any discussion of the provenience of the title I should like to suggest here that it was derived from *Coriolanus* (Act I, Sc 1) "First, you know Caius Marcius is chief enemy to the people" or (Act III, Sc 3) "— he is banished as enemy to the people and his country". In the Danish translation the first is rendered "Folkets Erkefjende" (the people's arch-enemy) which is very similar to Ibsen's title, "En Folkefjende," quite like the second which is translated, "— som Folkets og som Faedrelandets Fjende."

are through some seventy-five pages, indicate the influence of the form

More frequent are lines in which the cesura is placed much as in Old English poetry but with the alliteration lacking, or not arranged as in Old English.

- (p 1) Veering the clay bluff in another wind
- (p 2) Dark is the past none waking walk there
- (*Ibid*) Sun is slight in their teeth as a seed's taste—
- (p 3) Stirs in the young hair and the smoky candle
- (p 4) Torpid with old death under sullen years
- (p 28) Clever under the bit the mare La Rabona
- (p 80) Nevertheless we go on we are not returning
- (p 81) That land was under us' There were the longed-for skies

One more example may be chosen of four successive lines to illustrate the effect of the half-line form

- Mouths sour with sleep the purpling flesh
- Crawling under the thin cloths and at dawn the
- Captain out in the oared boat and we hoisted the
- (p 29) Jibs on the rest of them getting the low airs, yawning

Constant as is the use of the cesura placed in the middle of the line, the use of alliteration to point the emphatic word, as in Old English poetry, is still more frequent. One might cite scores of instances in which a reader with the rhythm of *Beowulf* in mind, feels the similarity of effect. The following illustrations will suffice, scattered over some hundred pages

- (p 12) Graves in the wild earth in the godless sand
- (p 14) We were the first that found that famous country
- (p 43) Sea ruffled with squalls, ships scattering
- (p 19) And the next day we sailed, and the sea was against us
- (p 31) And the stain of the foam on the long flank of the swells
- So did we sail on, and the noon shade lay
- (p 42) Sharp to starboard standing to the equal winds
- (p 56) Slow too from our sleep went out that sail
- (p 57) And they bungled the blow in the bad light and the drum-beats
- (p 63) The sun like a stale moon with the stringy scud

Other lines though not conforming to the exact Old English pattern are yet close to it in effect, containing both the cesura and alliteration:

- (p. 13) This was brine in the mouth: bitterest foam,
- (*Ibid*) The dates of empire the dry skull of fame

- (p 17) We that had gear to our flesh and the gold to find
(p 38) And standing away out for the shoals were flat

Furthermore, when Mr. MacLeish departs from the Old English form, as he does in much of the poem, he sometimes makes use of exactly the same freedom that Old English poets permit themselves. Thus we have the line,

- (p 89) And the leaves of the tree were dark, and a dew came down
 from them

This line may be compared with the first line in the Epilogue of *The Wanderer*.

Swa cwæþ snottor on mode, gesæt him sundor æt rune

In both cases we have three instead of two stresses in the half line, while the alliteration is perhaps more emphatic in the modern example.

In addition to these similarities of line, certain expressions emphasize the close relationship between the style of *Conquistador* and that, for instance, of *Beowulf*. Thus we have,

- (p 52) *Wierdless* by fates *faring* Follow on *star-track*—
(p 69) *Wold* was that country under heaven *woodless*

And also descriptive words, compounded in the characteristic Old English fashion, as, *Moon-path, sky-star, ship-road*. These instances seems to indicate that the detailed influence of the Old English poetic form by no means came to an end with *Piers Plowman*. Whether this influence is conscious or unconscious, very many of Mr MacLeish's lines depart no farther from the Old English model than do the lines of various scholarly translators of *Beowulf* who have tried to preserve the original meter, hampered as such an attempt must always be by the absence of true long syllables and the dependence only on accent characteristic of modern English poetry. Indeed the lines quoted as examples are as close to the Old English form as many lines in that early Middle English poem, *Brut*.

It may be added that the skilful adaptation of this form to fit the genius of modern English verse does much to make *Conquistador* a striking and original work

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REVIEWS

Friedrich Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*
 Elfte Auflage Mit Unterstützung durch Wolfgang Krause
 bearbeitet von ALFRED GOTZE Berlin Walter de Gruyter &
 Co, 1934 xv + 740 pp M 18

Kluge died in 1926, two years after the appearance of the tenth edition of the *Wörterbuch*. Blind since 1902, he had had to depend on the eyes of others to keep him informed of the work that was being done in the field of German etymology and lexicography. The new eleventh edition therefore required much more re-working to bring it up to date than would otherwise have been necessary. This explains the considerable increase in bulk, 740 pages, as compared with 558 pages of the tenth, and 519 pages of the ninth edition. The most recent additions to the German language have been recorded, with their dates wherever possible e.g. *Gillette*, *Jazz* (1912), *Kodak* (1905), *Mah-Jong* (1923). More space has been devoted to the registration of the earliest appearance of German words, a field in which previously the Weigand-Hirt Dictionary stood out pre-eminently. In general, the work done by American scholars has been adequately recorded, *MLN*, for example, being cited as a source in thirty or more instances, in addition, there are probably as many more cases in which the material published here has been utilized and even repeated verbatim, without indication of its provenience.¹

The following additions and corrections may perhaps prove useful in the preparation of the twelfth edition.

ABBILD is cited from Haller, 1730 as early as 1718 Kirsch² records the noun *Abbildung*, which is missing in the *DWb*, and the verb *abbilden*.

ABFUTTERUNG is cited as a "modernes Scherzwort" of 1807. Kirsch records the verb *abfuttern*, '*Pabulum praebere* sihe *sattigen*'.

¹ For example, in the case of ROTGIEßER we are informed "Zuerst 1412 *Monum. medii aevi hist. res gestas Poloniae illustrantia* 7, 405" (cf. *MLN*, xxxviii, 407), *Stichwort* "1420 *Liv-, est- und kurland Urk-Buch* 5, 668 Bunge" (cf. *MLN*, xxxviii, 408), *Torte* "auf dt. Boden seit 1418 *Lub Urk-B.* 6, 88 unam tortam sicut in nupcius" (cf. *MLN*, xxxix, 356), *VEKTEREN* "zuerst in Prag 1468 *Fontes rer austr.* II, 20, 530 'Jersik ist widergekorth keyn Prage vnd wil vns mühen vnd vekiren'" (cf. *MLN*, xxxvi, 490).

² *Abundantissimum cornu copiae linguae latinae et germanicae selectum* Opera et Studio Adami Friderici Kirschi, Opus denuo recognitum et aliquot mille Vocabulis auctum, Noribergae 1718 1152 + 376 pp, 44 unnumbered leaves with Appendices. The preface is dated 1713 presumably the first edition appeared then. Gotze several times cites a later edition of this important dictionary, but does not seem to have made consistent use of it.

ABMURKSEN is cited from a text of 1800, and reference is made to dialectic variations in meaning such as "murksen herum-arbeiten, herumschneiden, herumpfuschen" Compare with these the much earlier verb *abmutzen*, again cited by Kirsch, 1718: "abmutzen den Baumen die Gipffel, *detruncare arbores, capita arborum succidere*." Kirsch also records *abmutzer*, *mutilans*, *ab-mutzung*, *mutilatio*, *detruncatio* Compare furthermore Schmeller's note (*Bayer. Wbch* I, 1707) *s v* Mutz "Falls das anderwärts vorkommende mutzen (stutzen, zustutzen, decurtare, ital mozzare, Diez *Wbch* 233 f BM II, 281) welches, wo nicht selbst aus murz entstellt, mit den Artikeln Mutz, Mutzen, Mutzel zu vergleichen ist, hier zu entfernt scheinen sollte. . "

ABSPENSTIG, attributed to Steinbach 1734 and Frisch 1741, is likewise recorded by Kirsch, 1718.

ABWESENHEIT its predecessor, the noun *Abwesen*, is quoted by the *DWb.* from Luther's Bible (1522), it may be traced back to the pre-Lutheran Bible *in meum abwesent* (Mentel, 1466, Philip-pians, 2, 12) whereas the much earlier manuscripts here have *in meinem abwesen* Hebr 4, 1 the Zainer Bible of 1473 has: 'daz er seye in abwesen'

ADVOKAT is recorded as "Ende des 15 Jh bereits ublich" compare the much earlier instances Und der selbe advocate (1392), fragete dornoch den advocaten (1408), Unser advocat lies mich dies wissen (1420), unsirs ordens advocat. . unser advocatus. . Unser advocat. mit iren advocaten (1421), all in *MLN.*, xxxvi, 484.

ANGELEGENHEIT "gebucht seit Steinbach 1734", compare Kirsch 1718 "Angelegenheit, *Studium, Cura*. Wichtige Angelegenheit, *Res major. Res magni momenti. Causa major* Sich immer in eines Angelegenheit finden lassen, *Frequentem alicui operam dare* Angelegenheit vieler Handel, *Negotiositas*"

ATTENTAT, attributed to the period of the Thirty Years' War, may be found cited from the Zimmerische Chronik (1566) in *MLN.*, xxxiv, 414.

AUFWIEGELN is cited from Maaler, 1561 compare *MLN.*, xxxvii, 396 ff, where instances of *aufwiegeln*, *aufwiegler*, *aufwiegung* are cited from the years 1476, 1488, 1499, 1509 From documents dealing with the Peasants' War the form *Ufwidler* is repeatedly cited.

BANDIT is cited from Frisius 1541 and Maaler 1561 compare Edlibach's *Chronik* of the year 1513 'vor den banditten vnd francosen die noch allenthalben in schlossen lagen' (*MLN.*, xxxiv, 414)

BARBIER is called "fruhnhd", the word first appears as *barbirer* "Is kumpt zu euch Nickel barbirer von den Cotten, unser alter diener" (Joh Friedr. Boehmer, *Codex diplomaticus moenofranco-furtanus*, p. 655 letter of Emperor Charles IV, dated June 26, 1358) The earliest instance of the spelling *barbier*, of the year 1461, is cited *MLN.*, xxxvi, 485

BLINDEKUH the synonym *Guggebergen*, quoted by Gotze, may be cited as early as 1647 from Schonsleder's *Promptuarium Germanico-latinnum*, fol x, "Guggebergen, corrupte, pro Khuebergen, *vaccas latebrae veteribus diffugium est genus ludi puerorum*. Ioach Camer" The philologist Joachim Camerarius (1500-1574) was the author of more than 150 works, now very scarce his *Commentaria utriusque linguae*, 1551, were used as a dictionary, and Schonsleder may well refer to this book

BOENHASE an additional synonym is *Ferkenstecher frembde* also *genante Ferckestecher und Bunhasen* (*MLN.*, xxxvi, 485)

DESPOT. " . wird bei uns im 16 Jh bekannt als Titel der Fursten von Serbien, Bulgarien usw" Cf *MLN*, xxxv, 407 f, where instances of the years 1423, 1428, 1479, 1481 are cited in the spelling *dispot* To these may now be added four instances of the year 1460, spelled *Distbot*, *Dischbott* (*Schweiz Geschichtsforscher*, vii, 332, 334, 398)

FASCHINE is first cited from the year 1678· compare *MLN.*, xlii, 139 for an instance of the year 1653, in the spelling *fasine*.

FEHLTRITT "gebucht nicht vor Frisch 1741", compare Schonsleder, *Promptuarium Germanico-latinnum*, 1647, fol N₂b "Fahltritt, *fallens vestigium fallente vestigio cecidit*", similarly Kirsch, 1718 "fehl-Tritt, *Excessus fehl-Tritt thun, Exorbitare Titubare*."

FUNDGRUBE is cited from 1476 (Lexer), compare *MLN*, xxxvi, 486 und verleihen in auch die ersten fundgrub derselben erczt (*Fontes rerum austriacarum*, ii, 47 1454)

HAGEL the synonyms *Kissel* 'Hagelstein' and *kisseln* 'hageln' may be cited from Erasmus Alberus,³ 1542 "Da kam ein grosser Regen, vnd donnert vnd blitzt, vnd kisselt, das die kisseln gefallen waren so hoch als mewren" (chap. 249), a marginal note asks the question Wie kamen sie denn durch die Kissel heim?

KOMPONIEREN this word, cited by Weigand-Hirt from the year 1571, is also used by Erasmus Alberus, chap 341 "Christus hat die Regel Francisci componiert, ordiniert vnd defensiert"

KORAN the form *Alkoran*, which I cited *MLN*, xxxviii, 400 from Heinrich von Eppendorf (1540), may now be supplemented by numerous instances from Erasmus Alberus, who even uses it in the title of his book *Der Barfuser Munchen Eulenspiegel vnd Alcoran*, similarly "ein Buch, welchs sie nennen, *Librum Conformatum*, vnd ist der Barfuser Alcoran" (fol. *1j), "Wenn die Wunderwerck, in der Barfuser Alcoran geschrieben, alle geschehen weren" (*ibid*); "das der wunder werck, in irem Alcoran geschrieben, etliche geschehen sind" (fol. *1j), "wer jren Alcoran gar ausheset" (*ibid*), "Wunderwerck aus der Barfuser Bibel oder Alcoran geschrieben" (fol. *1v), in one instance the noun seems

³ *Der Barfuser Munchen Eulenspiegel vnd Alcoran* Mit einer Vorrede D Martin Luth . . MD XLII

to be feminine, doubtless by attraction to Bibel "Im ersten Blat der Barfusser Alcoran, kniet ein Munch" (fol A₁)

KRIEG "Ursprung dunkel" The editors had evidently not seen Sehrt's perfectly plausible derivation of the word *Krieger* from Latin (*miles*) *gregarius*, *MLN*, XLII, 410

KURASSIER the form *kurisser* is cited from the year 1474, compare the form *Kuresser*, ca 1449-50, in Ludwig von Eyb's *Denkwürdigkeiten brandenb Fürsten*, 1849, p 119

MAMELUCK the form *Ammeluck* occurs three times in a text of 1460 "zweyhundert Ammeluckhen, das seind verlaungnete Christen" (*Schweizer Geschichtsforscher*, VII, 359), similarly pp 353, 389

MARIENGLAS the synonym *Frauenglas* may be cited as early as 1718 from Kirsch, p 119.

QUARTIERMEISTER an instance from the fifteenth century may now be cited from Ulrich's "Acten zum Neusser Kriege" (*Annalen d hst Ver Niederrh* Hft 49, p 124) "dat die quattermeistere van allen rotten der voissknechten." (Koln, 1475)

SCHICKSAL may be cited as early as 1718 from Kirsch, p 257.

SCHUTZENGEI occurs frequently in Klopstock's *Messias*, e g in the *Erklärung der Kupfer* and the *Inhaltsangabe* of the various cantos (Ed. of Halle, 1751, pp x, 2, 32, 70, 102) Wieland uses it in *Sympathien*, 1756. "Lange schaut sie ihn an, wie ein Schuzengel" (Edition of the Berlin Academy, II, 465, 5)

SCHUTZGEIST "kaum vor Wieland 1767 *Irdis* 5, Str 15, 23" The word is older, however in 1746-47 J. A Cramer uses it as the title of a periodical. *Der Schutzgeist. Ein moralisches und satyrisches Wochenblatt* (Goedeker IV, 1, 68, 1) b.) Wieland uses the word in his earliest writings "Ich sah und staunte noch, als mich mein Schutzgeist rührte" (*Zwölf moralische Briefe*, 1752, Academy Ed, I, 305, 113), "die Liebe wird euch nun Der Schuzgeist seyn" (*Erzählungen*, 1752, *ibid.*, I, 367, 345 f), "als ihr Schuzgeist In Traumgestalten. Vor ihr erschien" (*ibid.*, I, 417, 354 ff), "Dem Orte zu, den ihr der Schuzgeist zeigte" (*ibid.*, I, 418, 414), "Sey mir gegryßt, mein heiliger Schuzgeist" (*Der Fryhling*, 1752, *ibid.*, 432, 199), "Ich bat meinen Schutzgeist mir dieses Gesicht zu erklären" (*Gesicht des Mirza*, 1755, *ibid.*, II, 300, 9).

SCHUTZGOTT, not treated by Gotze, is recorded by Kirsch, 1718, it appears in Wielands *Erzählungen*, 1752 "weil ihn die Erd als Schutzgott ehrte (Academy Ed, I, 354, 53) Probably Wieland used *Schutzgeist* and *Schutzgott* in preference to *Schutzenengel* for metrical reasons.

SERAPHISCH, cited by Weigand-Hirt from Rollenhagen, 1603, occurs as early as 1542 in Erasmus Alberus "weil er auff erden vom Seraphischen feuer entzund, Christo gleichformig worden ist" (chap 15) "das Franciscus von Seraphischem feuer, entzund, . .

gar Verendert werden solt" (chap 17), "Lvcifer war vom hohesten Orden, nemlich vom Seraphischen" (chap 18)

STIGMATISIEREN this verb cited by Weigand-Hirt from the year 1834, also occurs in Erasmus Alberus, together with the noun *Stigmatisation* "Gott hat Franciscum erhaben, erhohet, stigmatisiert, vnd mit seinen Funff wunden gemalzeichnet" (chap 33), "vnd ich ward gewar, das ich Stigmatisiert war" (chap 558), "steig bey den stigmatisierten Franciscum" (chap 576), "also hat Franciscus zwey jar gelebt nach seiner Stigmatisation" (chap 564), "Ein barfuser Munch zweuelte an der stigmatisation Francisci" (chap 566) It may be added that *malzeichnen*, cited above as a synonym of *stigmatisieren*, is not recorded in the *DWb*.

UND for the history of this conjunction compare E H Sehr, "Zur Geschichte der westgerm Konjunktion Und" (*Hesperia*, Nr 8, 1916)

ZARTGEFUHL is cited from the year 1789 its forerunner is the expression *aus zartem Gefühl*, used by Wieland in the *Merkur* for 1780, III, 151 (*Academy Ed.*, XIV, 232, 16), compare also *jenes zarte Gefühl*, *Agathon* (1764), II, 166

W KURRELMAYER

Faust Translated into English Prose with Introduction and Notes by F G G. SCHMIDT, Ph D Leipzig Emil Rohmkopf, 1933.

J. Wolfgang von Goethe Faust. Parts One and Two Translated from the German by GEORGE MADISON PRIEST. New York Covici-Friede (1932) xxxvii + 420 pp \$5 00

The First Part of Goethe's Faust Translated from the German by JOHN SHAWCROSS, M. A, with a Foreword by Dr G P Gooch, President of the English Goethe Society London E Part-ridge Limited at the Scholartis Press, 1934. vi + 189 pp

Goethe's Poems and Aphorisms. Edited for the Goethe Society of America by FRIEDRICH BRUNS New York Oxford University Press, 1932. xviii + 211 pp. \$1.25

Goethe. Voyage en Italie. Traduction nouvelle complète avec notes Par le Dr. MAURICE MUTTERER Paris Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1930. (= Bibliothèque de la Revue de Littérature Comparée, Tome 71)

Faust, der Nichtfaustische Von WILHELM BOHM Halle a S : Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1933 136 S Mk 5 60

Die drei hier vorliegenden Faustübersetzungen stellen jede einen Typus ihrer Art dar und ergänzen sich. Bescheidenen Anspruches

gibt F G G Schmidt neben dem Goetheschen Texte auf der linken Seite eine einfache, möglichst wortliche Prosaübertragung auf der rechten. Es ergibt sich allerdings dabei, daß Genauigkeit zuweilen durchaus nicht Richtigkeit bedeutet, denn "Dear God" ist kaum dasselbe wie *Du lieber Gott* (3211), "coupling" nicht dasselbe wie *kupplerisch*. Die Übersetzung konnte sicher nicht auf eigenen Beinen stehen in "On his kisses I should perish"—*An seinen Küssen vergehen sollt* (3412), "Why do I feel so sad upon your neck"—*Warum wird mir an deinem Halse so bang* (4487). Stichproben ergaben des Weiteren die folgenden Ausstellungen: 2769 "his heir" ist richtig, aber der deutsche Text *seinen* falsch, 4161 "wise" ist kaum der rechte Ausdruck für die Klugheit Nikolaus, 685 *Was der Augenblick erschafft* ist mit "brings forth" als zu zufällig gekennzeichnet. Warum nicht "creates"? 1325 *weidlich* bedeutet *nach allen Regeln der Kunst*, also nicht "with a vengeance," wenn man schon auf Wortlichkeit dringt.

Vorwort und Einleitung sind etwas dürftig, wenn es in der Wiedergabe der Handlung z B heißt "until he settles on the thought of suicide," so ist damit so wenig gesagt, daß die Erzählung sich überhaupt erubrigte. Dieser Selbstmord ist doch Selbsterweiterung und nicht Selbstvernichtung. Die Anmerkungen sind im Ganzen ausreichend, nur hier und da möchte man Zusätze wünschen, z B warum Herr Schwertlein in Neapel sterben mußte, kann man nicht erraten, und wenn es von Rippach heißt "it used to serve as a butt for ridicule to the people of Leipzig in particular," so gehörte das "butt" eher dem anruchigen Hans (der unerklärt bleibt) als seinem Rippach.

Alles in allem ist eine solche einfache, wortliche Wiedergabe durchaus berechtigt, für gewisse Zwecke förderlich und dankbar zu begrüßen. Es wäre zu wünschen, daß der Übersetzer sich der gleichen Muhe für den zweiten Teil unterzoge, der allerdings denn wohl etwas starker kommentiert werden mußte.

Das Goethesche Gedicht vom *Rezensenten* drängt sich auf, wenn der Kritiker einer Leistung wie der der Versübersetzung beider Teile des *Faust* von George Madison Priest in kurzer Besprechung gerecht werden soll, zumal diese zugleich die Arbeit des Forschers und Deuters einschließt. Der "Hund" ist also des Totschlags als gerechter Strafe gewärtig.

Der Übertragung geht voraus ein kurzer Bericht über die Faustsage, ein erzählender Leitfaden durch die Gesamthandlung und eine Bibliographie (in der ich den nicht zu übersehenden Van der Smitten unter den Vorgängern vermisste). Erklärende Anmerkungen, aufs Notigste weise beschränkt, folgen am Schlusse. Daß Priest sich nicht gescheut hat zu borgen und zu übernehmen, wo vorher Gutes gelungen ist, versteht sich von selbst und muß als Vorteil gebucht werden. Auch Teile einer handschriftlichen Übersetzung von Wm Page Andrews sind eingearbeitet. Es bleibt ohne

das eine Riesenaufgabe, die gelöst werden muß und mit wechselndem Glücke gelöst worden ist. Mir scheint, daß zumal Parteen mit längeren und strengeren Versen dem Übersetzer besser liegen. Vergleicht man seine Leistung mit der von John Shawcross, einem Engländer, so ergeben sich gewisse durchlaufende Charakteristika. Bei Priest stärkere Neigung zu romanischem Wortschatz und konventionellerem Ausdruck, statischerem Gebrauch des Verbs (Progressivform und Partizip), größere Breite wenn auch gewöhnlich stärkerer Anschluß ans Original in Syntax, Reimstellung und Melodie, bei Shawcross gedrungenerer Stil, bewegter und dynamischerer Gang, Freiheiten in innerer und äußerer Form und geringeres Zurückgreifen auf die Übersetzungstradition, statt dessen oft die kraftigsten Neuschöpfungen, die trotzdem im Geist Goethes verhaftet bleiben. Ein paar Beispiele mögen dies erläutern

PRIEST	SHAWCROSS
308 ff	
THE LORD	
Although he serves me now confusedly, I soon shall lead him forth where all is clear The gardener knows, when verdant grows the tree, That bloom and fruit will deck the coming year	If still he serves me in his own blind way, I soon shall lead him to the light of day, The gardener knows, when once the buds appear, That fruit and flowers will crown the coming year
MEPHISTOPHELES	
What will you wager? Him you yet shall lose, If you will give me your permission To lead him gently on the path I choose	What do you wager? If you leave me free To steer his course awhile judiciously, I'll wean him from your service yet
THE LORD	
As long as on the earth he shall survive, So long you'll meet no prohibition Man errs as long as he does strive	Agreed while on the earth he lives, You're welcome to adventure it For man must err, while still he strives
MEPHISTOPHELES	
I like to see the Old Man not infrequently, And I forbear to break with Him or be uncivil, It's very pretty in so great a Lord as He To talk so like a man e'en with the Devil	I like to see the Old Man off and on, And take good care he does'nt break with me 'Tis really kind of such a Mighty One To treat the Devil himself so affably
534 ff	
FAUST	
Unless you feel, naught will you ever gain;	Unless you feel it, you will ne'er come near it:

Unless this feeling pours forth from
 your soul
 With native, pleasing vigor control
 The hearts of all your hearers, it
 will be in vain
 Pray keep on sitting! And collect
 and glue,
 From others' feasts brew some
 ragoût,
 With tiny heaps of ashes play your
 game,
 And blow the sparks into a wretched
 flame

Unless the deep call from the soul
 is sent,
 To bind the hearts of all who hear it
 With primal fathomless content
 Cling to your desks! Paste, patch
 with tireless finger,
 Hash up the scraps which others'
 banquets spill,
 And blow to flame the sorry sparks,
 which linger
 Within your heap of ashes still

3851 ff

MEPHISTOPHELES

How sadly rises, red and incomplete,
 the dim
 Moon's disk with its belated glow,
 Lighting so ill that at each step or so
 One runs against a rock, against a
 tree!

How sadly, rising late with lurid
 glow
 The crescent moon climbs up the sky,
 And shines so dimly, that we fear
 To stumble at each rock and tree!

Gretchens Monolog am Spinnrade ist eine noch von beiden ungeloste Aufgabe geblieben. Warum hat noch niemand versucht, ein englisches Metrum zu substituieren, in dem eine Umdichtung möglich wäre? Denn dieses, so ausgesprochen deutsch, wird nie erfolgreich nachgeahmt werden können. Priest ist in Gretchens Gebet im Zwinger zum Teil glücklicher im Ausdruck "I'm weeping, weeping, weeping" ist besser als "I moan, I moan, I moan." Dagegen trägt in Valentins balladenartiger Rede Shawcross den Preis davon, trotz des anscheinenden Mißverständnisses in 3731 *So sei's auch eben recht*

3722 ff

VALENTINE

I'm dying! That is quickly said
 And quicker still can be
 Why, women, stand and howl and
 wail?
 Come here and listen to my tale!
 My Gretchen, see! young are you still
 And shiewd enough by no means
 quite
 You manage your affairs but ill
 In confidence I tell you what is more,
 Since once for all now you're a
 whore,
 So be one then outright!

I'm dying, that is quickly said
 And still more quickly done
 You women, why d'ye groan and
 stand about
 Come hither, hear me out
 My Gretchen, see, you're still a child,
 You're much too easily beguiled
 You've managed things all wrong!
 I tell you now, betwixt us twain,
 You are a, whore! so that is plain
 And therewith ends the song

Hoffentlich wird die Aufnahme der Shawcross'schen Übersetzung ihn veranlassen, uns auch den zweiten Teil zu schenken. Für eine

würdige Ausstattung gebührt den Verlegern beider Übersetzungen der Dank des Publikums, die englische reiht sich der Wertherübertragung von Rose an, die amerikanische hat in Werner Helmer einen geschmackvollen Buchkünstler gefunden

Die gut lesbare und leicht annotierte französische Übersetzung Mutterers von Goethes Italienischer Reise, von deren Gewissenhaftigkeit ich mich durch Stichproben überzeugen konnte, sei hier wenigstens angeführt. Eine ausführlichere Anzeige verdient die zweisprachige Ausgabe ausgewählter Gedichte Goethes, besorgt für die Goethe Society of America durch Friedrich Bruns. Auf 211 Seiten wird hier eine Auswahl der besten Gedichte Goethes und eine kleine Probe der Sprüche in Prosa gegeben mit den gelungensten Übersetzungen, die z. T. wenig, z. T. bedeutend überarbeitet sind, in mehreren Fällen aber sogar für den Band besonders gefertigt wurden. Unter den letzteren befinden sich einige der besten, wie der *Erkönig* von Rothensteiner, *Natur und Kunst* von Lewisohn, *Der Brautgarn* vom Herausgeber. Die Titel auf Einband und Titelseite zeigen leider den Einschluß der Übertragungen nicht an.

Der Hoffnung, daß sich in Bohms Faustbuche manches Rätsel lösen möge, gesellt sich zugleich die Einsicht, daß auch manches Rätsel sich knüpft. Aber wie wäre das auch anders möglich bei einem Werk, das im Einzelnen und Ganzen fast zu allen Faust-erklärungen im Widerspruch steht. Für Bohm ist der *Faust* getrennt von fast sämtlichem Schaffen Goethes, im besonderen Kontrast zum *Wilhelm Meister*. Er sei "der eine chaotische Pol des polarischen Goethe, dessen Gegenpol Perfektibilität heißt, und die beide von der großen Harmonie der Menschlichkeit, der nichts Menschliches fremd ist, umfaßt werden (123)". Dieses Anschauen des Lebens vom chaotischen Pol her zeigt demnach nichts von der "konzilianten Natur" Goethes, nichts von seinem Bestreben, Widersprüche zu harmonisieren, das Leben als "*doch schon*" zu sehen, sondern es wäre für diesen Schöpfer *Fausts* nur "*doch schon*".

Bei der Umwertung einzelner Stellen des Dramas, bei der Beurteilung der Faustischen Taten bekommt der Goethe Bohms nicht selten ein grimmiges, schopenhauerisches Antlitz, und wir fragen uns naturgemäß, wie war es möglich, daß diese Bitterkeit, diese Zerrissenheit, diese Dämonie sich so ausschließlich auf *ein* Werk des Dichters konzentrierte. Aber Bohm zeigt im letzten Kapitel Parallelen in andern Dramen Goethes auf, im *Tasso*, in den *Wahlverwandtschaften*, besonders aber und in überraschender Polarität in den Balladen, doch selbst hier noch steigert sich die tragische Weltschau nicht zu dem fast ungoethisch Karikaturistischen des Bohmschen Faust.

Indessen sind im Einzelnen wie im Ganzen von Bohm Zusammenhänge aufgedeckt, Möglichkeiten der Interpretation aufgezeigt, die keinesfalls leichtsinnig von der Hand gewiesen werden können.

Die von Bohm verurteilte perfektibilistische Auslegung ist bisher fast so ausschließlich herrschend gewesen, daß es uns schwer fallen wird, sofort eine objektive Einstellung gegen die nichtperfektibilistische zu gewinnen, mit der die Faustforschung sich ernstlich wird auseinandersetzen müssen. Denn das Buch ist in der Beherrschung des Stoffes und der Durchführung der Idee eine starke und ernste Leistung, wenn auch der Aufbau etwas verwirrend und die Sprachgebung zu beziehungsreich ist, um ein schnelles Erfassen zu erleichtern.

Auch fehlt ein Index, das dürfte man bei einem Werke dieser Art beinahe eine Ungezogenheit nennen.

ERNST FEISE

'*Erkennen*' Versuch einer Deutung der Grundidee in Goethes "Urfaust" und Clemens Brentanos "Romanzen vom Rosenkranz" By ALFRED TREPTOW Königsberg 1 Pr, 1932 Pp 124

Die innere Form der Romanzen vom Rosenkranz von Clemens Brentano. By GUNTHER REICHARDT. Freiburg Schles, 1934 Pp. 125

Many a thin dissertation has come out of the scholarly world, but with the worst of intentions it cannot be said that these are two of them. Each author has an idea and each develops it without fear that someone may later embarrass by reference to a predecessor. Both are utterly unafraid when it is a question of overthrowing a Walzel or a Gundolf. Each barricades himself behind a stout bibliography, Treptow's being by far the larger with its 188 serious items. Treptow's is the more informative treatise, Reichardt's the more suggestive.

In 1928, Weissgraber, in writing on the preterite-present *kennen* set up the *kann* *genur* equation, showed how *kennen* and *zeugen* existed for a while side-by-side until *kennen* finally won the victory. We are familiar in English with the reference to a book as a "brain child." Through 88 pages of his illuminating thesis, Treptow traces the relation of *gnosis*, *Magie*, *denken-sprechen*, *Magier-Übermensch*, *Magismus-Begierde* through the works of Plotin (Reichardt also leans on him), Augustin, Thomas von Aquino, Paracelsus, Jakob Bohme, Saint-Martin, Novalis, J. W. Ritter, Schelling, G. H. Schubert, Gorres, and Franz von Baader. In this part of the discussion there is admittedly an element of the seminar paper: it reads a trifle like a catalogue. Yet we see in the end how, in the works of these writers, man as the image and mirror of God, was born to serve and rule, to receive and beget, to know and be known, and how man finally fell as a result of his

forsaking the celestial idea—the helping organ of knowing and creating and began to follow all that was tinged with the animal

Treptow does not contend that Goethe derived his idea of knowing-begetting *Magie* from these writers, his was a case rather of parallel. They came by it partly through study, Goethe lived it at the time of the *Urfaust*. S. v. Klettenberg, Paracelsus, and Herder. Likewise Brentano. He, according to Treptow, learned from Gorres to look upon *Magie* as “metaphysische Erkenntnis- und Zeugungskraft,” but it was the daimon in him that caused him to carry the idea to its apex in the lives of the three sisters and their step-brothers in the *Romanzen vom Rosenkranz*.

There is no denying the force of the argument, there is but one trouble. Faust found it impossible to the very end to rid himself of *Magie*, once he had gone over to it. How would we explain then the *Magie* that encircled Goethe-Faust from 1825 to 1832? Is it something that sticks once you have it? However this may be, the reference to the *Romanzen vom Rosenkranz* as a “katholischer Faust” takes on cumulative meaning from a study of this compiled and analyzed material, from a reading of this dissertation which is so different in tone or background from that of the theses sent out from non-German institutions.

This applies to Reichardt with added force. The very theme, “innere Form” is a German concept. The facts regarding Brentano’s *Romanzen vom Rosenkranz* may be assumed.¹ Max Morris published a good edition in 1903, in 1910 Victor Michels brought out another edition, in the interests of greater clarity and usefulness. Morris’s is however the better. He made fewer changes in the original. It is the formlessness of the work that has bothered wary and chary scholars more than general or aesthetic readers. Reichardt has analyzed with fractionless care, and in accordance with a graph for undertones of his own, the inner form of the work. He has done for Brentano what Lorenz did for Richard Wagner. He has taken up each separate *Romanze* (there are 19 in all), following Max Morris’s edition, and shown the “form” that Brentano followed, consciously or unconsciously. With this done he is ready to conclude that the Romanticists in general and Brentano in particular had a “form” just as truly as any Classicist. It is a work of uncommon stimulation and pregnant suggestiveness.

Reichardt sets forth his thesis in these words:

Meine Aufgabe war es, an einem Beispiel die romantische Form herauszustellen, zu zeigen, dass es auch in der Romantik einen deutlichen Formwillen gibt. Es handelt sich um die reine Gestaltsbeschreibung der Romanzen vom Rosenkranz von Clemens Brentano. Es zeigte sich, dass in dem literarischen Kunstwerk sich dieselben Formen nachweisen lassen, die Lorenz in der romantischen Musik von Wagner fand.

¹ See the present writer’s “The Romantic Clemens Brentano’s *Romanzen vom Rosenkranz*,” *JEGP*, xxxii (1933), 2, pp. 335-365.

The key-word here is *Wille*. Reichardt contends that Brentano wrote in what may be termed the *Bogenform*, that is, a theme is started, it rises gradually to a climax then slides back to the spiritual level from which it began. With this program outlined, he analyzes the *Romanzen vom Rosenkranz* (pages 27-97) with so great detail that only seeing is believing, only reading is understanding. By laying the text before one it is not only possible but enlightening to follow the formula. His *Bogenform*, visualized by the scheme a b a, does work out.

Whether we can apply the term *Wille* to the scheme is another matter. For there is such a bewilderment of incident in *Romanzen vom Rosenkranz* that one finds it hard to feel that Brentano exercised will power in the writing of a work that, whereas it covers only two days of acting time, covers virtually all time as to action. Though the longest "poem" in German, the plot is simple. Maria bruises the serpent's head and thereby redeems the family, whose blood relations were intricate to say the least, while Apo and Moles repair to a Mephistophelian doom. The actual rosary has but little to do with it. Brentano claimed he was writing an epic on the *Erfindung* of the rosary, yet his characters tell their beads throughout the epic with nonchalant anachronism.

In the part that deals with the *Romanzen vom Rosenkranz* in general, one-third of the whole, Reichardt is on more rational ground. His contention that all music has only inner form is more interesting than true. Absolute music does, program music has also an outer form. By the latter Reichardt means, in letters,

Fabel, aussere Handlung, Stil, Reim, Versbau oder Kleinrhythmus, der sich im Vers durch das immer wiederkehrende Mass von gleichviel Hebungen und Senkungen darstellt. All das kann man am Kunstwerk ablesen. Mit den Augen können wir aber die aussere Form sehen. Die innere Form aber muss man in erster Linie empfinden.

The fragmentary nature of the outer form Reichardt regards as "ein Hauptkennzeichen des romantischen Formwillens." Nadler was the first exegete of this thesis. Reichardt argues that there is really nothing fragmentary about Schubert's *Unfinished Symphony*. The theory is interesting even if not sufficient as an excuse for all the Romantic fragments. Brentano himself remarked in this connection,

Jedes Kunstwerk, das vollendet,
Sprach er und zog hoch die Stürne
Muss, um klar sich auszusprechen
Stehn auf ewigen Begriffen

(5th Romanze, p. 61, ed. Michels)

That the Romanticists' idea of form was to have no form is on a par with the oft-repeated expression that "es ihre Tendenz war, keine Tendenz zu haben." In the matter of propaganda the theory

holds to champion nothing is to champion something for adherence to nothing after all represents an attitude Form however, especially outer, somehow remains form

The attempt to set Classicism off against Romanticism on the ground that the former has heroes but cannot use saints whereas the latter has saints but cannot use heroes admits of elaborate possibilities, injudicious though it is to say that Schiller's *Jungfrau* failed (*scheiterte*) because Schiller endeavored to make a heroine out of his saint The persistent use that music makes of repetitions is ably set forth, impossible though it obviously is to offer this as an explanation of the repetitions (and contradictions) in the *Romanzen vom Rosenkranz*

Reichardt writes

So ist das Formprinzip, das Brentano und die anderen Romantiker in ihren Werken herausbildeten, als musikalisch zu bezeichnen Es ist ein Musizieren mit Worten Im Gegensatz zur plastischen Form der Klassik ist die Form der Romantik musikalisch

Though not novel this does necessitate a novel idea of "form" If we can have a musical epic we should be able to have a plastic symphony And after a fashion we do, in program music

The proofreading of the dissertation is bad, it offends to read of "Tinck" and his "Zerlino" Attached to the work are twenty-seven *Kennzeichen der romantischen Form*. Of these *Wellendynamik*, as opposed to the ashlers of Classicism, leads the list, stands at the head These are all put down as *Ergebnisse* As applied to Brentano they are, but it is a young man's way of invoicing his convictions

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The Publication of English Literature in Germany in the Eighteenth Century By MARY BELL PRICE and LAWRENCE MARSDEN PRICE. University of California Publications in Modern Philology, Volume 17, 1934 Pp. viii + 288.

This volume adds a source-work of major importance to the shelf of studies in comparative literature As the title does not indicate, it is in reality a bibliography of German translations, adaptations, and imitations of English poetry, drama, and fiction (including essay periodicals of the *Spectator* type) in the eighteenth century. In the twenty-one pages of introduction Professor Price interestingly reveals some of the problems and methods involved in the project With characteristic modesty he submits the results as only tentative. Tentative they are in the sense that there are always more details to discover. New items will be turned up, but here

we have a clearing-house established for final facts in one of the most significant fields of literary study. The groundwork is laid for many potential studies which must precede the final statement of the full character and meaning of the shift from French to English influence in German letters.

It should be emphasized that the usefulness of this bibliography will not be confined solely to those interested in English-German literary relations. Workers in the strictly English field should find it valuable in several ways. Simply as a short-title list of English production it should take its place in the too much neglected field of eighteenth-century bibliography. Naturally it does not begin to give a complete accounting of English works, but in its 1166 items, few major writers are missing, while obscure and forgotten figures are numerous. But a more important fact is that we are provided with a selected list, representing the actual preferences of the reading and play-going public of the eighteenth century. Close study of the methods of the German publisher shows that he and his translator followed the changes of English taste with a shrewdness and accuracy which make their choice of works for translation a constant index of its temper and direction. The relative popularity of Shakespeare's plays, or of Shakespeare as compared with other dramatists, the response to Fielding as compared with the vogue of sentimental fiction in the work of such a writer as Charlotte Smith, who had fifteen novels translated—such aspects of literary taste are indicated for the English public as well as for the German.

What the German translator actually did with the English original has been only sporadically studied in previous scholarship, and the formidable labors involved in gathering the widely scattered materials for this book have prevented the authors from examining more than a small proportion of the actual works listed. "Many of them," Professor Price remarks, "are probably no longer in existence." This may be true of some of the shallows in the sea of fiction, but the writer can provide the assurance that he has himself located and examined much of the poetry and practically all the drama. However, existing collections, even in the great German repositories, are fragmentary.

The activities of the translator, as Professor Price emphasizes, varied from close translation to very liberal adaptation, or the mere use of the label 'aus dem Englischen' for its trade value. Freedom of adaptation should not, however, be regarded as unfortunate or due to mere carelessness. Much work was hasty, but Germany in the eighteenth century was not interested in English thought and letters for academic reasons. She admired the English for their freshness and natural vigor. Novels were translated to be read and plays to go directly on the stage. J. J. C. Bode, one of the most prolific and sound of the succession of over five hundred known translators, makes a pertinent comment in the preface to

his translation of Cumberland's *West Indian* (2nd ed, 1775) "Ich habe diese Comodie," he says, "aus dem Englischen *verdeutschet*. (Dass Wort wird Ihnen ja wol eben so lieb seyn, als wenn ich sagte, ubersetzt Es kann noch wol einmal die Zeit kommen, da Eins so viel heiszt als das Andre)" "

Any comment on the Prices' volume should call attention to its practicability As a 'Nutzbau' it is spare of decorative comment The indexing, by author and work, with both the English title and the German listed separately, makes it yield up its materials at once The introduction contains suggestive analysis of the distribution of translations throughout the century, and points the way to a variety of investigations To add here a few items in addition to the body of the work is only to suggest that further gleanings in this field will, except for further identifications, be limited The numbers given correspond to the enumeration in the text

(49) *Der Mensch wie er ist* is translated by Fr. H Bothe Letter to Nicolai Dec 13, 1797 writes asking for advance of 50 Rthlr. "Der Roman Man as he is wird zwar nur 2 massige Bande ausmachen "

(627) *Die Wildfange* (The Libertines) is also translated by Bothe Writes to Nicolai Nov 20, 1800 "Ich habe die Ehre, Ew. Wohlgehr den Schluß Der Wildfange zu übersenden Ich mußte mir mit diesem Roman viele Freiheit nehmen und besonders gegen das Ende hin manches ändern und vieles auslassen, denn das Original ward zu abenteuerlich "

(844) Robinson, Mary *Walsingham oder Das Naturkind* also translated for Nicolai by Bothe Letter of August 25, 1798 "Ich schicke Ew Wohlgeb den Rest von Walsingham Sie haben die 2 ersten Bande des Originals vermiszt? Ich schickte sie um die Mitte des July mit dem deutschen Text "

The remaining items are mainly in the field of the drama Where an entirely new item is given two numbers are used to indicate its alphabetical position

(95 96) Bickerstaff, Isaac *Lionel and Clarissa* 1768 *Lionel und Clarissa* Lustspiel in 5 A n d E Played in Hamburg Nov or Dec 1772 according to Meyer's Life of Schröder. Played in Berlin 18 April 1775 according to Plumicke, *Entwurf einer Theatergeschichte von Berlin*, Bln 1781

(130) Brooke, Frances *History of Lady Julia Mandeville* 1763 *Julie*, Trauerspiel von H P Sturz, 1767 M Koch adds Frankfurt, Leipzig, Mannheim, bei Kaufmann, 1795

(184) Cibber, Colley *She would and she would not* 1703 *Die Wankelmütige oder Der weibliche Betrüger* Add edition 1783 Same Mannheim Theaterbibliothek has MS translation No author given, 230 pp. *Sie meint's so bese nicht* 1787 Add Hamburg, Herold, 1792

(190) Cobb, James *House to be sold*. 1802 *Hier ist eine Wohnung zu vermietten*, 1792 Could not be Cobb's *House to be sold*, which dates later Perhaps is his *The First Floor* (1787).

- (191) Weisze, C F *Komische Opern* Add dates 1772, 1777 (Mannheim Theaterbibliothek catalog).
- (234) Cowley, Hannah *The Runaway* 1776 *Amalia Schonewold*, Lustspiel in 5 A nach der Runaway (MSS) Listed in Reichard's Theater-Kalender für Deutschland, 1779, p 116.
- (245) Should be John Crowne
- (256) Cumberland, Richard *The West Indian* 1771 Kotzebue's version incorrectly given Should be Leipzig, Kummer 1815, 1822 This is taken from a Munich edition not listed and to be described as follows *Der Westindier* Ein Lustspiel in 5 Aufz a d Engl. ubers Joh Nep Fritz, München, 1775
- (340) Farquhar, George *The Beaux Stratagem* 1707 *Die Stutzerlist* Leipzig Universitäts-Katalog lists a version 'ubers von Frankenburg,' n d There is also listed a *Beständige Ehepaar* (probably *Constant Couple*) n d The writer was unable to have these located Probably manuscript versions
- (352) Fielding, Henry *Amelia* 1752 *Der Gasthof oder Trau, Schau*, 1769 by J C Brandes *AdB*, cxiv (1793), 102 Same in *Sammtliche dramatische Schriften* von Joh Chr Brandes Leipzig, 1790-91 Bd vi "Die erste Idee dazu schopfte der Verfasser aus dem Fieldingschen Roman *Amalia*"
- (362) Fielding *The Mock Doctor* 1732 *Der Art zum Spass* should read *Der Arzt zum Spass* Same Add *Der grillenhafte Doctor* (Faice mit Gesang in 2 Akten von M Reiberg Die Handlung nach Heinrich Fielding) Lokal Schwank mit Gesang in 2 Die Grund-Idee nach Fieldings Mock Doctor Theatermanuskript 68 Seiten Katalog der Alten Bibliothek des Theaters an der Wien
- (435) Goldsmith, Oliver *She Stoops to Conquer* 1773. *Irrthum auf allen Ecken* 1785 in K K National Hoftheater, Wien Same as *Er hat sie alle zum Besten* Add Augsburg, Stage, 1786
- (562) Fielding, Henry *Jonathan Wild* 1742 *Jonathan Wilde, der grosse*, neu ubers von Hagemeister in *Thaten und Fernheiten renommirter Kraft- und Kniffgenies* This should be listed under number 357 Direct from Fielding's satirical novel (Note *Kniffgenies* should read *Kniffgenies*)
- (617) Lennox, Charlotte *The Sister*. 1769 *Was seyn soll, schreckt sich wohl* Add Frankfurt, 1778
- (640) Locke's *Essay* mis-dated Should read 1690
- (711) Murphy, Arthur. *All in the Wrong* 1761 *Die Eifersuchtigen* exists in a MS version in 3 acts, dated 1783 in Mannheim Theaterbibliothek. No translator indicated
- (712) Murphy, *The Old Maid* 1761 *Die Übereilung* also in undated MS, Mannheim Theaterbibliothek
- (883-884) Savage, Richard *Sir Thomas Overbury* 1724 *Sir Thomas Overbury*, ein Trauerspiel verändert und für das königliche Theater in Covent Garden eingerichtet von Richard Savage, aus dem Englischen übersetzt von John Geirard Luneburg, 1787 *AdB*, lxxxiv, 1, 1788, p 114
- (937 a) Liebrecht und Horwald oder So geht's zuweilen auf dem Lande München, 1782 is from *Measure for Measure*.
- (1004) Thomas *Southerne* instead of *Southern*
- (1092) Vanbrugh's *Squire Trelooby* has been pushed back from 1703 to 1698 by Dr Hotson
- (1120) Wallace, Eglantine *The Ton* rather than "Tone"
- (114) Whitehead, William *School for Lovers* 1762. J Wiham is

authority for the statement that the Vienna edition of *Schule der Liebhaber*, 1776, has nothing to do with the English version Bode's translation (1771) is the only one taken from Whitehead

The volume takes its place in the series which has already established Professor Price as the authority in English-German literary studies

ROBERT D. HORN

University of Oregon

Deutsche Volkslieder Balladen, I, 1 Edited by JOHN MEIER
Berlin De Gruyter, 1935 Pp 196

Balladen ("Deutsche Literatur," Das deutsche Volkslied," Bd 1)
Edited by JOHN MEIER Leipzig Reclam Pp 289, 1 plate

The long-awaited collection of German folksongs intended to replace Erk and Bohme's *Deutscher Liederhort* has begun to appear. To be sure, the older work will not be entirely replaced, since the *Deutsche Volkslieder* will apparently include fewer songs. The *Liederhort* will remain the largest single collection of German songs. In the *Deutsche Volkslieder* the historical and critical introductions, the editions of the melodies and the texts are the result of amazing care in assembling and organizing materials of all sorts. Tunes and texts are brought for comparison from every corner of Europe. For example, K. Štrelkel's *Slovenske narodne pesme* (Laibach, 1895 ff), an exhaustive and little-known collection of Slovene songs, is frequently drawn upon. Since the Slovene borrowed German songs at a relatively early stage in the history of the texts, the Slovene versions are often important for comparison. Such standard collections of folksongs as Child, Doncieux, and Grundtvig are frequently referred to. A vast number of new broadsides have been unearthed, and the abundant manuscript versions preserved in the *Deutsches Volksliedenarchiv* are freely used. Fortunately the edition is not burdened with variant readings and parallel texts. The songs are arranged according to the time when the Germans learned to know the subject-matter in question. They begin with *Das jüngere Hildebrandslied* and extend to *Der Abendgang*, a versification of the story of Pyramus and Thisbe made in the late Middle Ages. Since the songs in this first half-volume are the most difficult ones to annotate, the continuation will probably appear without great delay. Although only twenty songs are printed in the first half-volume, they represent a surprisingly wide range of types and problems. *Das jüngere Hildebrandslied* is a reworking of the old story and has no direct verbal connections with the Old High German epic lay. It has not survived to our day in oral tradition. *Ermenrichs Tod*, an echo of a Middle High

German epic tradition, has survived in Danish folksong *Brutwerbung* and *Die Meererin* are modern Austrian folksongs preserving elements of Middle High German epics *Der Jäger aus Griechenland* is a Middle High German epic fragment surviving in Low German and Dutch tradition *Die Geburt im Walde* is a similar survival with parallels in English, French, and Danish balladry These examples suffice to show that the problems discussed in the historical introductions vary widely and involve a familiarity with European folksongs of all kinds Not one song offers the same problem as another The discussion of the music represents a long step in advance of anything that has been done in this field, and later editors of folkmusic will find much to learn from it In every way, the *Deutsche Volksheder* is an ornament to German scholarship and a model to be emulated

The second volume, *Balladen*, is an extensive anthology for the general reader It includes 43 songs with brief introductions describing the origins, texts, and music John Meier's preface (pp 5-34) is a statement of present knowledge about ballad-origins It should be compared with the preface to the edition in one volume of Child's *Ballads* by Professor Kittredge John Meier discusses the echoes of German folksong in medieval Latin, the traces of folksong in Middle High German sources, and the penetration of folksong into the bourgeois culture of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries He describes clearly and effectively the style of folksongs and shows the nature of improvisation and the use of standing phrases The choice of songs is excellent We can only regret the lack of music When the promised four volumes of this anthology are ready, we shall have an excellent survey of German traditional song.

ARCHER TAYLOR

The University of Chicago

Deutsche Mundartenforschung, ihre Wege, Ergebnisse und Aufgaben Eine Einführung Von ADOLF BACH Heidelberg
Winter, 1934 Pp. xiv + 179

The purpose of this treatise on the most recent type of German dialect investigation is to serve as an introduction to a subject difficult of approach by reason of the widely scattered material The author for practical reasons confines himself in the main to the Rhenish dialects, which have been most thoroughly treated for his purposes and with which he is most familiar Winteler in his *Kerenzer Mundart* (1876), p 9 f, published the first truly scientific grammar of a dialect and almost contemporaneously G Wenker (p 15) conceived the idea of his great enterprise, the '*Sprachatlas*'

of Germany At the same time the Neo-Grammarians (p 14) propounded their theory of the inviolability of the soundlaws With all due respect for the great advance marked by the latter movement, any one familiar with dialect studies could not escape the conviction that dialects did not altogether support the same Bach however does not deny the value of this theory as a working proposition (p xii) but desires to emphasize the progress marked by the study of dialect geography as distinguished from the study of single dialects (p xiii) He treats his subject under the captions the historical problem, the phonetic problem, the geographical problem (Wenker's *Sprachatlas* and the interpretation of dialect charts) with a supplementary section entitled *Zur Erläuterung*, a commentary on the preceding paragraphs The most striking innovation of modern dialect research is the emphasis placed on the importance of the territorial divisions developed since about the thirteenth century (p. 46), as distinguished from the tribal divisions of an earlier period, Franks, Thuringians, Alemans, Bavarians, which however are conceded as a possible factor in the dialect distinctions for an earlier period The commentary above mentioned is of special interest Here is treated the sound change *i, ü, u* to *ei, au, eu* and its spread westward from Bavaria to the Rhine (p 78 f), likewise the lengthening of vowels in open syllable (p 81), which probably spread in the opposite direction, from north to south The theory of F Wrede, the successor of Wenker, of extensive Ingvaenisms, even as far as Southern Germany, is mentioned, though certain aspects be hypothetic (p 81 ff) The great archbishoprics of Mainz, Trier, Köln and the territory subject to their influence are claimed to be regions of specific dialect character, the Mainz region being separated from Trier by the Hunsrück and the Trier region from Cologne by the Eifel (p 85 ff) Wrede and especially Professor Th. Frings receive credit for having done most to advance modern dialect research methods to a perfection rivalling successfully the excellent work of French scholars in their field Toward the end of the book the author draws wider and wider circles, expanding even into the relation between his subject and general culture To many these chapters will make a greater appeal than the more technical earlier parts One problem remains unsolved as before What are the causes of sound change? As long as this problem is not solved there will be loose threads and differences of opinion on linguistic problems To finish his brief account the reviewer ventures the statement The work under consideration could hardly have been better.

Johann von Konstanzt *Die Minnelehre* Edited by FREDERIC
ELMORE SWEET Privately printed, Boston, Mass (1934).
Pp. lxxvii + 125

This poem, formerly but now no longer, attributed to Heinzelin von Konstanzt (Cf Pfeiffer's edition, 1852, p v) is reedited here. To the four texts known to Pfeiffer (A, Stuttgart, B, Donau-eschingen, C, Heidelberg, D, Dresden) a fifth text E (Roudnici n L, Lobkowiczky Archiv a Knihovna, VIFc 26) is added. According to Sweet this text contains the most dependable and complete version of the poem (Cf p xl, lviii). The methods by which the editor obtains these results do not seem satisfactory to this reviewer. The treatment of the five manuscripts as to orthography and dialect (Introd, pp xii-xlviii) is difficult to control as no specific references to authorities accompany statements. What is meant by the 'shortened infinitives' *gan, stan* (OHG *gān, stān*)? Is the editor misled by NHG *gehen, stehen*? Fuller variant readings than Pfeiffer has furnished are a distinct merit of the edition, and much labor bestowed on their collection deserves mention. But it does not seem to the reviewer that the best results can be obtained through the methods followed by the editor. All through the poem one has the feeling that the author's versification is reasonably close to that of the accepted standards of the MHG classics and their immediate epigones, and that by correct reading of passages, with suggestions from the various texts, which should be available in photographic reproduction, it would be possible to obtain a fairly serviceable text. MS A, the famous Weingartner Liederhandschrift, is already available in facsimile. The attribution of the poem to a certain Johannes von Konstanzt (MS D) is extremely doubtful, even if part of the passage should be authentic, as the rhymes *Kostenz bestentz* seem to fall out of the regular cadence and *bestens* does not seem to be a possible form for a period reasonably close to the original or to reliable information about its history.

FREDERICK H. WILKENS

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Frauen-Erleben und Frauen-Gestalten bei Heinrich von Kleist.
Von KURT SEMELA Berlin Brandel, 1934 Pp 79

The first half of this investigation presents Heinrich von Kleist's attitude toward women on the basis of the situations and experiences which prompted his letters to them. An analysis is made of Kleist's letters to his fiancée, Wilhelmine von Zenge, his step-sister Ulrike, his cousin by marriage, Marie von Kleist, Henriette Vogel, who died with him, and the one epistle to Karoline von Schleben. The

author points out that Kleist, whose mother died when he was but a boy, was attracted by the motherly kindness and sympathy in women, by that loving comfort which had been denied him in his youth. Dr Semela does not fall into the rather frequent error of regarding Kleist's early letters, in which a rationalistic outlook predominates, as definitive for his whole approach to life. It was the young man's inexperience which for a time prompted him to a one-sided worship of the life of reason. Because a relatively large number of letters date from this early period their significance for Kleist's views on life has been overrated.

The second and more important half of this dissertation deals with the major women characters in Kleist's works. With but few exceptions the author regards them as endowed with greater emotional depth than Kleist's male characters. Their more significant traits are summed up as "Reinheit, Zartheit und ein lebensstiefer Sinn, die Fähigkeit zur unbedingten Hingabe, die Entschlossenheit bis in den Tod, ihr 'Erstgefühl' zu wahren" (p. 76).

On the whole, this study is sound as far as it goes. The fundamental criticism to be made of it lies in its brevity. Kleist's strange relations with Henriette Vogel require a more extended treatment than is given here. Eve in *Der zerbrochene Krug* as well as Natalie in *Prinz Friedrich von Homburg* deserves more adequate analysis, the former as an example of unselfish devotion, and the latter because of the significance of her rôle in the drama. A brief comparison is made of Penthesilea and Alkmene but not a word is said by way of explanation of Kleist's contrast of Penthesilea and Kathchen as found in his letter of December 8, 1808. The contrast between Kathchen and Kunigunde merits more careful discussion. On the other hand, the gentler feminine traits of Penthesilea's nature, which have been overlooked by various critics, are not neglected here.

Occasionally, Dr Semela weakens his case by overstatement. Thus to pronounce Kleist "den grossten Frauendichter Deutschlands" (p. 79) is a dangerous bit of superlative. Other examples are "Kleist übersteigert stets" (p. 29), and "Kleist, der durchaus keine Fähigkeit zum Entschluss in sich trug, vielmehr durch die Not des Augenblicks getrieben wurde" (p. 28). One might well quarrel with the opinion that *Das Erdbeben in Chili* is one of the weakest of Kleist's *Novellen* (p. 53), for it has decided points of strength in structure, plot, characterization, motivation, diction and in the creation of suspense. Kleist's repeated attempt at formulating a plan for his life is attributed essentially to a serious sense of responsibility (p. 38), whereas a further and perhaps weightier reason lies in his fear of facing life without a plan.

Dr Semela is well read in the critical literature on Kleist, his conclusions are, in the main, based on logical analysis, and he does not hesitate to differ with older critics. He is to be commended

for writing a study free from the sensationalism and innuendo to be found in various treatises on his subject, and for taking to task those writers whose morbid fancy flirts with thoughts of sadism in the discussion of *Penthesilea*. Moreover, he has the good judgment to refrain from strained metaphysical interpretations, a common enough failing in studies on Kleist. In these days of turgid, rhetorical writing, the unaffected straightforwardness of his style is worthy of comment.

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Friedrich Hebbel A Study of His Life and Work by EDNA PURDIE. [New York and] London: Oxford University Press, 1932. Pp. 276. \$4.00.

Der ausgesprochene Zweck dieser Hebbelstudie ist, Hebbel als Mensch und Dichter einem weiteren englischen Publikum näherzubringen. Diesen Zweck sucht die Verfasserin in konservativer Weise zu erreichen, indem sie eine recht eingehende Lebensbeschreibung mit einer Analyse der einzelnen Werke verwebt. Dieses Schema wird nur am Schluß des Buches unterbrochen, wo ein Kapitel der *Conception of Tragedy* gewidmet ist. Die Analyse der Dramen behandelt in ebenfalls traditioneller Form das Verhältnis zur Quelle, die Entstehungsstadien, den Aufbau und die Motivierung des Dramas, woran sich eine kurze ästhetische Wertung anschließt. Diese Art der Darstellung ist durchaus unter dem angegebenen Zweck zu beurteilen, sie kann nur ein erstes Heranführen an den Dichter zu sein beanspruchen. Aber auch dann und gerade dann hatte sich eine dynamischere Darbietung des Materials empfohlen. Das Biographische verliert sich manchmal zu sehr im Detail und wird anekdotisch anstatt die Wesenszüge des Dichters und seiner inneren Entwicklung herauszuarbeiten. Infolgedessen erscheinen auch die Werke mehr als Episoden und gewollte Kunstprodukte denn als notwendiger Ausdruck einer Lebenssituation und ihrer komplizierten Problematik. Das Gesamtwerk kommt in seinem organischen Wachstum überhaupt nicht zur Geltung. Noch abstrakter werden die theoretischen Äußerungen Hebbels behandelt. Es geht natürlich nicht an, das Werk eines Dichters aus seinen theoretischen Bemerkungen zu erklären, das führt manchmal zu völliger Mißinterpretation. Ebensowenig aber läßt sich die Theorie beiseite schieben. Sie ist, soweit sie original ist—und das ist sie bei Hebbel—ebenso sehr Ausdruck der persönlichen Problematik wie das Werk selbst; der Unterschied ist nur der von logischer und anschaulicher Gestaltung. Zum vollen Verständnis des Hebbelschen Werkes gehört dazu noch seine Stellung in der geistigen Entwicklung des 19. Jahrhunderts, d. h. sein Versuch, das idealis-

tische Weltbild zu retten durch eine Verbindung mit der vitalistisch-existenziellen Auffassung, wie sie sich bei Schopenhauer und Grillparzer ausgebildet hatte. Die Verbindung von persönlicher und zeitlicher Problematik hat Hebbel selbst als wesentlich für die Dichtung empfunden, so in der Widmung zu *Maria Magdalene*, in der er erklärt, wie sich "das innere Labyrinth" und das "Äußere der Welt" in der poetischen Darstellung ergänzend und erhellend verschränken.

F W KAUFMAN

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Der große Duden Bearbeitet von Dr OTTO BASLER Band I Rechtschreibung der deutschen Sprache und der Fremdwörter. Elfte, neubearbeitete und erweiterte Auflage 61 + 670 S RM 4 Band II Stelwörterbuch der deutschen Sprache 16 + 694 S RM 4 Band IV Bildwörterbuch der deutschen Sprache 11 + 795 S RM 4 Leipzig Bibliographisches Institut, 1934 und 1935

Der Sprachbrockhaus, deutsches Bildwörterbuch für jedermann IV + 763 S RM 5 Leipzig F A Brockhaus, 1935

The two publications fill a long-felt need and are in a way different enough to complement each other. The once slender *Duden* is now presented to us in four volumes. The first volume contains the well known spelling dictionary of the German language considerably expanded, adding 100 pages. The very first page under A, for instance, is increased to the extent of one of the four columns, inserting A—*Ampere*, A—coinage sign Berlin, A—Roman number 5000, A—Alpha, A A—*Auswartiges Amt*, the explanation for the verb *Aalen*, the Danish name of a Schleswig city *Aabenraa*, and the compound *Aronsstab*. The excellent theoretical introductions on the principles of spelling, German grammar, word formation, punctuation, typography, and proof-reading, very valuable especially for the foreigner, have been revised and present their material in the shortest possible form. The careful reader will be grateful for hints on etymology and derivation in the dictionary.

The second volume is entirely new. In dictionary form it furnishes a wealth of material concerning usage of words, phraseology, and idiomatic expression. Under the heading of *putzen*, for instance, we not only find the objects which may be wiped or shined, but also such conversational expressions as *Klingeln putzen*—go peddling or begging, *geputzt wie ein Pfingstochse*—all dolled up; *jen. die Nase putzen*—to scold somebody. The sublime is often

separated from the burlesque only through a comma, and the person with a sense of humor may enjoy next to a Bible quotation such pearls of Wilhelm Busch as *Selbst im dicksten Publikum, schwebt dein Geist um mich herum*. Under the heading *zwischen*, e g, we find quotations from Goethe, Kind, Schiller, Rilke, Ludwig, and Hoffmann von Fallersleben.

A serious, yet amusing introduction by Professor E. Geißler gives pithy and sensible advice concerning organic expression, foreign words, clarity, simplicity, and good taste in style.

The third volume, containing a German grammar and less interesting to the foreign student, is not reviewed here, the principal feature of the fourth volume, the *Bilderduden*, is the illustration. It presents in its 348 tables about 30,000 objects, listed for quick reference in the index under 21,000 items. In some instances colored plates might have been desirable (for mushrooms, for example), in others, overcrowding blurs the picture or simplified drawings are insufficient for characterization (for conifers, for instance). But all in all, the material will prove invaluable for the acquiring of a vocabulary and as a basis for conversation in oral pictures.

The *Sprachbrockhaus* aims to give, in the manner of the *Petit Larousse*, a complete German vocabulary, to characterize words according to age and usage (literary, scientific, idiomatic, etc.), and to illustrate their specific and idiomatic meaning in phrases. The careful indication of declension and conjugation makes this book especially useful for foreigners and the profuse but judiciously chosen illustrations assemble in their readable legends a wealth of information concerning technical terms in a small space.

ERNST FEISE

BRIEF MENTION

Hugo von Hofmannsthal, I. Die Gestalten. Von GRETE SCHAEDEER. Berlin: Junker und Dunnhaupt, 1933 (= *Neue Forschung* Heft 21, 1). Pp 197. Mk 8. Die Beurteilung dieser Arbeit über Hofmannsthal wird einigermaßen erschwert dadurch, daß die Studie *Hugo von Hofmannsthal II, Bildungswelt und dichtersche Welt von Hans H. Schaefer* noch nicht vorliegt. Von jeder literar-geschichtlichen Einordnung ist daher vorläufig abgesehen worden und es ist deshalb nicht immer ganz leicht, den Entwicklungsgang zu verfolgen, weil die Beziehung zu Zeitgenossen und Strömungen grundsätzlich ausgeschieden werden, wodurch z B Hofmannsthal viel einseitiger romantisch erscheint und mit dem Impressionismus kaum noch Gemeinsamkeiten aufweist. Andererseits entsteht auf

diese Weise ein Bild von einer Geschlossenheit, wie es bei kaum einem andern Dichter denkbar erscheint, Hofmannsthal indessen in sofern gerecht wird, als der Kreis seiner Entfaltung (Entwicklung wäre es kaum zu nennen) sich mit seinen letzten Werken schließt, was immer in Fülle und Reife schon in den ersten Werken vorgebildet ist, kehrt in Vertiefung und wechselnder Wertung bis zum *Großen Welttheater* und zum *Turm* wieder. Besonders ist es die Gestalt des Toren, die ich selbst in einer von der Verfasserin nicht angeführten Arbeit als typisch für den Dichter untersucht habe, und die auf Grund des mir damals nicht zugänglichen Materials (Hofmannsthals *Ad Me ipsum*, veröffentlicht 1930) fester in des Dichters Praeexistenzidee verankert werden konnte.

Mit klarer Periodisierung, steter Beziehung von dichterischen und theoretischen Werken Hofmannsthals aufeinander, Herausarbeitung der Grundzüge seines Schaffens und zart, doch sicher einführender Charakterisierung seiner Werke und Gestalten erhellt die Verfasserin die nicht immer leicht zu ergründenden Symbole und Probleme und weist die erstaunliche Einheit des ganzen Werkes nach, sodaß am Schluß die Welt des Dichters, schwermutsvoll, leicht erdenfern, aber voll Seelenschöne und Liebenswertheit vor uns steht, gutiger und freundlicher als die Stefan Georges und in ihrem Eigenwert kaum seiner Billigung bedürftig. Mit der angekündigten Studie über den Wurzelgrund des Werkes durfte vorläufig Abschließendes über Hofmannsthal gesagt worden sein.

ERNST FEISE

Expressionismus und Activismus, eine typologische Studie Von WOLFGANG PAULSEN. Bern: Gotthelf Verlag, 1935. Pp. 244. Paulsen's Studie, unter Fritz Strich's Führung entstanden, unternimmt es, die Strömungen Expressionismus und Activismus als gegensätzlich zu erweisen und zu charakterisieren, sie leistet ihre wichtige Aufgabe mit Scharfsicht und gelangt zu dem Resultat einer glücklichen Klärung beider, sie ordnet sie in den Gang der Literaturentwicklung ein und wirft dabei erhellende Lichter auf frühere Epochen, hilft die Begriffe Irrationalismus, Rationalismus und den gesamten angrenzenden Problemkreis in Beziehung zu setzen und die Bedeutung der Strich'schen Typologie von neuem darzutun.

Das erste Kapitel, mit einer Überschau der Vorläufer einsetzend, zeigt die Gemeinsamkeit des Kampfes in Bewegung und Chaos gegen den maschinellen Alltag der Beschwichtigung und Entsagung. Die Welt soll überwunden (Expressionismus), soll umgeschaffen (Activismus) werden. Im zweiten wird Expressionismus als gotische Lebensform erwiesen, sein Verhältnis zu Gotik, Barock, Romantik mit Anknüpfung an Worringer klargestellt. Activismus dagegen (drittes Kapitel) hat mit Aufklärung gemein die bewußte

Gestaltung des Chaos vom Geist aus, im Gegensatz zur Ekstase mit dem Ziel Gott, Paradies und Sehnsucht. Er kämpft indessen gegen zwei Fronten, gegen den unbedingten Irrationalismus einerseits und einen ebenso unbedingten Rationalismus andererseits, der die Grenzen seiner Zuständigkeit überschreitet, denn er ist nicht gegründet auf eine Überschätzung der Wissenschaft, sondern auf den willenshaften Glauben an die Kraft des Menschen. Doch ist das Ziel stärker als beim Expressionismus durch Negation bestimmt. Die Schwierigkeit der Abgrenzung der beiden parallelen Bewegungen, durch Gleichheit des Tempos und äußerliche Ähnlichkeit der Ausdrucksformen bestimmt, kompliziert sich durch Anlehnung an gleiche Vorbilder und Vorläufer, Plato, Nietzsche, Tolstoj, Dostojewski, die hingegen entsprechend mit durchgehender Verschiedenheit ausgewertet werden. In der Herausarbeitung dieser Auswertung zeigen sich die Vorzüge der Paulsenschen Arbeit im hellsten Lichte.

Kapitel iv mit der Darlegung der "Beziehungen beider Bewegungen" und Kapitel v mit der Anwendung auf Lyrik, Drama und Roman ziehen das Fazit der Leistung auf Grundlage der vorhergehenden prinzipiellen Erwägungen. Ausführliche Anmerkungen, Literaturangaben und Index schließen diese Arbeit, die sich in ihrer durchgängigen Sachlichkeit freihalt von überschwänglicher Abstraktion und bedeutungsloser Stoffanhäufung und die unsere Kenntnis kürzlich abgeschlossener Bewegungen entscheidend bereichert.

ERNST FEISE

Der Tod Adalbert Stifters. Von Dr. ANDREAS MARKUS. Berlin: Verlag Emil Ebering, 1934. Das Problem Dichter und Persönlichkeit wird wohl immer unlosbar sein. Ist es möglich, dass der Dichter so von seinem Beruf erfüllt ist, dass er nur Werkzeug ist und seine Persönlichkeit darunter leidet? Oder gibt es einen ständigen Kampf zwischen den Forderungen des Dichterberufs und den Ansprüchen der Persönlichkeit, der sich so steigern kann, das nur ein tragisches Ende möglich ist?

Seit dem Erscheinen von Heins Stifterbiographie musste der Literaturhistoriker sich mit dem Gedanken abfinden, dass Adalbert Stifter den Tod durch eigene Hand gefunden hat. Trotzdem blieben über dem Wie und Warum dieses tragischen Endes noch so manche dunkle Zweifel hangen, die zu lichten das vorliegende Werk sich zur Aufgabe macht. An Hand von Berichten der Zeitgenossen und dem jetzt zugänglichen ärztlichen Befund weist der Verfasser einwandfrei nach, dass Stifter seinen Tod beschleunigte, indem er selbst Hand an sich legte.

Der ständige Kampf zwischen Brotberuf und Dichterberuf,

unglückliche hausliche Verhältnisse, seelische Depressionszustände verbunden mit schweren körperlichen Leiden machten seine letzten Tage zur Qual, so dass er nach dem Rasirmesser griff. Doppelt tragisch ist diese Tat, da der Dichter den Freitod durchaus ablehnte und er überdies nach Aussage seines Arztes seinem Leiden ohnedies bald erlegen wäre.

Für den Verehrer Stifters ist das Bild des Dichters durch vorliegende gründliche und sachliche Arbeit nicht getrübt, sondern geklärt worden. Dem Verfasser wissen wir dafür Dank.

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The Wedding of Sir Gawain and Dame Ragnell. By GEORGE BRANDON SAUL. Translated from the Middle English with an Introduction. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1934. Pp. xiv + 30. \$0.50. Publisher and author are to be congratulated upon this little book. It is attractively bound and clearly printed on good paper. Dr. Saul's introduction gives nearly all that an undergraduate or general reader would wish to know of scholarly opinion about the original poem, and his prose does not clog the movement of a story whose verse, if at times irregular, is always rapid.

A few comments and corrections follow, in which M stands for the first printing of the poem in Madden's *Syr Gawayne*, and S for Miss Laura Sumner's ed. of 1924. Line numbers and quotations are from the book last named.

48 S *after the grasse he taste*, "he assayed the grease," see *Gaw and Gr Knt* 1325-29, 1378. 96 S *Nowther frende ne freynd*. Adopt M's *fremde ne freynd*, "neither unsib nor kin." 221 S *spyrning* may well be "asking questions, making inquiries," see *NED* *speer*, v¹. 237 S *lute*, see *NED* *lout*, sb^a *obsol.*, "an inclination, bend," and cf *ON* *lutr*, "a stooping." 440 S *a greatt shake*, see *NED* *shake*, sb¹, I, 1 a, "quickly, with headlong speed." 489 S *bete and bynde*, "thresh and bind wheat, i. e., perform servile labour?" 550 S *handfulle* is *handful*, "four inches," see *NED* s v 3 *obsol.* 615 S *praty*, "clever, skilful," see *NED* *pretty*, adj I, II, 2a?

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HENRY L. SAVAGE

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WORDSWORTH'S ADOLESCENCE

In the second book of *The Prelude* we read

From early days,
I have endeavour'd to display the means
Whereby this infant sensibility,
Great birthright of our Being, was in me
Augmented and sustain'd Yet is a path
More difficult before me, and I fear
That in its broken windings we shall need
The chamois' sinews, and the eagle's wing
For now a trouble came into my mind
From unknown causes I was left alone,
Seeking the visible world, nor knowing why
The props of my affections were remov'd,
And yet the building stood, as if sustain'd
By its own spirit! All that I beheld
Was dear to me, and from this cause it came,
That now to Nature's finer influxes
My mind lay open, to that more exact
And intimate communion which our hearts
Maintain with the minuter properties
Of objects which already are belov'd,
And of those only (A text, 1805, 280-303)

Although there seems to be no commentary on these lines in print—as is the case with most of the troublesome passages in *The Prelude*—they are perhaps usually interpreted as referring to the poet's loss of his father and mother¹ This, however, is impossible. For one thing, Mrs. Wordsworth died when her son was only

¹ See Arthur Beatty's *William Wordsworth* (University of Wisconsin Studies), 2 ed, 1927, p 295 and Legouis, *Early Life*, translated by Matthews, 2 ed, 1921, p 51 W L Sperry, in *Wordsworth's Anticham* (Cambridge, Mass, 1935, p 168 n), which appeared since this article was written, interprets the passage as I do

eight—before the Hawkshead period with which these lines clearly deal—and her husband was not close enough to his children to be termed “the prop of my affection” But what chiefly militates against accepting this interpretation is the phrase “From unknown causes” and the course of the poet’s thought from line 198 to the end of the book This last point is unfortunately obscured by a digression of sixty-two very difficult lines (203-265) which leaves most readers in utter confusion But if we turn back to the passage just before this digression, that is to 198-203, we shall see that it is closely connected with the lines before us and that both are concerned with the development of Wordsworth’s love for nature, which is the theme of Book II as a whole At first he cared for nature only because it was associated with his boyish sports (Hartley’s associationalism), but “now” although he lost interest in these sports he sought “the visible world,”—

The props of my affections [sports] were remov’d,
And yet the building [love for nature] stood

Surprise at this discovery did not, however, constitute the poet’s “trouble” since that came “From unknown causes,” the exploration of which was so difficult that “The chamois’ sinews, and the eagle’s wing” were needed. Here, as often in *The Prelude*, Wordsworth seems to be describing as clearly and honestly as he can a state of mind or feeling which he does not understand In the present instance this is the less surprising because he was apparently dealing with a condition far less generally recognized in his day than in our own—with the tremendous physical and mental changes incident upon puberty.

For in the same paragraph as the lines we are considering he tells us that he “would walk alone, Under the quiet stars” (302-3), that he enjoyed storms at night and from them drank “the visionary power” as well as “moods Of shadowy exultation” (306-13). In the following paragraph he speaks of a “a Friend, Then passionately loved” (333-4), of rising at dawn to sit “Alone upon some jutting eminence” (343), of the marvelous things he felt at such times, when

such a holy calm
Would overspread my soul, that bodily eyes
Were utterly forgotten, and what I saw
Appeared like something in myself, a dream

(346-51)

Forty lines further on he gives an ecstatic picture of the time when "all [his] thoughts Were steeped in feeling" and his heart expanded in universal benevolence (386-418). Furthermore in a later reference to this same period "when first The boyish spirit flagged" he says that

day by day
 Along my veins I kindled with the stir,
 The fermentation, and the vernal heat
 Of poesy, affecting private shades
 Like a sick Lover

(iv 100-105)

Clearly we have here the familiar phenomena of adolescence. Like most boys who are passing through the experience, Wordsworth did not know what was the matter with him. The noisy tumult of boyish play no longer satisfied and he turned—for what reason he knew not—to solitude, to passionate friendship, to vague yearnings and aspirations,—the unutterable thoughts of youth. Most of all he turned to nature:

my own pursuits
 And animal activities, and all
 Their trivial pleasures drooped
 And gradually expired, and Nature, prized
 For her own sake, became my joy

(viii 343-7)

Fortunately this new passion, "the spirit of religious love In which [he] walked with Nature" (357-8), was not only a manifestation of the physical change going on within him but an escape-valve for it and thus enabled him to avoid the morbidity from which many boys suffer during this period.

Wordsworth gives no indication as to the time when this "trouble came into [his] mind"² or as to the date of the incidents described in the passages preceding or following this one.³ In 386, to be sure, 110 lines later, he remarks that when his "seventeenth year was come" (that is, not long after April 1786, a year and a half before he entered the university),

To unorganic natures were transferred
 My own enjoyments

² "Now" (276) seems to mean no more than "at this stage of my development"

³ I do not refer to 203-65 which is not personal—232-65, for example, deals with infancy in general not with Wordsworth's early years—but to the lines preceding 203 and following 284

with bliss ineffable
 I felt the sentiment of Being spread
 O'er all that moves and all that seemeth still (11 386-402)

The "trouble" can not have come much later than this, his last year and a half at Hawkshead, since it is described in the book entitled "School-time" not in that devoted to Cambridge. Nor can it have arisen much earlier since it represented a turning from the boyhood sports which, according to *The Prelude*, occupied most of the time at Hawkshead.⁴

It seems likely therefore that to Wordsworth, who was otherwise late in maturing, adolescence came late and proceeded slowly. There are indications that it may have lasted into his first long vacation from Cambridge, three years, more or less, after the "trouble" began. In his account of this vacation in the fourth book of *The Prelude* he mentions⁵ the tenderness which developed at the time and of which the fourth book furnishes many illustrations. Another reason for believing that the full flowering of Wordsworth's adolescence came during this summer is that he seems at this time to have been absorbed in dancing and in girls of his own age, an interest which is not referred to elsewhere in his autobiography or his correspondence. At least one of these dances lasted until daybreak and was marked by

Spirits upon the stretch, and here and there
 Slight shocks of young love-liking interspers'd,
 That mounted up like joy into the head,
 And tingled through the veins (A text, iv 324-7)

In this connection it may be significant that, at the opening of the sixth book when he speaks of returning to Cambridge at the end of this summer, he mentions leaving

⁴ One slight difficulty should be mentioned. In 333-4, that is only 50 lines after the passage we are considering and therefore probably (though not certainly) referring to a time contemporary with or slightly later than that when the trouble came into his mind, Wordsworth mentions "A Friend Then passionately loved." Yet in v 583-90 (A text) he informs us that when he was "thirteen or . . . less" (ten in V 552) he used to wander with this same friend along the lake repeating poetry. It seems somewhat unusual that a friend well known to a boy of ten or thirteen should be passionately loved by the same boy some three or six years later.

⁵ iv 231-55.

the coves and heights
Clothed in the sunshine of the withering fern,
the mild magnificence
Of calmer lakes and louder streams,

and then adds,

and you,
Frank-hearted maids of rocky Cumberland,
You and your not unwelcome days of mirth,
Relinquished, and your nights of revelry (vi 9-16)

Another thing that points to adolescence is the alternation of visionary ecstasy with moods of vague disquiet ⁶

Strange rendezvous my mind was at that time,
A party-colour'd show of grave and gay,
Solid and light, short sighted and profound,
Of inconsiderate habits and sedate,
Consorting in one mansion unprov'd (A text, iv 346-50)

Wordsworth later told DeQuincey that "the manners" of his fellow students at the university "were very frank and dissolute" ⁷ and, as his nature was one of "preternatural animal sensibility diffused through *all* the animal passions (or appetites)," ⁸ he may well have matured rapidly during the first eight months at Cambridge. Presumably he saw little of young women there but on his return to Hawkshead, where he knew many, his newly-aroused interest in the opposite sex blossomed "like a garden in the heat of spring" (iv 195).

In his attitude towards this first summer vacation, which was apparently of a kind that most young men and parents of today would look back upon with satisfaction, Wordsworth exhibited a severity that is a marked contrast to the toleration with which he viewed the omissions and follies of other parts of his youth. Fishing, skating, trapping, and even robbing birds' nests he regarded with approval because they bring a boy into touch with nature, but dancing and idle love-making, like the amusements of his college days, seemed to him foolish, profitless triviality, and for such he had little patience. Probably the summer was sillier

⁶ For the first see iv 137-90, 239-55, 307-38, 370-469, for the second, 276-97 (A text, 268-304 is more detailed)

⁷ Letter of March 6, 1804

⁸ DeQuincey, *Collected Writings*, ed. Masson, ii 246

than we realize, doubtless the inexperienced youth fresh from college was vain, self-conscious, sentimental, affected, and otherwise foolish, yet he seems to have been healthy and happy not morbid, lazy, or disagreeable—as boys of eighteen often are. If he had been aware of the great physical and emotional changes through which a youth passes in becoming a man he would have been more tolerant, realizing the time which appears to be wasted in trivialities and silly diversions may be as necessary for readjustment as that given over to sleep is for growth

RAYMOND D HAVENS

ARTICLES IN *FRASER'S MAGAZINE* ATTRIBUTED TO CARLYLE

On the authority of Mr J A S. Barrett,¹ Mr Isaac W Dyer admitted to the Carlyle canon two articles entitled "Fashionable Novels The Domine's Legacy" and "Mr Edward Lytton Bulwer's Novels, and Remarks on Novel Writings," which were published in *Fraser's Magazine* for April and June 1830.² Since the publication of Mr Dyer's monumental bibliography, Miss Miriam M Thrall has made excellent use of internal evidence in an attempt to refute the ascription of these articles to Carlyle.³ Her array of internal evidence can be supported by an examination of the external evidence in the case

So far, the records of the life at Craigenputtock have not been thoroughly examined with this problem of authorship in mind. According to Froude,⁴ Jeffrey, in 1829, wishing to round off his editorship of *The Edinburgh Review* with an attack on utilitarianism, begged hard that Carlyle write the parting contribution. Some time before the middle of the year Jeffrey proposed *Vivian Grey*, or *Pelham*, as a topic for the essay. For some reason the topic was changed. The essay actually written was

¹ *TLS* (London), January 20, 1927, p 44

² *A Bibliography of Thomas Carlyle's Writings and Ana* Portland, Maine, 1928, pp 198-9

³ *MLN*, XLVI (1931), 316-321. See also Miss Thrall's *Rebellious Fraser's*, N Y., 1934, pp 268-70

⁴ *Thomas Carlyle A History of the First Forty Years of His Life*. N Y., 1882, II, 47-48

"Signs of the Times," which was finished August 5.⁵ It named at its head three books for review, one of them by Edward Irving, but none by Disraeli or Bulwer Carlyle's own account of the matter, an account that Mr Barrett quotes only in part, occurs in a letter written to Jeffrey's successor, Macvey Napier, and dated January 20, 1831 ⁶ "I once proposed to Mr Jeffrey to make a sort of sally on *Fashionable Novels*, but he misunderstood me—thought I meant to *criticise* them, so the matter dropt for the time The Pelham-and-Devereux manufacture is a sort of thing which ought to be extinguished in British literature, at least, some one in the half-century, a British reviewer, ought to rise up and declare it extinguishable, and prophesy its extinction. But I fear my zeal has somewhat cooled, and perhaps the better method of attack were not to batter but to undermine" The letter, written in 1831, some months after the publication of the articles in question definitely states that the project had been dropped in 1829 and implies that thereafter his ardor cooled to such a degree that he never resumed the project

There are other considerations Carlyle's correspondence during the winter and spring of 1830 shows him engrossed with his History of German Literature, a project that fell through only late in the summer, for want of a publisher During the months when the *Fraser's* articles would have been written, Carlyle was struggling hard to get insight into a great body of material new to him And it was not his practice to carry on two pieces of writing at the same time, as he would have had to do if he had contributed the articles to *Fraser's* Furthermore, if he had written the articles, his need of money during the summer of 1830 and *Fraser's* slowness to pay might have caused some mention of them in his letters to his brother in London, who acted as his agent As will be seen very shortly, Carlyle did write this brother in August in an attempt to get money that *Fraser's* owed him for a translation Yet these letters to John Carlyle contain no reference to the articles on fashionable novels. Again, if Carlyle had been the contributor of important articles in *Fraser's*—articles that played

⁵ Thomas Carlyle, *Two Note Books*, ed. by C E Norton, N Y, 1898, p 140

⁶ *Selections from the Correspondence of Macvey Napier*, ed by Macvey Napier, London, 1879, p 102

a part in the literary feud with Bulwer—he might have been sent copies of the magazine, *seriatim*, as the articles appeared. But as a matter of fact as late as August, when *Fraser's* was in its seventh issue, Carlyle was so far out of touch with the magazine that he did not even know that his translation of Richter's review of Madame de Stael in the first (February) and fourth (May) numbers had been printed. On August 6 he wrote his brother John in London: "I have, at your suggestion, sent that miserable dud of 'Cruthers and Johnson' ⁸ to Fraser, with two other Papers certain abstruse 'Thoughts on History,' ⁹ and a small scantling of my Fables and Rhymes (or rather one Rhyme 'What is Hope') ¹⁰. Lastly, I have told the man to deliver you the Payment (if any) for that *Jean-Paul'sche Recension* ¹¹ In the same letter ¹² Carlyle said. "Magazine Fraser has never offered me a doit for Richter's critique, and not even printed it at all. If you can get any cash from the fellow it will come in fine stead now, when I have above 200 £ worth of writing returned on my hands, and no Fortunatus' hat close by." According to the correspondence of 1830, Carlyle, at least until August, appears almost out of touch with the new *Fraser's Magazine*, into whose editorial policy the writer of the articles in question may be supposed to have entered sympathetically.

When, in September, *Fraser's* did undoubtedly publish some of Carlyle's original writing, some one sent him this issue and, appar-

⁷ *Letters of Thomas Carlyle, 1826-1836*, ed. by C. E. Norton, London, 1889, pp. 166-167.

⁸ The story was written by December 16, 1822 (see *The Love Letters of Thomas Carlyle and Jane Welsh*, N. Y., 1909, I, 124-125). It was published in *Fraser's Magazine*, January, 1831.

⁹ "On History," once intended for an introduction to his *History of German Literature*, was found inappropriate and cut out by April 12, 1830 (see *Two Note Books*, p. 154). The essay was published in *Fraser's*, November, 1830.

¹⁰ Four fables and the poem were published in *Fraser's*, September, 1830.

¹¹ This paper was not "Jean Paul Friedrich Richter again" as Norton (*Letters of Carlyle*, p. 167, n) supposes. It was "Jean Paul Friedrich Richter's Review of Madame de Stael's *Allemagne*," probably translated in the late fall of 1829 in connection with the essay on Richter, which was finished in October (see D. A. Wilson's *Carlyle* to "The French Revolution," London, 1924, p. 112, also *Correspondence between Goethe and Carlyle*, ed. Norton, London, 1887, p. 158).

¹² Froude, J. A., *Thomas Carlyle*, II, 95.

ently, the back issues of *Fraser's*. Then he wrote in his journal ¹³ "Last night came a whole Bundle of Fraser Magazines etc : two little Papers by my Brother in them, some (small-beer) Fables by me, and on the whole such a hurlyburly of rhodomontade, punch, loyalty, and Saturnalian Toryism as eye hath not seen." But there is no suggestion at all that he found therein any critiques by himself

Thus an examination of Carlyle's letters and journal for 1830 tends to supplement Miss Thrall's argument from internal evidence of the articles themselves in indicating that Carlyle did not write the two articles on fashionable novels. The proposition to extend the Carlyle canon by these two articles must in the present state of information be marked, Not Proved

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VOLTAIRE IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURY THEATRE

In both the 18th and 19th centuries, and particularly in the latter, it was a favorite custom to write plays celebrating events, real or imaginary, in the lives of famous literary figures. Interest centered almost exclusively on 17th and 18th century writers. Rabelais and d'Aubigné are the sole representatives of the 16th century. Molière was by far the most popular 17th century figure, although Boileau, Chapelain, Corneille, Descartes, La Fontaine, Malherbe, Pascal, Racine and Madame de Sévigné are subjects for a large number of plays. The most popular 18th century figure was Voltaire. A total of 40 plays puts him far in advance of the other 18th century figures, which include Beaumarchais, Buffon, Dancourt, Destouches, Diderot, Fénelon, Fontenelle, Helvétius, Lesage, Marmontel, Montesquieu and Rousseau ¹. Quérard, in *La France littéraire*,² was the first to record, under the heading *Opuscules relatifs à quelques circonstances de la vie et de la mort*

¹³ *Two Note Books*, p. 170

¹ Rousseau, subject of more than 12 plays, is Voltaire's closest rival.

² Quérard, J. *La France littéraire*, x, 430-431 (Paris, 1839)

de Voltaire, a group of 17 plays concerning Voltaire Brunet³ lists 33 Voltaire plays but their alphabetical listing by title makes them difficult to control, for Voltaire's name often does not begin the title nor, in many cases, does it even appear in the title Miss Barr's *Bibliography*⁴ lists 11 Voltaire plays. There exists then no complete list of these plays dealing with Voltaire Secondly, no indication is given anywhere of the content of these plays and of the circumstances in Voltaire's life of which they treat Lastly, the plays, taken as a whole, have not been considered in the light of principal periods of appearance, popularity, and place among literary genres

LIST OF VOLTAIRE PLAYS⁵

- 1 [Gallet] *La Pétarade, ou Polichinel auteur*, 1 act, pr, 1750
- [2] [Caillean] *Les Tragédies de M de Voltaire, ou Tancred jugée par ses sœurs*, comédie, 1 act, pr, 1760
- 3 Abbé de Launay, *La Nouvelle de Ferney*,⁶ divertissement, 1773
- [4] Ducoudray, *La Cinquantaine dramatique de M de Voltaire*, intermède, 1 act, pr, 1773
- [5] Palissot, *Le Triomphe de Sophocle*, comédie, 1 act, pr, 1778
- [6] La Harpe, *Les Muses rivales, ou L'Apothéose de Voltaire*, 1 act, v, R 1 février 1779
- [7] [Palmézeaux] *La Vengeance de Pluton, ou Suite des Muses rivales*, 1 act, v and pr, 1779
- 8 Molne, *L'Ombre de Voltaire aux Champs-Élysées*, comédie-ballet, 1 act, v and pr, 1779
- 9 [Mullot] *Les Muses véridiques*, 6 scènes rimées, 1779
- 10 [Billard] *Voltaire apprécié*, comédie, 1 act, v, 1778-1785?⁷

³ Brunet, C *Table des pièces de théâtre de la bibliothèque de M de Solenne* (Paris, 1914)

⁴ Barr, M-M *A Bibliography of Writings on Voltaire 1825-1925*, 101-104 (New York, 1929)

⁵ The plays are arranged in chronological order. A number in [] indicates that Voltaire is not an actual character in the play A name of an author in [] signifies that the name does not occur on the printed or ms copy, but has been obtained from other sources In the case of plays actually produced, the date given is that of presentation. Such plays are marked R For all other plays, the date of printing is given Dates followed by a question-mark have been gathered from internal evidence and sources other than the title-page of the play itself

⁶ I have been unable to locate a copy of this play Quérard refers to the *Mémoires secrets* of 1773 [Bachaumont, London, 1784, xxiv, 305-306], which states that the play was never produced.

⁷ Internal evidence shows the play is after Voltaire's death. The year of Billard's death is 1785.

- 11 [Cloutz] *Voltaire triomphant, ou les Prêtres déçus*, drama, 1 act, pr, 1784?⁸
- 12 Aude, *Le Journaliste des ombres, ou Momus aux Champs-Élysées*, pièce héroïque nationale, 1 act, v, R 14 juillet 1790
- 13 Abancourt, *La Bienfaisance de Voltaire*,⁹ pièce dramatique, 1 act, v, R 30 mai 1791
- [14] [Abancourt] *Voltaire à Romilly*, 1 act, pr, R 10 juillet 1791
- 15 Pujoux, *La Veuve Calas à Paris, ou le Triomphe de Voltaire*, 1 act, pr, R 31 juillet 1791
- 16 [?] *Le Panthéon français, ou la Désertion des Champs Élysées*, 1 act, pr, 1791? [ms copy]
- 17 PUIS, Barré, Radet, Desfontaines, *Voltaire, ou une Journée de Ferney*, comédie, 2 acts, pr, R 1 ventôse an VII
- 18 Aude, *Cadet Roussel aux Champs-Élysées, ou la Colère d'Agamemnon*, vaudeville, 1 act, R 26 ventôse an IX
- 19 Citoyens Perin et Pillon, *Molé aux Champs-Élysées*, hommage en vers, 1 act and prologue, R 25 nivôse an XI
- 20 Desprès, Deschamps, *Une Soirée de deux prisonniers, ou Voltaire et Richelieu*, comédie, 1 act, pr, R 6 germinal an XI
- 21 Aude, neveu, Décour, Defresnoy, *Collin d'Harleville aux Champs Élysées*, comédie-vaudeville, 1 act, R 10 mars 1806
- 22 Moreau, Lafortelle, *Voltaire chez Ninon*, 1 act, pr, R 7 mai 1806
- 23 Feu M Bros, ancien chanoine, *Voltaire et son génie, son Arrivée et son Triomphe dans l'autre monde*, drame, 3 acts, pr, 1817
- 24 Frédéric, *La Famille Surven, ou Voltaire à Castres*, mélodrame, 3 acts, pr, R 27 juin 1820
- 25 La Fontaine, Léon, *L'Auberge du Grand Frédéric*, comédie-vaudeville, 1 act, R 6 juin 1821
- 26 [Moreau] *Le Cordonnier de Voltaire, ou la Fuite de Berlin*,¹⁰ comédie, R 1822
- 27 [Princeteau] *Cornélie, ou la Pupille de Voltaire*,¹¹ comédie, 1 act, v, 1825
- 28 Dumersan, Dupin, *Voltaire chez les capucins*, comédie-anecdote, 1 act, pr and couplets, R 28 septembre 1830
- 29 Ourry, Brazier, *Voltaire à Francfort*, comédie anecdotique, 1 act, pr and couplets, R 8 juin 1831

⁸ Quérard says the play first appeared in *Le Conteur* in 1784, date here given for the play

⁹ Also printed under the title *Une Heure chez Voltaire*

¹⁰ I have been unable to locate a copy of this play. An amusing account of its presentation and unexpected interruption may be found in the *Histoire critique et littéraire des théâtres de Paris*, by A. P. Chaalons d'Argé, 463 (Paris, 1824), a reference given by Quérard, indicating he did not see any copy of the play. It is doubtful that it was ever printed.

¹¹ Also printed under the title *Cornélie, ou la Fille adoptive de Voltaire*. The title-page bears the remark: Nouvelle proie de la censure théâtrale.

- 30 Alexandre Duvoisin-Calas, *Un Déjeuner à Ferney en 1765, ou la Veuve Calas chez Voltaire*, 1 act, v, R [au Mans] 3 janvier 1832
- 31 Gustave, Ancelot, *Madame du Châtelet, ou point de lendemain*, comédie, 1 act, pr and couplets, R 5 mai 1832
- 32 Lafitte, Desnoyer, *Voltaire et Madame de Pompadour*, comédie, 3 acts, pr, R 12 novembre 1832
- 33 Saint-Hilaire, *La Jeunesse de Voltaire, ou le premier accessit*, comédie historique, 1 act, pr and couplets, R 6 août 1833
- []¹³
- 34 [?] *Kelty chez Voltaire au château de Ferney*,¹³ 1 act, pr., ? [ms copy]
- 35 Saint-Hilaire, Simonnin, *Un Proscrit chez Voltaire*, vaudeville anecdotique, 1 act, pr, R 8 mai 1836
- 36 Villeneuve, Livry, *Voltaire en vacances*, comédie-vaudeville, 2 acts, R 21 juin 1836
37. Lurine, Alberic-Second, *La Comédie à Ferney*, comédie, 1 act, pr, R 15 juillet 1854
- 38 Barragney, Rostan, *La Fille de Voltaire*, comédie, 1 act, v, R 8 octobre 1859
- 39 Foucher, *La Jeunesse de Voltaire*,¹⁴ comédie, 1 act, v, R 13 décembre 1869
- 40 [?] *Voltaire et Houdon*, 1 act, v, mars 1890.

¹³ Simonnin, *La Pantoufle de Voltaire*, vaudeville en deux actes, R 6 mai 1836 Voltaire is not a character in this play and any mention of him is confined to a single couplet at the end of the play, wherein a shoemaker (his sign is the title of the play) is told he is not fit to unlace Voltaire's shoes I include mention of the play here since the use of Voltaire's name in the title has created some idea that it is a play about Voltaire or concerning some event in his life

¹⁴ This play is placed here in the list because of the close resemblance it bears to the next play, Saint-Hilaire's *Un Proscrit chez Voltaire*, in both plot and actual lines and couplets Saint-Hilaire's other play, *La Jeunesse de Voltaire*, is a case of flagrant plagiarism, complications of plot and numerous lines being identical with those of *Voltaire chez Ninon* by Moreau and Lafortelle It would seem that this ms play, never printed, and containing too many variations to be considered the original ms copy of Saint-Hilaire's opus, was the source of a second plagiaristic attempt by the latter It must in all fairness be stated, however, that both of Saint-Hilaire's plays are superior to their originals, especially as regards comedy The mysterious *Kelty* of the ms title becomes *Keth* within the play In Saint-Hilaire's play the servant's name is Crette Both are common names for servants in plays of this period *Clara Wendel* 1827 [*Ketly*, servante d'auberge], *Le Hussard de Felsheim* 1828 [*Crette*, vieille gouvernante], *La Favorite* 1831 [*Kettily*, femme de chambre].

¹⁵ This play, although of the same title as number 33, has no similarity of plot It portrays the Gourville incident, source of Voltaire's own play *Le Dépositaire*.

The 35 plays written after the death of Voltaire introduce him in a variety of situations. 10 plays deal with Voltaire's arrival in the other world, 4 plays deal directly with his love for Ninon [+ many other mentions of it in other plays], 3 plays treat the Calas affair, 3 plays concern Voltaire's relations with Frederick the Great, 2 the d'Etallondes escape, and 2 plays, which cannot be classified more directly under another heading, show Voltaire in purely imaginary situations helping young lovers. There is also 1 play written on each of the following 11 subjects: Voltaire and the Maréchal, Duc de Richelieu in the Bastille, Voltaire and Madame du Châtelet, Voltaire and Madame de Pompadour, Voltaire and the Prince de Ligne, Voltaire saving Sirven, Voltaire and Houdon, the marriage of Corneille's great-niece, the marriage of Reine de Vancourt to the Marquis de Villette, the reception given Voltaire's remains at Romilly in 1791, Voltaire's plagiaristic methods of composition, and, finally, Voltaire's tricking of the priest who tried to force him to make a deathbed confession. It should be noted that in the great trilogy Calas-Sirven-La Barre, there is no play about the latter, whom Voltaire did not succeed in saving. Instead, d'Etallondes' escape from the police, engineered by Voltaire, is depicted.

The most popular subject for the 18th century was Voltaire's literary position and his occupation in the Elysian Fields. This aspect of popularity is closely pressed during the Revolutionary period by patriotic plays. But for the 19th century, it was Voltaire, lover and helper of young people in love, that held the center of interest. In fact, this side of Voltaire's life has become so general by the thirties that the grand-son of Jean Calas states expressly in the preface to his play *Un Déjeuner à Ferney en 1765* that he wrote the play in order to bring public opinion back to a consideration of the real Voltaire—the protector of the unjustly accused. The play, a very mediocre affair, did not fulfill its purpose.

Shortly after Voltaire's death, four different authors in the same year portray Voltaire's reception in the next world.¹⁵ The plays deal solely with Voltaire's literary reputation. The second period of popularity is after the Revolution, five plays appearing

¹⁵ Crist, C. M. "Some Judgments of Voltaire by Contemporaries" *MLN*, L, 439-440.

between 1790 and 1791. The only Voltaire play to appear between 1806 and 1820, a period when Voltaire's doctrines were not at all popular, voices the feeling of the Restoration. Its author, a former canon, damns Voltaire (and the rest of the 18th century philosophers all led astray by him) and shifts the entire blame for 1789 on him. This is the only play of the 19th century which is antagonistic. Then follow the years of Voltaire's greatest popularity—1820 through 1836. During this period at least 12 plays are written about him. The imaginations of the authors seem to compete for the most extraordinary situations in which to place him. In one play of this period, Voltaire is shown in a monastery, where he is asked to become one of the brothers. In another play, he is shown considering a cardinalship, and even having aspirations to the Papacy! The year 1836 marks the peak of interest in Voltaire and the small revival of interest during the Second Empire produces plays of minor importance.

These plays about Voltaire do not form a new, individual literary genre. All of them are reflections of the thought and trends of the time. This is clearly shown in a play such as *Le Panthéon français*. Here, with the venerable Voltaire, Rousseau and Franklin, we find included in the same category Desilles and Descartes. According to the *Biographie universelle*, Desilles distinguished himself during the Revolution when he tried to prevent the insurgents of Nancy from firing on the French National Guardsmen by throwing himself over the mouth of the cannon, he met his death when the insurgents fired the cannon anyhow. Desilles became the object of political worship, which lasted as long as the National Assembly, September 30, 1791. Therefore, this popular national hero is included with the great men to celebrate a contemporary event, the founding of the Temple of Memory or Pantheon. It is somewhat more surprising to find the name of Descartes accompanying Voltaire and the rest. The explanation is probably to be found in the 7th article of the decree concerning the transformation of Soufflot's Eglise de Sainte-Genève into the Pantheon. This article reads: "En attendant que la nouvelle église de Sainte-Genève soit achevée, le corps de Requeti¹ Mirabeau sera disposé à côté des cendres de Descartes dans la caverne de l'ancienne église."

Further proof of the dependence of these plays upon the trend of contemporary manners is seen in the change of form, which

develops as the theatre develops. That is, plays written during the Romantic period about Voltaire follow the principles of the Romantic school. Thus there is no fixed form which could be said to constitute a definite literary genre

The popularity of these plays in France, outside of their large number, is attested by their many presentations and wide circulation in printed form. Concrete evidence of their popularity abroad is presented by an interesting copy of *Voltaire en vacances* (1836), in the possession of the Library of Princeton University. It contains the printed note "Cette comédie a fait le tour de l'Allemagne, grâce aux talents de Mlle Hagn (*sic*), qui a emporté tous les suffrages dans le rôle d'Arouet." Furthermore, the title-page contains the stamp of the Revisione Teatrale of Turin and a notation of permission to produce the play signed by the Prefetto and dated January 27, 1872, thirty-five years after the play was first produced.

In conclusion, it may be said that the Voltaire plays had three important periods of popularity, (a) immediately after Voltaire's death, when the point of interest is his literary reputation, (b) during the Revolutionary period, when he is the apostle of justice and equality, and (c) in the Romantic period between 1820 and 1836, when the general interpretation of Voltaire is that of a great lover. Lastly, the Voltaire plays cannot be said to form a new literary genre, comparable perhaps to the 'historical play,' for they are the echo of the times, subject matter and attitude change with the change of date, and there is no special technique employed in writing them. But the total number of 40 plays about Voltaire does show the great interest taken in him, particularly by the 19th century, which clearly sensed the extraordinarily great amount of drama in the life of Voltaire.

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DID THOMAS WARTON BORROW FROM HIMSELF?

In *The Gentleman's Magazine* for May, 1755, appeared some anonymous "Verses written in a blank Leaf of Mr. Warton's *Observations* on Spenser"¹ the title of which recalls Warton's

¹ xxv, 230

later sonnet "Written in a Blank Leaf of Dugdale's *Monasticon*." That this seven-stanza poem has more intimate connections with Warton's poetry than mere resemblance of titles is clear from the beginning

As oft on *Camus'* rushy turf reclin'd
I joy'd to trace old *Spenser's* mystic page,
And fed with fancy's feast my musing mind,
A feast that could delight *Eliza's* age

The lines recall an ode, also of seven stanzas, "Sent to Mr Upton, On His Edition of the *Faerie Queene*," which was published in the 1777 edition of the *Poems* of Mr Thomas Warton himself. The two pieces, while not identical, are parallel in conception, wording, and metrics. Another stanza of the poem to Warton reads

Lo Warton came—from every fretted tale
To clear the rust that canker'd all around,
His skilful hand unlocks each fairy vale,
And opes each flow'ry forest's magic bound!

The poem *by* Warton runs

Sage Upton came, from every wonderous tale
To chase the mists that hung o'er fairy ground
His wisard hand unlocks each magic vale,
And opes each flowery forest's guarded bound

The fifth stanzas are even more alike. The unsigned poem of 1755 reads.

Th' heroic maid with hardy step explor'd
Each room array'd in glorious imag'ry,
And thro' th' enchanted chamber, richly stor'd,
Saw Cupid's stately maske come sweeping by —

The later poem has it that

The dauntless maid with hardy step explor'd
Each room, array'd in glistering imagery,
And through th' enchanted chamber, richly stor'd,
Saw Cupid's stately maske come sweeping by

Since Upton's edition of *The Faerie Queen* was not published until 1758, it is obviously impossible that Warton's ode could have existed in manuscript for some admirer of the *Observations* to plagiarize in 1755. This leaves two possibilities, neither of which is particularly flattering to Thomas Warton. Did he plagiarize a

poem written to himself? Or did he, as advertisement, as practical joke, or both, publish in 1755 a poem in praise of his own *Observations* of 1754? If the latter supposition is true, the ode to Upton is second-hand tribute. Is there any evidence that Thomas Warton actually sent this ode to Upton after his edition of *The Fairie Queene* appeared in 1758? Warton had only two years in which to congratulate Upton, who died on December 2, 1760.² Or did Warton, feeling that his own "Verses" on his own *Observations* were too good to consign to anonymity, alter them to sing the praises of another only when he was preparing to bring out his *Poems*? Was Warton conscious that the lapse of twenty-two years between the first appearance of the "Verses" and the revision would minimize chances of detection and that there was no John Upton to deny having received them? This supposition would make the ode to Upton both a second-hand and a post-humous compliment. Can anyone suggest a more satisfactory explanation?

More praise of the first edition of the *Observations* (this time not from Warton's pen) is contained in a letter by "A. A." published in *The Gentleman's Magazine* of February, 1758.³ To Warton's explanation of the phrase "powder'd with stars" as referring to embroidering costumes with stars "A. A." adds corroborating examples from his own reading. He then proceeds:

I cannot dismiss this subject, without recommending the rational and effectual method employ'd by Mr Warton in explaining *Spencer*, which principally consists in examining those books which *Spencer* had most probably read, and in tracing out his several allusions to the manners and customs which were fashionable and familiar when he composed his poem.

Although Johnson's well-known letter of July 16, 1754, to Thomas Warton praising the method of the *Observations* was written earlier than "A. A."s, it was not made public until the appearance of Boswell's *Life* in 1791.⁴ Therefore this note in *The Gentleman's*

² *DNB*, article "James Upton" (not "John").

³ *xxviii*, 57-58.

⁴ Ed. Hill, revised by L. F. Powell, I, 270-1. It is, of course, possible that "A. A." was a friend to whom Warton had showed Johnson's letter, but this seems unlikely, for Warton, although he did follow the suggestion of Percy in the second edition of the *Observations* (I, 54), did not add to the second edition the examples of the term "powder'd" cited by "A. A." It was his own examples, moreover, which most concerned "A. A.", praise of Warton was practically a postscript.

Magazine is probably the first publication commending Thomas Warton's important procedure of explaining *The Faerie Queene* in the light of the old authors and old manners that Spenser knew

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POPE'S DEBT TO ONE OF HIS DUNCES

Sir Richard Blackmore occupies a prominent place in Pope's *Dunciad*. In the first book his "endless line" gives him rank among the dull city poets, and in the second he wins the brayer's prize, looks with satisfaction on the diving contest, and finally supplies some of his writings to put the critics to sleep. Could this long-winded Dunce have had a part, through an obscure poem published twenty years before the *Dunciad*, in shaping the very satire in which he was pilloried? A strong possibility of such influence is suggested by similarities in general plan and in details between Blackmore's *Kit-Cats* (1708)¹ and Pope's *Dunciad* (1728).

The *Kit-Cats* tells of the famous Kit-Cat Club sponsored by Jacob Tonson. After mention of the origin of the club, the interest of the members in political discussion, and the place of weekly meeting in the Strand where the Kit-Cat pies were served, the poem emphasizes the great literary progress made by the members of the group—such great progress that

the Foes of Wit soon Umbrage took,
And did with Envy on the *Kit-Cat* look
The numerous Species of the Blockhead Race,
Which the long Robe, Camp, Gown and Court disgrace,
With all the vast Variety of Fools,
Of Mother Nonsense, or improv'd in Schools,

¹ This poem of 366 lines was first printed in 1708, reissued twice during the same year, and printed again in 1709 and in 1718. In all probability, one or more of these editions must have come to the attention of Pope, though he might not have known the author since the early editions were published anonymously. There could have been, however, no great secret as to the authorship, for the *Term Catalogues* (ed. Arber, London, 1903-1906, III, 595) named the author in listing the first edition, and the reprint of 1718 appeared in a collection of Blackmore's poems.

The Noisy and Impertinent, and all
 The Fops and Pedants, all the Whimsicall,
 Half-craz'd, half witted of the R—t—ff kind,
 Against the rising *Kit-Cat* State combin'd (139-148)

Repulsed in their attack on the Kit-Cats, the Blockheads seek the aid of the God of Dulness, who resides in his Hibernian temple at the edge of "a lazy Lake, as *Lethe*, black and deep," covered with "unwieldy Fogs" Both lake and temple are described in detail, they are in keeping with the sleepy God, whose bird is the owl and whose beast is the ass Dulness himself is seated on the throne, his head adorned with "poppy flowers"

To this God of Dulness come the delegates of the various classes of English Blockheads, who feel themselves endangered by the Kit-Cat Wits These Blockheads, or Dunces, fall into ten groups "the Coxcomb Clan," "Bookish Blockheads," "the Vertuoso Tribe," "Mountebanks," "Politicians," "the Pedant Tribe," "the false Criticks," "the lower Gown," "Scribbling Rakes," and "Lawyers" The representative of each is named and sometimes characterized, as, for example,

The Pedant Tribe, who Wit and Sense oppose,
 And the false Criticks, Learning's Mortal Foes,
 Ch—tw—d, a wond'rous shining Genius chose (233-235)

The Scribbling Rakes sent the poor Devil *Brown*,
 Who doom'd to starve yet fated to believe
 He shall in Eating Circumstances live,
 Does with a Stomack empty, as his Head,
 Write in a Garret to the Shops for Bread (237-241)

The leader of these delegates is Aurato, the representative of the lawyers In a long prayer he addresses the God of Dulness in behalf of the English Blockheads, fourteen of whom he mentions by name, such as

Lugo, whom still we did with Honour Name,
 Who common Sense despis'd, and laugh'd at Fame (276-7)

Robell who all th' Assaults of Sense did mock
 Solid, unchang'd and steady as a Rock (280-1)

While Aurato is still speaking, he falls asleep, but not without gaining the attention of the God

Rousing himself he to *Aurato* came,
 And gave him this kind Answer in a Dream

Thou who so well dost thy high Post adorn,
 For fair *Britannia's* and my Service born,
 Know, faithful Servant, I shall still protect
 My *British* Vot'ries from this hated Sect (322-7)

At some length the God makes known to the sleeping Aurato how dissention among the Kit-Cats will bring about the overthrow of the Wits and the return of the Empire of Dulness in England. With this prophecy the poem ends, on exactly the same note as the 1728 *Dunciad*.

Likenesses between the general plans of the *Kit-Cats* and the *Dunciad* are striking. In each of the poems—somewhat in the background and yet of primary importance in the framework—hovers the deity of Dulness, represented as a god in the one, as a goddess in the other. The supremacy of this deity over Ireland (Hibernia) is unquestioned.

Kit Cats Who gently rul'st the whole Hibernian Isle,
 And a large part of *Albion's* neighb'ring Soil (252-3)

Dunciad Till *Albion*, as *Hibernia*, bless my throne ^a (1 244)

But in England there is conflict. The former authority of Dulness is challenged, and the deity must act to preserve the empire. The restoration in England of this Empire of Dulness is an important theme of the *Kit-Cats*, as of the *Dunciad*. Blackmore's Aurato, leader of the English votaries of Dulness, may be equated in a general way with Pope's Tibbald. Both leaders appeal to Dulness to reassume control over England.

Aurato If thou, great Pow'r, dost not with speed apply
 To this Disease some Sovereign Remedy,
 Soon from thy Empire *Albion* will be won (298-300)

Tibbald Ah! still o'er *Britann* stretch that peaceful wand,
 Which lulls th' *Helvetian* and *Batavian* land (1 145-6)
 This fav'rite Isle, long sever'd from her reign (III 111)

One of Blackmore's Dunces offers to the God of Dulness his ponderous books

^a The quotations from the *Dunciad* are taken from the reprint of what Elwin and Courthope call the first edition, *Works of Alexander Pope*, IV, 271-297. This passage, and the others that follow, are quoted to show parallels in substance, not in phraseology.

He with him took his Books a pond'rous Load,
 Design'd an Off'ring to the Sleepy God (231-2)

Similarly, Tibbald builds an altar to the Goddess of Dulness

Of these twelve volumes, twelve of amplest size,
 Redeem'd from tapers and defrauded pyes,
 Inspir'd he seizes These an altar raise (1 125 7)

Both Aurato and Tibbald, distressed by the struggle in England between the Wits and the Dunces, succeed in arousing the deity

Kit-Cats This Pray'r disturb'd the dozy God's Repose (318)
Dunciad Rowz'd by the light, old *Dulness* heav'd the head (1 203)

Aurato falls asleep while reading an address to Dulness, Tibbald falls asleep while listening to the reading of his own books Both, asleep in the Temple of Dulness, are answered by the deity of that place in a dream In the *Kit-Cats*, as in the *Dunciad*, the chief purpose of the dream is to comfort the leader of the Dunces with the prediction that England is to be restored to the Empire of Dulness Both poems end on a note of exultation over the promised downfall of Wit

Kit-Cats Which brings the Downfal of Imperious Wit
 This Doom attends the Upstart *Kit-Cat* State,
 This shall be Wit's, this shall be *Bocai's* Fate
 Go back in Peace, my faithful Vot'ries, go,
 Let high *Augusta* my Prediction know
 Let all the Clans and Sects you represent,
 Rest in the Prospect of the great Event (360 6)

Dunciad Then, when these signs declare the mighty Year,
 When the dull Stars roll round, and re appear,
 Let there be darkness! (the dread pow'r shall say)
 All shall be darkness, as it ne'er were Day,
 To their first Chaos Wit's vain works shall fall,
 And universal Dulness cover all! (III 279-284)

Some of these parallels, of course, are commonplaces which, taken separately, have little value as proof of borrowing, but the chain of parallels forms a sequence that makes Pope's indebtedness to Blackmore seem probable. The central theme of the *Dunciad*, its opening, many of the details of its framework, and its conclusion—all could have been suggested by the *Kit-Cats*. The reader will note many other similarities between the poems,

such as the use of the poppy, the owl, the ass, Lethe, the *Oblivious Lake*, and the picture of Tibbald sitting supperless at his writing, which is reminiscent of Blackmore's "poor Devil *Brown* with Stomack empty, as his Head," writing "in a Garret to the Shops for Bread" It will also be noted that the *Kit-Cats* is a sort of "Dunciad" Its general plan, or framework, which Blackmore used to name and satirize twenty-six Dunces, was the very medium that Pope needed for his general assault on the Empire of Dulness³

If the *Kit-Cats* did have a part in the shaping of the *Dunciad*, the influence was on general plan and details of plot rather than on style The master of terse phraseology would not be expected to gain anything from Blackmore's verbosity And the details of plot common to the poems usually show marked development or improvement under the hand of Pope For example, both Blackmore and Pope describe the residence of Dulness, but Pope expands the satire, first by having the goddess look on and applaud various literary monstrosities and later by having her show to Tibbald the wonders of her temple Both poets introduce Jacob Tonson, Blackmore taking many lines to portray him as a literary patron with less vividness than Pope gets in one couplet

'Til genial *Jacob*, or a warm *third day*
Calls forth each mass, a poem or a play

(1 45-6)

Each of the poets presents also a leader of the Dunces—Aurato or Tibbald These leaders are both lawyers, both are made to address Dulness on the state of war between Wit and Nonsense, and both receive comfort and promise of support But it is impossible to say that the two are alike, for Aurato is not a vivid, living character, as is Tibbald It is in such varying uses made of the same materials that we see the great difference between the Dunce and the Master

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³ In connection with the *Dunciad*, the students of Pope commonly cite Dryden's *MacFlecknoe*, in which they find the "inspiration," the "theme," the "origin of the idea," the "machinery," or even the "model" for Pope's satire That Pope was influenced by Dryden, particularly in the coronation of a successor to the King of Dulness, is evident But the general plan, or framework, of the *Dunciad* is paralleled much more completely by the *Kit-Cats* than by *MacFlecknoe*,

GULLIVER AND DAMPIER

Mr McCue's interesting suggestion (*MLN*, Jan., 1935, p. 32) that *Gulliver's Travels* may have been inspired by a tale of pigmies and giants in the *Weekly Comedy*, a periodical possibly by Ned Ward, is weakened unnecessarily by an emphasis upon dates. the *Weekly Comedy* began with 10 May, 1699, and Gulliver (Bk I) sailed from Bristol on the "Antelope" bound for the East Indies 4 May, 1699. Such evidence is never convincing, and here it is worthless. The "Antelope" and her trip to the East Indies in 1699 were not inventions of Swift. An entry of 31 January, 1689/90 (*Cal of Treasury Papers*, ix, 11, 479), calls her a ship of 200 tons, Daniell Hogben, Master, and one of 2 November, 1699 (*Cal of State Papers*, Colonial Series Am and W Indies, 1699, p. 506), tells of the crew's plot to run off with her on her way to the East Indies. The only question is where Swift got his information.

The date of Gulliver's departure and the name and destination of his vessel are, as I pointed out some years ago,¹ directly from Dampier's "Voyages." Dampier had reported meeting the "Antelope" on 3 June, 1699, as she rounded the Cape of Good Hope enroute to the East Indies, and Swift chose 4 May as a suitable sailing date for a ship which was to reach the Cape by 3 June. The evidence is convincing as it stands, the fact that Swift owned a set of Dampier's books and mentions them in the prefatory letter makes it incontrovertible. It should be added that, previously to Mr W. H. Bonner (*Dampier*, Stanford Press, 1934), students of the sources of *Gulliver* had considered almost exclusively the so-called philosophical voyages. The considerable influence of Dampier and Defoe they ignored completely.

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¹ *JEGP*, xxiii, 462 in a review of W. A. Eddy's *A Critical Study of Gulliver's Travels*.

A SOURCE FOR SWIFT'S *A MEDITATION UPON A BROOM-STICK*

In his *A Meditation Upon a Broom-Stick*, after commenting on the sad estate of this "withered bundle of twigs" that was once a flourishing tree, Swift says

When I beheld this I sighed, and said within myself, *Surely man is a Broomstick!* Nature sent him into the world strong and lusty, in a thriving condition, wearing his own hair on his head, the proper branches of this reasoning vegetable, until the axe of intemperance has lopped off his green boughs, and left him a withered trunk But a broomstick, perhaps, you will say, is an emblem of a tree standing on its head, and pray *what is man, but a topsyturvy creature*, his animal faculties perpetually mounted on his rational, his head where his heels should be, groveling on the earth! ¹

George Gascoigne's *The Viewe of Worldly Vanities*,² a heavy and dull treatise which Swift may have read because its subject was dear to him, also scourges man for being vain and wicked After unfavorable comparison of man with trees he says

Then what is man (according to his shape and proporcion) *but a tree turned topsie turvey?* Whose roots are his heares, the stub of the roote is his head and neck, the body of the tree, is his breast, belly, and bulke, the boughes are his armes and legges, and the litle branches and leaves, are his fingers and toes This is the leafe which is tossed with the wynde, and the stuble which is dried up with the Sunne ³

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¹ *The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift* (ed Temple Scott), I, 333-4. The second italics are mine

² The *Viewe* is part of *The Dromme of Doomes Day, wherein the frailties and maseries of man's lyfe are lyvely portrayed*. 1576 It is found in the volume containing *The Glasse of Government, The Princely Pleasures at Kenilwoth Castle, The Steele Glas, and Other Poems and Prose Works* (ed. J W Cunliffe), Cambridge Univ Press, 1910

³ *Ibid*, 221 The italics are mine Prof S Foster Damon of Brown University called my attention to Gascoigne's figure of speech.

MILTON AND LORD BROOKE ON THE CHURCH

In the conclusion of *Areopagitica*, pleading with Parliament against the suppression of novel and sectarian opinions, Milton cites the exhortation of "one of your own honourable number," the right noble and pious Lord Brooke, who, writing of episcopacy and of schisms, "left Ye his vote, or rather now the last words of his dying charge, which I know will ever be of dear and honour'd regard with Ye, so full of meeknes and breathing charity, that next to his last testament, who bequeath'd love and peace to his Disciples, I cannot call to mind where I have read or heard words more mild and peaceful. He there exhorts us to hear with patience and humility those, however they be miscall'd that desire to live purely, in such a use of Gods Ordinances, as the best guidance of their conscience gives them, and to tolerat them, though in some disconformity to our selves"¹ It has long been known that Milton here refers to Lord Brooke's *A Discourse Opening The Nature Of That Episcopacie, Which Is Exercised in England*² It has not been pointed out that for the proof of an important part of his *Discourse* Lord Brooke made use of pertinent arguments in Milton's *Of Prelaticall Episcopacy*, or that Milton, in another pamphlet, may, in his turn, be indebted to Lord Brooke. If these contacts between the man of affairs and the student of politics and religion can be established, we shall have proof of an immediate relationship that is significant and perhaps unique in the annals of seventeenth century controversy.

First, as to dates *Of Prelaticall Episcopacy* was, as I point out in an article soon to be published,³ in print before the end of May 1641, for the preface of *A Compendious Discourse*, by Peloni Almon, which is a reply to part of Milton's pamphlet, is dated May 31, 1641. Lord Brooke's *Discourse* was, as he said in his address to Parliament, "the *Retirements* of Your Humble Servant in the Last *Recesse*" This recess lasted from September 9 to October 20, 1641.⁴ It is clear that Lord Brooke wrote his *Dis-*

¹ *The Works of John Milton* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931), iv, 346-347.

² In this paper quotations are from the Huntington Library copy of the first edition.

³ "A Pseudonymous Reply to Milton's *Of Prelaticall Episcopacy*."

⁴ *The Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. iv, *The Thirty Years' War* (Cambridge, 1906), p. 294.

course more than three months after *Of Prelaticall Episcopacy* appeared⁵

Now, for the proof of Lord Brooke's indebtedness to Milton. The *Discourse* is in two sections: the first section shows "how uncompatable *Our Episcopacy* is to Civill Government in *State Policy*", the second section deals with the antiquity of bishops, referring to that "most Reverend man, famous for learning," who had undertaken the defence of their cause.⁶ Brooke declares, "I shall therefore in few words present to Him my thoughts upon those his determinations, Concluding with *Philip of Macedon*, that if I can but win the *chiefe City*, the whole Country is gained . . ." As the following parallels prove, Milton's arguments had a considerable influence in shaping Lord Brooke's thoughts upon antiquity.

Discourse (pp 66-68)

(a)

First, He endeavoureth to prove the succession of seaven and twenty Bishops, in the seat of *Timothy* and thus he essayeth by one single (not to say simple) witnesse, a certaine man named *Leontius*, whose writings have not delivered him famous to us for learning, nor his exemplary holinesse (mentioned by others) famous for piety.

(b)

because all Antiquity hath passed the refining pot of the *Index expurgatorius*, I shall consider well before I subscribe. And shall I then give credit to an unknowne Author, in those things that were acted al-

Of Prelaticall Episcopacy

(a)

Next to prove a succession of 27 Bishops from *Timothy*, he cites one *Leontius Bishop of Magnesia*, out of the 11 act of the *Chalcedonian Councell*: this is but an obscure, and single witnesse, and for his faithfull dealing who shall commend him to us, with his Catalogue of Bishops? for neither the praise of his wisdom, or his vertue hath left him memorable to posterity, but onely this doubtfull relation, " (p 83)

(b)

Nothing hath been more attempted, nor with more subtilty brought about: then to falsifie the Editions of the Councels, of which wee have none but from our Adversaries hands, we know that many

⁵ The Catalogue of the *Thomason Tracts* dates the *Discourse* November 1641 (I, 44).

⁶ P 65. The Reverend man is, of course, James Ussher, whose *The Iudgement of Doctor Rainoldes touching the Originall of Episcopacy* More largely confirmed out of Antiquity Milton had answered.

most five hundred yeares before his birth? Neither is this Author quoted, from witnessse of his owne, but out of a Councell Now, how Councells have beene abused, those who have ever had place or note in great Assemblies, can too well tell

yeares ere this time which was almost 500 years after *Christ*, the Councells themselves were foully corrupted with ungodly Prelatisme, (pp 83 84)

(c)

By what I have already said, That other testimony brought from a fatherlesse Treatise of *Timothy's* Martyrdome, cited only by *Photius*, (a learned man, who lived seven or eight centuries after Christ) will be of no weight for *Photius* doth but say he read it Hear-say in matter of judicature is no good testimony and reports in matter of opinion, at the second hand, are good to amuse those who deifie venerable Antiquity,

(c)

As for that namelesse Treatise of *Timothy's* martyrdome, only cited by *Photius* that liv'd almost 900 yeares after *Christ*, it hansomely follows in that author, the Martyrdome of the seven Sleepers, This Story of *Timothy's* Ephesian Bishopricke as it follows in order, so it may for truth, if it only subsist upon its own authority, as it doth, for *Photius* only saith he read it, he does not averre it (p 87)

(d)

The testimonies of *Faelix*, *John of Antioch*, and *Theodore*, are not of age sufficient to bee registred, among the Ancients, or to be valued, because they are old

(d)

Those of *Theodoret*, *Felix*, and *John of Antioch* are authorities of later times, and therefore not to be receiv'd for their Antiquities sake to give in evidence concerning an allegation, wherin writers so much their Elders, we see so easily mis-carry (p 88)

(e)

For of *Ignatius* I shall affirme this, that All those who are any whit learned in Antiquity, know that five of his Epistles are spurious, and how unmingled those are which wee allow to be his, wee doe not know, who look upon Antiquity at such a distance

(e)

Now come the Epistles of *Ignatius* to shew us first, that *Onesimus* was Bishop of *Ephesus*, a supposititious offspring of some dozen Epistles, whereof five are rejected as spurious, containing in them Heresies and trifles, those other Epistles lesse question'd are yet so interlarded with Corruptions, as may justly indue us with a wholesome suspition of the rest (pp. 88-89)

(f)

The Authority of *Tertullian* also, is of the same credit. Hee tels us that *Polycarpus* was placed by St *John* at *Smyrna*, and at *Rome* *Clement* by St *Peter*. This no body will dispute, (though I am not bound to beleve it) but where is the stresse of this Argument?

(f)

Tertullian accosts us next whose testimony, state but the question right, is of no more force to deduce *Episcopacy*, then the two former. He saies that the Church of *Smrna* had *Polycarpus* plac't there by *John*, and the Church of *Rome* *Clement* ordain'd by *Peter*,

None of this will be contradicted, it remaines yet to be evinc't out of this and the like places, which will never be, that the word Bishop is otherwise taken, then in the language of Saint *Paul*, and the *Acts*, for an order above *Presbyters* (p 96)

(g)

In the last place, that of *Clement Alexandrinus*, is as much questioned as all the rest. But allow it to be true, that *John* did appoint Bishops, they have gained nothing, for I shall allow that Christ also hath instituted Bishops, and that Bishops are *Jure divino*, yea, I will allow that they are to feed *Christs* flock, to rule *Christs* inheritance, in *Christs* sense, but I shall never allow these Bishops, which are now the subject of our dispute

(g)

Lastly that authority of *Clement Alexandrinus* is not to be found in all his workes, and where ever it be extant, it is in controverse, whether it be *Clements* or no, or if it were it sayes onely that Saint *John* in some places constituted Bishops questionlesse he did, but where does *Clement* say he set them above *Presbyters*? no man will ganesay the constitution of *Bishops*, but the raising them to a superiour, and distinct order above *Presbyters*, seeing the Gospell makes them one and the same thing, a thousand such allegations as these will not give Prelaticall *Episcopacy*, one Chapell of ease above a Parish Church. (pp 98-99)

These parallels show that Lord Brooke's arguments against the Fathers are almost identical with Milton's. It is true that Brooke omitted most of Milton's detailed proof, as well as all of the long discussion of Irenaeus. Here one must bear in mind the differing purposes of the two writers. In *Of Prelaticall Episcopacy* Milton's special object was to recall the people of God from doting on Antiquity, in the *Discourse* Lord Brooke offered a general discussion

of the nature of Episcopacy, with very brief consideration of Antiquity. In the latter, the evidence seems conclusive that Brooke, who was no scholar, used Milton's pamphlet, which had but recently appeared and which probably had impressed him by its solid learning and dialectic skill. So much for Brooke's indebtedness to Milton.

It is, on the other hand, at least possible that Milton is indebted to Brooke. In *The Reason of Church-governement Urg'd against Prelaty*, which appeared in 1642, Milton attacked Episcopacy itself as a schism. Probably he recalled that Lord Brooke, in Section II, chapter VII, of the *Discourse*, had condemned Episcopacy as "the efficient cause of the most grievous Schismes, and Heresies." Note the following vehement outburst in the *Discourse*:

They cry out of Schisme, Schisme, Sects and Schismes, and well they may. They make them, and it is strange they should not know them. When they laid such stumbling blocks (Reall Scandals, not only *accepta*, but *data*) in the way of all good men, whose Consciences they have grievously burdened, and wounded with Things (violently pressed on the greatest fines) that are so farre from being indifferent, that many of them were point blank unlawfull have they not by This even forced their brethren to separate themselves in Judgement and Practice, till they could finde some remote place that might separate their bodies also? Was not This in Them the readiest way to produce Divisions, Separations, and (as they call it) *Schismes* in the Church? Rents are bad, I confesse, where ever they be violent, but yet then worst, when most out of the eye. *Schismes* in the *Conscience* are of greatest danger, and to prevent These, if I am forct to That, which they please to call a *Schisme* in the Church, Woe to Him that so forceth me. Scandals, Schismes, and Divisions must come, but woe to him by whom they come. Thus we have, by too too long, great, and sad experience, found it true, That our Prelates have beene so farre from preventing Divisions, that they have been the Parents and Patrons of most Errors, Heresies, Sects and Schismes, that now disturbe This Church and State.

Students of Milton scarcely need to be reminded that he discusses the same question at length. Under Episcopacy, he declares, schism and heresy rage. Episcopacy and faction, he is persuaded, "with a spousall ring are wedded together, never to be divorc't." These statements are representative. Although the idea is not peculiar to Brooke and Milton, it is important to notice that on this point also they are in harmony. In fact, it is obvious that in opposing Episcopacy they agreed upon essentials. As we

have seen, Milton heartily endorsed the following plea for toleration, with which Brooke closed the *Discourse*

But when God shall so enlarge his Hand, and unveile his face, that the poore Creature is brought into Communion and acquaintance with his Creator, steered in all his wayes by His Spirit, and by it carried up above shame, feare, pleasure, comfort, losses, grave, and death it selfe, Let us not censure such Tempers, but blesse God for them So farre as Christ is in us, we shall love, prise, honour Christ, and the least particle of his Image in Others For we never Prove our selves true members of Christ more then when we embrace his members with most enlarged, yet straitest Affections

To this end, God assisting mee, my desire, prayer, indeavour shall still be, as much as in mee lyes, to follow Peace and holnesse And though there may haply be some little dissent betweene my darke judgement, weak conscience, and other Good men, that are much more cleare and strong, yet my prayer still shall be, *to keepe the Unity of the Spirt in the Bond of Peace* And as many as walke after This Rule, Peace I hope shall still be on Them, and the whole Israel of God

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CLARENCE IN THE MALMSEY-BUTT

Second murderer Take him [the Duke of Clarence] on the
costard with the hilts of thy sword,
and then throw him into the malmsey-butt
in the next room

First Murderer [to the Duke of Clarence]
Take that, and that If all this will not do [*Stabs him*]
I'll drown you in the malmsey-butt within ¹

Such is the bizarre and unceremonious taking-off of George, Duke of Clarence, brother of King Edward IV, as Shakespeare portrays it. The murderers seem to have evolved the method of execution of the duke on the spur of the moment. On their way to the room in the Tower of London where the duke lay confined, they happened to pass a malmsey-barrel standing in an adjoining room. Why they should have determined upon this novel form of execution instead of what would seem the more simple and obvious method of dispatching him with their daggers, no Shake-

¹ Shakespeare's *Tragedy of Richard the Third*, I, iv, 158 f., I, iv, 275 f

speakean editor or commentator has explained.² Many have noted the fact that Shakespeare did not invent this episode, but took it over from earlier sources, probably from Hall or Holinshed. No one has noted, however, that Shakespeare's version is changed in one detail. In no earlier source did the dramatist find any indication that the executioners used their daggers. They drowned their victim. The stage-direction, *stabs him*, then, may represent Shakespeare's personal contribution, since it appears in the First Quarto. Writers earlier than Shakespeare who mention the details of Clarence's death are included, with full discussions, in Charles Bosworth Churchill's notable monograph, *Richard the Third up to Shakespeare*,³ and repetition here would be needless. It will suffice to say that the earliest references to the matter are made by the writer of a chronicle in MS Cotton Vitellius A xvi, about 1480 or so, and by Philippe de Commines in that part of his *Mémoires* written between 1486 and 1489. These accounts read as follows:

Also the xvijth day of february was George, Duke of Clarence and brother vnto kyng Edward, put to the deth wt yn the Tower as prisoner. Drowned in Maluesay.

Le roy Edouard fist mourir son frere, duc de Clarence, en une pippe de malvoisie, pour ce qu'il se vouloit faire roy, comme l'on disoit.⁴

Since the earliest and in some respects the most trustworthy contemporary account of the last years of the reign of Edward IV, the continuation of the Croyland Chronicle,⁵ does not indicate

² The latest editor of *Richard the Third* is Hazelton Spencer (Boston and New York, 1933), who regards the episode as historical and does not explain it. For studies of the play, I have relied upon the bibliographical materials in E. K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare* (1930), I, 296, and Walter Ebisch and Levin L. Schucking, *A Shakespeare Bibliography* (1931), pp. 198 ff. It might be remarked here that Wilhelm Oechelhauser's *Essay über Richard III* in his *Shakespeareana* (Berlin, 1894), rare in this country, is but a reprint of the article with the same title in the *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, III (1868). Robert Adger Law's study on Act I, scene IV of the play (*PMLA*, xxvii [1912], 117-141) does not discuss the Malmsey butt.

³ Berlin, 1900 [*Palaestra*, x]. See the summary, p. 540.

⁴ The English chronicle was edited by Charles Lethbridge Kingsford in *Chronicles of London*, Oxford, 1905. See p. 188, and for the date p. xvi. For Commines see *Mémoires*, ed. Joseph Calmette and G. Durville, Paris, 1924-1925 [Les classiques de l'histoire de France au Moyen Âge, Fascicules 3, 5, 6], I, 53 = ed. Dupont, Paris, 1840, I, 69, cf. Churchill, p. 52, who says that the *Mémoires* were used by Hall.

⁵ *Rerum Anglorum Scriptores Veteres*, ed. J. Fell, Oxford, 1684, I, 561 f.

specifically how Clarence came to his death, and since the story by Philippe de Commynes and others involves a method of execution which has been entirely without parallels, modern historians have had a tendency to look askance at this unique malmsey-hogshead. Some writers have struggled imaginatively to extort a meaning of some kind from Clarence's fantastic execution. One affirms that

The story of his having been drowned in a butt of Malmsey wine, is unauthentic, and was probably a picturesque accretion attributable to the vinose [*sic*] propensities of the alderman who first gave it currency.

The story is altogether improbable, and entirely unauthenticated. It may have originated in the belief that poison was conveyed to Clarence in a glass of his favourite beverage.⁶

Another, more conservative, gives a detailed account of the days leading up to the execution, concluding simply that "rumour, with singular *consensus*, had it that he had been drowned in a butt of Malmsey wine"⁷ Conservative, too, is James Gairdner, with a slight leaning toward credence. Cora L. Scofield, writing in 1923, inclines to believe that a later French account to the effect that Clarence was drowned "en ung baine, comme l'on disoit," is the more likely story.⁸ Yet further afield goes Philip Lindsay in his journalistic work

⁶ Alfred O. Legge, *The Unpopular King. the Life and Times of Richard III* (1885), I, 146 f.

⁷ Sir James H. Ramsay, *Lancaster and York, a Century of British History* (1892), II, 425. It will be convenient to have this author's remarks *verbatim*: "By the Bill as passed by Lords and Commons Clarence was declared guilty of high treason, and sentenced to forfeiture of all his titles and estates. The capital sentence was reserved for a court of chivalry held on the 8th February, the young Duke of Buckingham being created High Steward for the occasion. The Patent of his appointment is endorsed with unblushing frankness 'pro executione ducis Clarencie'. On the 18th February it was reported that Clarence was no more."

⁸ James Gairdner, *History of the Life and Times of Richard the Third*, new and revised edition, Cambridge, 1898, p. 32, n. 2. Sir Clements R. Markham, *Richard III. His Life and Character* (1906), pp. 202 f., alludes to Clarence's death but does not discuss the circumstances. C. W. C. Oman, *History of England from the Accession of Richard II to the Death of Richard III* (1906), p. 463, asks, "Was he perchance poisoned in a draught of that liquor?"

Cora L. Scofield, *The Life and Reign of Edward the Fourth* (1923), II, 209, n. 5. In the text the version by Jean Molinet is referred to, according to which "Clarence was allowed to decide the manner of his death and chose to be drowned in a butt of malmsey!"

But perhaps, after all, it was merely one of those queer jests of the times. It may have been thought a jest to say, sniggeringly, that George was drowned in wine because he drank his death upon himself.⁹

This brief survey shows clearly that modern students of history are not agreed as to the significance or authenticity of the circumstances attendant upon the death of Clarence. Is it possible to proceed further?

As long as Clarence's death by drowning in a barrel remained unique, further progress on the subject was out of the question, but it happens that the recently published work of a student of legal antiquities provides us with a generous number of parallels which are historically authentic. Since this study by Dr. Heinz Goldschmidt has not yet come to the attention of Shakespearean scholars, it is the purpose of this paper to analyze briefly and supplement his materials with special reference to the passage in the *Tragedy of Richard the Third*. Dr. Goldschmidt cites more than a dozen instances of this type of punishment which occurred in various towns in the Netherlands from 1535 to 1730. Most of the victims were condemned to execution by drowning in a vessel of water for committing the crime of heresy, frequently of the Anabaptist variety—treason, of course, partly because of the established state religion and probably quite as much because of the close association between Anabaptists and the Peasants' Revolt, which latter threatened to overturn many a government in the sixteenth century.¹⁰ As Dr. Goldschmidt points out, the phraseology used resembles strikingly that employed by Shakespeare and by various of the historical writers before him, a fact which justifies Dr. Goldschmidt in regarding the early historians' testimony as reliable evidence of the existence of the punishment in 1478, the year of Clarence's death. Edward IV. learned this form of execution

⁹ *The Tragical King, Richard III* (1934), p. 175. Historians of the Tower have made conjectures similar to those quoted here, e. g., J. Bayley, *History of the Tower of London* (1825), II, 337; Sir George J. Younghusband, *The Tower from Within* (1918), p. 38. W. H. Dixon, *Her Majesty's Tower* (1901), is silent on the subject. Lord R. C. S. L. Gower, *The Tower of London*, London, 1901-1902, I have not seen.

¹⁰ Heinz Goldschmidt, *Das Ertrinken im Fass, eine alte Todesstrafe in den Niederlanden*, in *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, XLII [1925], 423-470, XLII [1926], 248-288. See XLII, 426-434.

during his stay in the Netherlands from October, 1470, to March, 1471, continues the German scholar ¹¹

In 1535, nine women were drowned in a tun or pipe of water
In 1557,

Mense junio die 6 in eodem carcere tres feminae itidem anabaptistae in
doleis vinarius submersae sunt & corpora earum saccis imposita de Werva
in Schaldum sunt proiecta

In 1558, a man was drowned in a wine-vat filled with water A curious but surely accidental parallel to Shakespeare's account of the stabbing is recorded for the year 1561, when a criminal who had been condemned to die in a vessel of water could not be drowned because the executioner had neglected to bring enough water to complete the job, so the prisoner had to be finished off with a dagger In 1566, criminals were put to death by drowning. Their heads were bound between their knees, and they were dumped into a vat full of water ¹²

Although Dr Goldschmidt is unable to find historical references earlier than 1535—or 1478, if we are willing to agree with him as to the historicity of the Clarence episode—he proceeds to conjecture that this punishment was not new in the fifteenth or sixteenth century, but that it was a survival of religious rites from pan-Celtic times Into these remote fields it is not our task to follow him, but it will be interesting to glance at one or two of the versions of Clarence's death in the light of these historical punishments in the Netherlands In *A Mirror for Magistrates* is a poem "How George Plantagenet . . . was . . . miserably murdered . . .," in which Clarence's ghost speaks of Richard.

¹¹ XLII, 259 f The difficulty here is that no example of the punishment in the Netherlands appears earlier than 1535, but Dr Goldschmidt attempts to solve this problem by postulating pre-historic existence for it as a religious rite

¹² XLI, 434, 432, 430, 429, see the table also, XLII, 250 The following account, quoted here because it illustrates the need for secrecy in the execution of condemned persons in troublous times, is taken by Dr Goldschmidt from De Thou's *Historia sui temporis*, London, 1733, Book 40, tom 2, p 520 "et cum plerique ob sectarium crimen capite plerentur, non occulta plebis murmura passim exaudiebantur . . . cumque in publico damnatos producere non auderent novum genus supplicii commenti sunt, quo miseros homines capitibus ad genua ligatis in vase aquarum pleno mergebant & sensim suffocabant"

His purpose was with a prepared string
 To strangle mee but I bestird mee so,
 That by no force they could mee therto bring,
 Which caused him that purpose to forgo
 Howbeit they bound me, whether I would or no,
 And in a but of malmsey standing by,
 Newe christned mee, because I should not cry

Here, whether with historical accuracy we cannot say, Clarence was bound, as were condemned persons in the Netherlands, before being thrown into the barrel to die by drowning. Can there be any significance in the last line, "Newe christned mee," in relation to the Anabaptist heresy, which, involving as it did the denial of the efficacy of infant baptism, required a second baptism of the adult?

Giles Fletcher the Elder wrote of Clarence also, making Richard say of him

My brother George did plot for to be king,
 Sparkes of ambition did possesse us all
 His thoughts were wise, but did no profite bring,
 My brother George, men say, was slaine by me,
 A brother's part, to give his brother wine,
 And for a crowne I would his butcher be ¹⁸

Here the tendency toward treason is emphasized (cf. note 7, above).

The great advantage of this form of execution was that it was most convenient in an age before autopsies. A prisoner of importance could be executed in this manner with relatively less danger of reprisals on the part of outraged friends or relatives than might follow executions by the ordinary methods, because the corpse of the victim could be exhibited without blemishes. Prisons were damp and dark, and prisoners were bound to die of diseases incident to such an environment. The quick application of bonds of soft material and tossing into a barrel full of water were all that were necessary for a noiseless, efficacious, and economical removal of an objectionable person in a manner that could easily be made to look like natural death, for in an hour, after the dead man had been fished out of the barrel and the water had been

¹⁸ *A Mirror for Magistrates*, ed. Joseph Haslewood (1815), II, 285, no. 76, stanzas 53, 54. Cf. II, no. 76, p. 285. Giles Fletcher, *Lioua, or Poemes of Love* (1593), in *Miscellanies of the Fuller Worthies' Library* (1871), ed. Grosart, III, 149.

drained out of him, another victim of prison-sickness was laid out on his pallet for his friends to mourn. I suppose that we shall never know whether John Trussel had an inkling of these matters when he wrote, some forty years after Shakespeare had completed his play on the subject,

[Clarence] was drowned in a but of Malmsey, and then laid in his bed to persuade the people that he died of discontent ¹⁴

Four centuries ago human nature rebelled against high-handed, clandestine executions with much the same vigor that it does today.

Irrefragable demonstration is out of the question here, but may probabilities be weighed for a moment longer? Malmsey wine was common in London from the days of Chaucer's *Shipman's Tale* ¹⁵. That it was in ordinary use in the metropolis at the time of Clarence's death we know from a business-letter written in 1479 ¹⁶. Hence the presence of a large wine-barrel ¹⁷ in the living-quarters provided for noble prisoners in the Tower would not be surprising.

Was Clarence actually drowned in *wine*? If the butt had still contained wine at the time of the execution, it would not have been available for occupancy by Clarence, for the head of the barrel would still have been intact. The barrel must have been an old malmsey-butt which had been refilled with water after it had been emptied of its original contents and had had its head knocked out. A barrel of this size always has some commercial value. When left standing dry such a container quickly becomes valueless.

¹⁴ John Trussell, *A Continuation of the Collection of the History of England where S. Daniell ended*, London, 1636, p. 207.

¹⁵ See *NED*, s. *vv* malmsey, malvesey.

¹⁶ Charles Lethbridge Kingsford, *Prejudice and Promise in XVth Century England* (1922), p. 122, referring to his ed. of the *Stonor Letters and Papers*, 1919 [Camden Society, Third Series, *xxx*, *xxx*], II, 90 (letter from Thomas Henham to Sir William Stonor, 10 October, 1479). "and as for your rede wyne, hyt schalle be schypped upon Tewysday next comys and as for your rondelet off Mallsay, yt thys not rede as yet, for mayster Syr Wyllm Stoker hathe comyng a schype with Mallsay and hoder swet wyne, and he lokys for the same schype every day, and yeff so be that that the same schype come note betwene thys and Tewysday next comys he wylle porffay for your maysterschype a rondelet of Mallsay schuche as he may get in the sete, and hyt schall be schyppyde with your rede wyne."

¹⁷ A butt of wine in 1483 legally contained fivescore eight gallons—surely enough to drown most men—*NED*, s. *v* butt.

through shrinkage of the wood, and too, it is a useful reservoir for water.

If there is any likelihood that this fabric of conjecture woven by Dr Goldschmidt and me will hold together under scrutiny, the following results emerge (1) The Duke of Clarence was actually executed by drowning in an old wine-barrel full of water (2) This method of execution for malefactors guilty of treason had been learned in the Netherlands by Edward IV on a visit (3) Shakespeare read of the punishment in one or other of his sources, and for reasons that we do not know added the detail involving the stabbing¹⁸

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ORLANDO FURIOSO AND RODOMONTHS INFERNALL

The purpose of this note is to point out certain brazen borrowings from Sir John Harington's translation of *Orlando Furioso*, 1591, in the rare *Rodomonths Infernall, or The Duell conquered*, 1607. *Rodomonths Infernall* is "paraphrastically translated" by one G. M., usually identified as Gervase Markham, from *La Mort de Rodomont, et sa Descente aux enfers* by Philippe Desportes, which was included in *Imitations de Quelques Chans de l'Arioste*, published at Paris in 1572 by Lucas Breyer.

In twenty-four pages of alexandrine couplets Desportes paraphrases the events of the final canto of *Orlando Furioso* and continues the narrative with an account of Rodomont's conquest of Hades, "*l'invention de l'auteur*" G. M. paraphrases the French poem in 149 numbered stanzas of *ottava rima*. *Rodomonths Infernall* was printed in 1607 by Valentine Sims for Nicholas Ling, but in his dedication to Lord Monteagle of Gunpowder Plot fame, the author protests that "the Translation was finisht, and forth of my hands aboue a dozen yeares agone, a time wherein bum-basted breeches, and strait whale-bon'd dublets had neither use nor estimation" The substantial truth of his claim is shown by

¹⁸ In commenting orally upon this paper, Professor Robert Adger Law remarked that Shakespeare might have taken this idea from the old play on Lear which he re-worked partly into this scene of *Richard the Third*.

Lang's entry of the copy (as by G. M.) in the Stationers' Register on September 15, 1598

When G. M. began his paraphrase of Desportes he evidently had a copy of Harington's *Orlando* before him, for from the first he inserts incident from Ariosto as well as some padding of his own. Presently the temptation of Harington's lines, and the difficulty of finding rimes, prove too much. As early as stanza 13 (sig B3^r), G. M. begins to borrow Harington's rime-words¹. Soon he starts to use phrases, lines, couplets, and, finally, complete stanzas. As an example of the liberties he takes, a few lines may be quoted from Desportes (fol 16^r) :

[Roger] Dresse le bras bien hault, puis comme vne tempeste
Luy donne du poignard trois coups dessus la teste,
Et autant sur le front tout rouge & tout souillé
Le cerueau tombe à bas du test escarbouillé,
Et l'ame en blasphemant orgueilleuse & despite
Vers l'ombreux Acheron soudainement prend fuite,
Abandonnant le corps qui roidist froid & blanc
Ondoyant tout par tout à gros bouillons de sang

Instead of translating, G. M. substitutes the last stanza of Harington's *Orlando* with but two verbal changes (C2^r)²

And lifting his victorious hand on hie,
In the Turkes face he stabd his dagger twice
Vp to the hilt, and quickly made him die,
Ridding himselfe of trouble in a trice,
Downe to the lake where damned ghosts doe lie
Sunke his disdaimfull soule, now cold as yce
Blaspheming (as it were) and cursing lowd,
That was on earth so loftie and so proud

Of *Rodomonths Infernall*, in brief, stanzas 45, 48, 54, and 55 are borrowed bodily from Harington, while two or more lines of Harington are utilized in stanzas 49, 50, 51, and 53. Borrowed rimes, phrases, and lines appear in earlier stanzas.

Orlando Furioso ends at this point, and henceforth G. M. follows Desportes more faithfully. He introduces a blunder not in the French, the identification of Eurydice with Proserpine (C5^v).

¹ The portion of Harington's text pilfered by G. M. will be found on pp 401-404 of the 1591 *Orlando*

² The two variants from Harington's text—the second probably accidental—are Ridding] And rid as it were] as it went

This error seems to have been prevalent among the Elizabethans, it is made by William Warner, for instance, in Book I of *Albions England*

On the strength of the initials, *Rodomonths Infernall* has long been attributed to Gervase Markham, in *DNB* C. R. Markham says that Gervase "is clearly responsible." While the attribution is highly reasonable, such certainty should require further evidence From the author's statement that "in my writings I haue neither Feminine honie nor Masculine gall" it is clear that he produced other books, as Markham unquestionably did In a search for positive internal evidence I have found one doubtful scrap The final couplet of Desportes' poem provided a rime difficulty

Et tousiours en criant il semble qu'il appelle
Rodomont, Rodomont, Ysabelle, Ysabelle

G M improvised this solution

Which seemes to call, *O pulchra clara stella*,
Rodomount, Rodomount, Isabella, Isabella

Markham utilized *Clarastella* as the name of a character in Part II of *The English Arcadia*, 1613

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THREE PROVENÇAL TERMS OF FALCONRY

The terms here discussed are found in a thirteenth century treatise by Daude de Pradas, known as *Lo Romans dels Auzels Cassadors* It is a mine of terms pertaining to the selection, training, general care, and particularly the medical treatment of hunting-birds and as such merits investigation for its contributions to the scientific or pseudo-scientific lexicon of Provençal I have selected for discussion in this article words and expressions that are either unrecorded in the standard dictionaries or defined in a manner too vague to be of use in the interpretation of the text. Such difficult terms merit a fuller discussion than that possible in the edition of the *Auzels Cassadors* now in preparation and accordingly seem to justify publication in separate form.

I. *Clotet* 'little crypt' (in the oil gland of a bird)

Sus en las res a una fossa,
 on no cap meja fava grossa,
 pauzatz li en aquel *clotet*
 de solfre arden un granet (vv 3083-3086)

Translation 'Directly over the kidneys there is an indentation in which the half of a large pea could not fit, put there into this *crypt* a small portion of burning sulphur' Following the weird practices of his day, Daude prescribes for the treatment of a kidney ailment in falcons the burning of sulphur in a gland apparently connected with the organs in question. It is not surprising that he enjoins upon the operator that he firmly secure the bird's legs during the process. Of three manuscripts containing this passage, the best (Barberiana) offers the reading *loguet* 'little place,' the two others (Paris and Vich) giving *clotet*. In the case of this emendation, I propose to show that the word adopted has technical implications and that it is therefore superior to the *lectio facilior*, *loguet*. This situation is the more likely since Daude customarily used his terms with meticulous exactness.

Our term occurs in OF, Godefroy defines it as 'creux, enfoncement, niche.' In Catalan it has about the same meaning.¹ Provençal *clot* is common (Levy, Azais), signifying 'creux, cavité, trou', Mistral offers *cloto*, *croto*, feminine, and a masculine *clot*, *crot*, not, according to him, from the same etymon, but meaning 'hollow' of some sort. At any rate, he gives the diminutive *cloutet*, with the example *Li cloutet di gauto* 'les fossettes des joues'. One cannot tell, on the face of it, whether *-et* is here added to a feminine or masculine, since it may be added to either.² Could not *clot* and *crot* be semi-learned back formations based on the diminutive? As to the interchange of *-r-* and *-l-*, that is surely not a phenomenon to create difficulty. The etymon cited by REW (2349) is *crypta*, which would regularly give the feminine *crota* in Provençal. *Crypt* is common in many languages as an anatomical term. The *Dict général* defines *crypte* as the 'follicule, petite glande en forme de sac située dans l'épaisseur de la peau ou des membranes muqueuses et, par des pores, sécrétant des liquides

¹ Labernia, *Dicc de la llengua catalana*, Barcelona, 1859 'Hoyuelo'

² Adams, E. L., *Word-Formation in Provençal*, N. Y., 1913, p. 193.

à la surface' As used in the Daude passage, the gland is that found in birds and said to be used for waterproofing.

II *Ovatz* 'egg-bound'

Totz auzels, pueis quez es mudatz,
s'i trop crida, sembla *ovatz*

(vv 2017-8)

Translation 'Any bird that, after moulting, makes undue outcry seems to be egg-bound' It is largely the refusal of Levy, *Supplementwörterbuch*, to attempt a definition of this word that makes it of interest There is nothing especially mysterious about the term, either in its form or its meaning Mistral, by defining it as 'qui a des œufs,' offers a very vague sort of gloss The *Lexique* of Godefroy-Salmon-Bonnard is more helpful, in recording *ové* as 'plein, gros,' implying an abnormal condition Such an abnormal state seems indeed to occur in the moulting period and the old falconers were familiar with it "aucunefois aduent qu'aux oiseaux estans en la mue, ou en estans ja leuez, se concreent et engendrent des œufs dedans le corps,"³ a dangerous time, it seems "conceptique utero, mortisque ova pericula adivit," to which is appended the footnote ". si rapax foemina avis mutatione tempore, ova in ventre gignat, in domicilio mutationis aegrotat, aut mori periclitatur"⁴ Like Albertus Magnus,⁵ Daude calls attention to the more apparent symptoms, the cries of the bird, Albertus expresses himself as follows "nimius tamen clamor aut infirmitatis aut defectus ex macie, aut qui ova generata in se habeat est signum" It is perhaps of some interest to add that the Catalan translation of an old falconry treatise, the *Epistola Aquilae Symmachii*,⁶ prescribes for this ailment ("si sera ouat la câ") the same treatment as Daude, which was to anoint the bird's eyes with a concoction of vulture hide, desiccated, reduced to a powder and mixed with honey, this to be followed by internal medication consisting of egg and oil beaten together The malady

³ *La fauconnerie de F Jean de Franchieres, etc*, Poitiers, 1567

⁴ De Thou, J A, *Hieracosophon, sive de Re Accipitraria*, ed of Pietro Angelio Bargeo, Venice, 1735, p 148

⁵ *De Animalibus*, ed H Stadler, Munster, 1921, Bk xxiii, p 1490

⁶ Ed N Rigault, Paris, 1612, p 196 The earlier Basle edition was inaccessible

appears to have been sufficiently well-known for a stereotyped treatment to have been adopted for it.

III. *Surpunc, serpanic, surpanic*

Like his colleagues in the art of falconry, Daude de Pradas describes, in his treatise on the *Auzels Cassadors*, the various species of falcons. Coming to the sixth in the list, he says

Lo seizes a nom *surpunc*
Aquest es uns d'aquetz qu'ieu dic
que non vi ome l'agues vist,
per so m'en passara de cist
Grans es et aigla blanca sembla,
auzels que l ve de paor trembla

(Ms Barberiana, vv 389 ff)

Translation 'The sixth is called *surpunc*. This is one of those birds concerning which I may state that I have not seen any man who has seen one. Therefore I shall not concern myself with it. It is large and resembles (seems) a white eagle. A bird that sees it trembles with fear.' The variants, *serpanic*, *surpanic*, occur in the MSS of Vich (Catalonia) and Paris (B. N. Nouv. Acq. 4506), respectively, an OF equivalent, *sourpouns*, is found in Brunetto Latini.⁷ These two Provençal forms are not defined in the standard dictionaries (*surpunc* is simply 'eine Falkenart' in Levy), *sourpouns* is rendered by Godefroy as 'espèce de faucon,' which is scarcely a definition. Of the Provençal forms, *serpanic* appears most suggestive of a solution, evoking as it does the idea *serpan* 'serpent'. Of the birds used in hunting and which feed on serpents, two may be proposed, the kestrel and the so-called serpent eagle (*Circaetus Gallicus*). In an old ornithology⁸ the former is pictured holding a snake. However, none of the other conditions prescribed by Daude is fulfilled: a) the kestrel is small, and cannot be said to bear any resemblance to an eagle in form, b) it is not white nor even whitish, c) it is extremely common, so that nobody in France could have said. "I have never seen any man

⁷ *Livre dou Tresor*, ed Chabaille, Paris, 1863, p. 203. *-puncus* > *-pouns* (z) without difficulty. As to the prefixes, if prefixes they are, more later *Surpunc* is evidently a learned form, if we judge by its phonology.

⁸ *Ulysus Aldrovandus Ornithologiae hoc est de avibus historiae libri XXII* Bonon. apud Nicolaum Tebeldinum, 1646. T. I, Lib. IV.

that has seen one" The serpent eagle, on the contrary, seems to come closer to meeting the specifications. Its rarity is attested authoritatively "Schlangenadler gibt es in der ganzen Welt sehr wenig, in Europa nur eine Art und diese nur selten"⁹ One species is listed by an Italian¹⁰ as breeding "sino alla Germania settentrionale" but mainly it is a "specie meridionale, quasi sconosciuta nel nord dell'Europa" The mere fact that a species of serpent eagle is called *Circaetus Gallicus* means nothing as to its distribution in France, for the term is old and may be misleading Besides, it is more used at present in India than anywhere, though how long this has been the case it is difficult to determine¹¹ Secondly, as to its size, Arrigoni refers to it as a "grande rapace" and the skins of the *Circaetus* examined by the present writer at the Smithsonian Museum, in Washington, amply confirm that statement. Daude states that this bird of prey causes all other birds to tremble with fear Similarly, Arrigoni notes that the screech-owl is seized with terror at the arrival of the serpent eagle "e si getta disotto mettendosi sul dorso come si fosse dinanzi ad uno dei rapaci più grossi e pericolosi" So far as color is concerned, the skins observed at the Smithsonian show a whitish gray only on the ventral side, the dorsal being decidedly brown. However, the name locally known in Italy, *Biancone* and the French *Jean le Blanc* (is this a folk-lore term?) indicate that the usual color is that suggested by Daude It may also be noted that the Sardinian varieties, though rare, are whiter than any continental type.¹²

I have already alluded to the fact that the *Circaetus Gallicus* is called an eagle The suffix *-etus* is, in fact, the regular termination recognized by ornithologists as designating the eagle family. It may be objected that although eagles were and are used for hunting, Daude never alludes to the fact in his treatise, so that the inclusion of such a bird among falcons appears curious. Does this rule out *serpanic*, if we assume that the word represents the *Circaetus*? I should say no, because its folk names, *falchèt*

⁹ Fritz Engelmann, *Die Raubvogel Europas*, Neudamm, 1928, s. v. Schlangenadler

¹⁰ E. Arrigoni degli Oddi, *Ornitologia italiana*, Milano, 1929, p. 435

¹¹ Hasam al-Daulah, *Baz-Nama-yi Nasiri, a Persian treatise on Falconry*, London, 1908, p. 17.

¹² Arrigoni (*loc. cit.*) records having seen but one and that specimen, in the museum of Naples, "e niuno ricordò di averne visto uno identico"

branc, *falco aquilino*, are sufficiently indicative of where it is classed in the popular mind. Indeed the scientists put it among Falconiformes, next to the true falcons,¹³ so that its confusion with the latter by Daude need not astonish us at all.

The next question is this: if *serpanic* complies with the specifications, can we now rule out *surpunc* as a scribal error? Certainly it appears to be a *hapax legomenon*, but so is *serpanic*. On the other hand, there is a possible explanation for *surpunc* in the following situation. The lists of falcon types given in the treatises on hunting-birds resemble each other very greatly. All the extensive lists mention a Tunisian falcon, while Daude, on the contrary, is silent about this bird, inversely, as we have seen, *surpunc* occurs nowhere, apparently, except in Daude's work. Now Guillaume Bouchet, who, among his numerous interests, concerned himself with falconry, throws some light on the subject by offering¹⁴ as synonym for Faucon Tunicien that of "Faucon Punicien," with, oddly enough, a remark about the bird's rarity similar to that of Daude: "mais il est rarement apporté de par deçà." It is possible, therefore, that *-punc* represents Punic, Carthaginian, i. e. north African, with *sur-* conceived of as "upper," i. e., pertaining to the mountainous regions where falcons are likely to breed in the wild state. That *sur-* was felt as prefix can be deduced from French *sourpous*¹⁵ and the existence of *surpanic*. In theory, it is not impossible that *surpanic* may have come directly from *serpanic*, with *sur-* considered as more familiar than *ser-*, and with a subsequent metaphony giving *surpunc*. In that case, the latter form would be totally secondary. But nothing can be proved here, especially since, after all, falcons called *puncus* do exist, e. g., the Punicien of Bouchet and the *Accipiter nisus puncus*¹⁶. The trouble is that none of these is white, nor was a white African falcon used in the middle ages.¹⁷ However, the medieval man was not always a close observer. As a matter of fact, he may be easily

¹³ Cf. Peters, *Birds of Europe*, I, p. 269. I should like here to express my acknowledgment to Miss Phoebe Knappen of the U. S. Biological Survey, Washington, D. C., for bibliographic data and a great deal of information.

¹⁴ Cf. his *Recueil de tous les oyseaux de proye*, Poitiers, 1567, p. 114a.

¹⁵ For *sour- < super-*, cf. Meyer-Lubke, *Grammaire*, III, Par. 509.

¹⁶ *Ornithol. Monatschrift*, v (1897), p. 187.

¹⁷ I rely here on a letter of J. C. Greenway, Jr., *Harvard Museum of Comparative Zoology*, Sept. 30, 1935.

excused in this case, for not long ago an immature specimen of a given species was classed as in a different category from that of its elders merely because in its immature state it had white plumage¹⁸ Besides, much information came, not from personal observation, but from written sources, some Byzantine, some more directly European. Such was the treatise of Frederick II of Sicily, who is known to have possessed birds of the most varied provenience, European, African, and especially Sardinian, so that confusion may readily have taken place.

To summarize:

I In favor of *serpanic* a) the bird indicated is large, b) names like Jean le Blanc indicate that it was known as white, though such a fact must be used with caution, c) it is rare, d) it resembles an eagle, e) it causes fear among birds.

II In favor of *surpunc* a) there are falcons called Tunisian and Punic, b) they are not white, but confusion, under thirteenth century conditions, and even later, may be confidently posited. Old French *sourpouns*, seemingly derivative from *surpunc*, strengthens the conviction that the latter is not a scribal error.

III *Surpanic* may be explained as derivative from *serpanic* by the substitution of a familiar prefix. It appears to be a scribal error. It has not been possible in this investigation to associate it with any particular bird in the same way as has been done with the other two Provençal terms.

I conclude, from this discussion, that neither *serpanic* nor *surpunc* can be ruled out. Both may have been known to scribes familiar with falconry. *Surpanic*, on the other hand, seems an error. As between *serpanic* and *surpunc*, arguments seem more convincing in favor of the former.

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¹⁸ Cf. the *Circæetus Hypoleucus* at the Smithsonian, which is nothing but an immature specimen of the *Gallus*.

REVIEWS

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The Later Wordsworth By EDITH C. BATHO New York Macmillan Co. [Cambridge The University Press], 1933 Pp xii + 418. \$6 00

Dorothy Wordsworth A Biography By ERNEST DE SELINCOURT. Oxford Clarendon Press, 1933 Pp. xiv + 428 \$8 00

The year 1933 is made notable to students of Wordsworth by the appearance of these three books, for each of them combines faithfulness in the recording of fact with sound inferences concerning the history or quality of the poet's work, to a degree that makes each take rank among those which cannot be neglected by anyone who attempts to deal with the ultimate nature of Wordsworth's poetry.

Professor Broughton has carefully edited the correspondence between Wordsworth and his first American editor, and, if we find more letters concerning Mississippi shares and other "monetary derangements" than we might wish, we learn much of less mundane things. For example, we have here for the first time the connected story of Reed's extension of the classification of the Poems of Imagination in his edition of 1837 and of Wordsworth's intention to follow the lead of his editor in future editions. The letters which Reed and his sister-in-law, Miss Bronson, wrote home during their English tour of 1854, which was to end in death by shipwreck for both, give a beautiful impression of those of the shattered Wordsworth group who still remained of Dorothy, whose love for her brother "was as fresh as ever," and of Mrs Wordsworth, "the most lovely picture of old age I have ever seen in woman." Professor Broughton has performed a real service in giving us the letters intact. Knight, for example, prints Wordsworth's letters to Reed, dated December 23, 1839 and August 16, 1841, with many passages deleted. It is only now in the first one we read that he regarded German transcendentalism as "a woeful visitation for the world were it not sure to be as transitory as it is pernicious"; and in the second that he wondered concerning Emerson, "Where is the thing which now passes for philosophy to stop?"

Miss Batho lays down the ground-plan of her book in the first chapter, which is entitled "Two or Three Witnesses." She finds that there are two irreconcilable opinions of Wordsworth: the first

that he was modest, kind, and tolerant, the second that he was egotistic, ungenerous, dogmatic, a religious bigot, a renegade, and a "lost leader." She establishes the validity of the first of these opinions by showing that the unfavorable judgments come from a small number of men, each of whom had a personal grudge against the poet or was influenced by someone who had. She examines the testimony of each of the chief offenders in turn and shows on what shaky foundations the opinions of Leigh Hunt, Hazlitt, Rogers, DeQuincey, and Landor rest. She then marshals the evidence favorable to the poet by presenting in turn, Mill, Carlyle, Graves, and others, weaving their testimony into her chapters on Wordsworth's politics, religion, and poetry. By this procedure the poet is shown to have been in sympathy with movements for the ameliorization of society without tamely accepting the word of others, he being that dangerous type of revolutionist who always goes back to first principles and so finds himself at odds with those who wish to bring reform in their own peculiar way and sometimes to their own peculiar glory. The chapter on religion is an important, if somewhat dogmatic, re-consideration of the poet's connection with the theology of the Church of England. This is for the most part fairly and usefully argued, but more evidence is required to show that Wordsworth passed "from Platonism to Christianity," as he has on more than one occasion denied the validity of Platonism, of mysticism, of Emersonian transcendentalism, and of Spinozism. Moreover, as his whole account of the origin and nature of poetry posits the intermediation of the senses, and as his plan for the recovery of society as pictured in *The Excursion* is neither mystical nor Christian, it seems a little extreme to say that he who accepts Wordsworth's own explanation of his poetry and its application to society has no real understanding of it. The final chapter is a defence of the poet in his later years; but we have all too little on the later revisions, and on the later poetry and why and how it differs from his early work. Without such a discussion, the chapter lacks balance and fails to carry conviction.

Professor de Selincourt has admirably united meticulously critical method with sympathetic understanding, a combination which enables him to recreate not only a rarely sensitive woman as she lived and thought and suffered, but to reveal the very souls of that remarkable group of men and women who were her daily companions. To this end he has enriched our knowledge of the Wordsworth household and their friends and neighbors by manuscript material now first published and by giving in their complete form letters and records which have long been known. The result is that for the first time we have a documented account of the daily life at Grasmere and a picture of the intimate part which the Wordsworths played in that "little republic" a simple life veritably shared with shepherds and farmers and laborers, a society

which was the poet's ideal of "best society" as we find it in his art. Special mention must be made of the vivid portrayal of Coleridge in his tangled relations with the various individuals of the group, and if he comes off rather badly it is only because the evidence is clear. His relations with Sara Hutchinson have not only the interest of painful fact, but have also the literary interest of being the clue to the beginnings of *Dejection*. Knight was the first to suggest that the "verses to Sara" mentioned by Dorothy in her *Journal* were an early version of this poem. This opinion did not find favor with critics, Professor Thomas M. Raysor, for instance, in his notable "Coleridge and Asra" (*SP*, July, 1929), pointing out that the earliest draft then known specifically referred to Wordsworth in the text. However, by reference to a still earlier text Professor de Selincourt shows that Knight was right. As this has long been a vexed question this unpublished version should have been more fully quoted, so that we might have a more intelligent idea of its relationship to the later versions. The volume is altogether notable and makes us wish that the time is not far distant when we may have the letters and other manuscripts by and concerning Wordsworth at the hands of so judicious a scholar.

ARTHUR BEATTY

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Aristotle, Galileo, and the Tower of Pisa By LANE COOPER
Ithaca, New York Cornell University Press, 1935 Pp 102
\$1 50.

In this monograph Professor Cooper seeks to show that the famous experiment with falling bodies supposedly performed by Galileo from the tower of the cathedral at Pisa was a fiction of Viviani. There is a good deal of bitterness in his criticism of modern writers who have accepted the story and embellished it, but at the end it is not quite clear whether Professor Cooper would deny only that Galileo performed this particular experiment or also that he ever performed any experiment with falling bodies. Certainly Galileo's own statement, "and I have often made test of this," would appear to be good evidence for repeated experiments of some kind somewhere, but of the passage in which it appears Professor Cooper says (p. 54) "The reader may even ask himself a question about the credibility of the following passage."

Exactly what Professor Cooper means to show about Aristotle's position I do not understand. He protests that the writers on Galileo have been unfair to Aristotle, and, when he says (p. 51) that "the unfounded modern talk about Aristotle's views on falling bodies" mainly derives from a passage in Galileo's *Dialogues*

Concerning Two New Sciences, one gets the notion that Aristotle did not say or believe that the velocity of freely falling (or rising) bodies is a function of their weight (or lightness). Yet Aristotle says just this (e.g. *De Caelo* 309 B 12-14, 313 B 16-21 [the velocity depends upon the degree to which the power of weight, καθ' ἣν φέρεται κάτω, surpasses the power of "continuity" in the medium]), and even Galileo's "imaginative" statement is not unjust, since according to the ratio Aristotle sets up (*Physics* 216 A 13-16) it is logically necessary that a 100-pound iron sphere traverse in a given time 100 times the distance traversed by a 1-pound iron sphere. The significance which Professor Cooper sees in the absence of the words πίπτειν and πτώσις from these discussions is illusory, for the phrase κάτω φέρεσθαι which Aristotle uses is identical in meaning with πίπτειν. In ordinary Greek, in fact, φέρεσθαι alone is often equivalent to πίπτειν (cf. Xenophon, *Anab.* IV 7, 14 and Plato, *Phaedo* 98 B). The use of κάτω φέρεσθαι instead of πίπτειν does not reflect the difference between Aristotle's conception of natural downward motion and the modern notion of "free fall" (to Aristotle πτώσις is simply natural downward motion) but is a convenience of language which brings out the analogy between the contrary motions κάτω and ἄνω (e.g. *Physics* E, chap. 5). The nice distinction (p. 35) according to which τὰ φερόμενα "more strictly considered means 'moved bodies,' 'bodies borne along,'" rather than "moving bodies" gives a hint of what Professor Cooper intends, although nowhere in the monograph is this hint developed into an intelligible interpretation. Be that as it may, Aristotle himself expressly denies Professor Cooper's distinction when he says (*De Caelo* 277 A 33 ff.) ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' ἐν ἄλλου φέρεται αὐτῶν τὸ μὲν ἄνω τὸ δὲ κάτω οὐδὲ βίᾳ κτλ. If φέρεσθαι means "to be moved," it does so only in the sense that the body is moved by the force within itself. Motion is the actualization of the form already present potentially. The notion that ῥοπή is used instead of "fall" (p. 36) is a misinterpretation of the same kind, ῥοπή is simply the potentiality of the natural motion in any body. The ἀναγκαῖος ῥοπή of *De Caelo* 301 A 22-23 is defined by the genitives βάρους καὶ κοφότητος and means simply "the natural motion" of a body which is equivalent to "heaviness" or "lightness" (cf. Simplicius, in *Phys.* 671, 31-32).

In general, it is difficult to agree or disagree with the arguments in this monograph because the conclusions are never clearly stated. So in note 1 on page 58 the implication is that the notion of atoms of different weight moving downward in the void with equal velocities was known to Aristotle as a thesis of Atomism. If that is the meaning of the note, the historical sequence is exactly inverted, for Epicurus altered the Atomistic theory in this direction just because of the criticisms Aristotle had levelled against it in its earlier form. In this case as in many others, however, I can-

not be sure even after careful study that I have rightly guessed Professor Cooper's meaning

Forty-two pages of the monograph consist of a list of passages from the authors mentioned in the text, and translations of these passages are added either here or elsewhere in the book. The collection does not pretend to be exhaustive, in the case of Aristotle, however, some passages of primary importance for the problem in hand are omitted.

HAROLD CHERNISS

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Four Latin Plays of St Nicholas from the 12th Century Fleury Play-book Text and commentary, with a study of the music of the plays, and of the sources and iconography of the legends.

By OTTO E ALBRECHT Philadelphia University of Pennsylvania Press London Humphrey Milford Oxford University Press, 1935 Pp x + 160 \$2

This work is especially welcome because of the attention that it pays to the music of the plays. Unfortunately, transcriptions of that music in modern notation had to be omitted for reasons of expense. Is it ungracious to suggest that one would gladly have exchanged the author's re-editions of the texts—especially in view of Young's excellent editions of all the Fleury plays—for reproductions of the single melodic stanza of the *Tres Clerici* and the two melodic stanzas of the *Tres Filiae*, even if the more elaborate music of the other two plays had had to be sacrificed? In any case, Albrecht's study of the music has been fruitful. He assigns the MS to the 12th instead of the 13th century on the basis of its notation and he points out variations in the musical complexity of the several plays that are suggestive. We learn, for example, that *Iconia* has 46 melodic units and *Filius* 23, whereas *Filiae* and *Clerici* have only 6 each, and that, although *Iconia* and *Filius* attempt to suit the music to the characters, the other plays do not. The reasons for these variations are not fully explained, may they not indicate different composers or a difference in the dates of composition of the plays or do they merely reflect, as the author suggests, the different liturgical positions for which the individual plays were destined? It is to be hoped that A's projected edition of the other Fleury plays will give us their music and help solve some of the problems raised by these. The fact, for example, that the versification of *Filius* is simple and conservative, while, according to A., its music is highly developed, shows how readily false deductions may be drawn from the literary texts alone.

A full account of the cult of the saint before 1087, an exhaus-

tive discussion of the legends and their iconography, a careful study of the versification of the plays and a judicious attempt to determine the time and place of their performance complete the first part of the book. Throughout the author shows wisdom in reviewing the work of others and is able from time to time to contribute various plausible suggestions of his own. The texts which follow appear to be carefully edited and the use of marginal letters to show the melodic patterns of the plays is a desirable innovation (Uncapitalized forms, however, like *nicholae*, *apollo*, *getron*, etc., should have been avoided, despite the attempted justification on p. 117.) In short, this is an admirable piece of work and it is evident that the promised study of the other Fleury plays is in competent hands, its completion will be eagerly awaited.

Only a few minor inadvertencies have been noted. The *Legenda Aurea* is dated before 1298 on p. 12, before 1285 on p. 23 and in neither place is any authority for the dating cited. It is stated on p. 46 that "Fissen has shown by a series of parallel quotations the dependence of Bodel upon both the Fleury and Hilarius plays." But of Fissen's 19 parallels, 10 are from Johannes Diaconus, 3 from Wace, 4 from the Fleury play and 2 from Hilarius, and Fissen himself concluded that though the Latin plays furnished Bodel with an initial impulse, the *Jeu de saint Nicolas* also contains reminiscences of Johannes and Wace. Since it is hardly likely that Bodel needed four separate sources for the few minor parallels noted by Fissen (some of them none too convincing), this important question merited independent and more extended investigation. The word *mansiones* does not appear in *Filius* as implied on p. 112, nor is it certain that the words *loci* and *sedes* used in the stage directions of this play have as yet assumed their later technical meaning, though their presence here was worth noting. Finally, on pp. 112-3 more stage settings are posited than were probably used or seem necessary: the imagination of the audience would supply the window of the first play, the two rooms of the second, etc., and in the fourth no separate *sedes* is required for the Consolatrices who merely wait in the home of Eufrosina until they "exeant et dicant" (l. 49, cf. also the initial stage direction: cum consolatricibus suis, uxor eius Eufrosina).

GRACE FRANK

Bryn Mawr College

La Vie Seint Edmund le Rei, poème anglo-normand du xiv^e siècle Par DENIS PIRAMUS. Publié par Hilding Kjellman. Göteborg: Göteborgs Kungl. Vetenskaps- och Vitt.-Samh. Handlingar, IV, 3, 1935. Pp. cxxxvi + 211. Kr. 10.

This, the fourth modern edition of *La Vie Seint Edmund* to appear, has the advantage over all its predecessors—and, for that

matter, over most editions of Old French works—of presenting a critical text, every page of which is accompanied by a diplomatic copy of the corresponding lines in the unique manuscript. The reader can accordingly determine at a glance the changes that have been introduced by the editor, and it should be said at once that, whatever one's opinion about the wisdom of attempting to "restore" Old French texts, the present editor is both competent and modest, disarmingly admitting after a thorough study of his author and scribe that some of his corrections will undoubtedly seem arbitrary or unnecessary to other scholars and that, despite his best efforts, his critical text may well differ from Denis' original.

A full and admirable introduction, discussing the manuscript, editions, sources, versification, language, date and author of the poem, precedes the text which is followed by notes, a copious glossary and an index of proper names. K is sceptical (cxxix f) towards Haxo's identification of Denis with the "celerarius," Dionisius, who played a certain rôle at St Edmund's Abbey between 1173 and 1200, stating that the theory can neither be proved nor refuted, but offering pertinent objections to it. For K, Denis is an Englishman who frequented the Norman court of Henry II, visited the continent in its train, then, tiring of a *vie mondaine*, entered the monastery of Bury Saint Edmunds and soon afterwards—ca 1170—wrote his life of the saint (cxxii f). This date, more precise than any heretofore proposed, leads K to conclude that the *Lais* of Marie de France preceded the *Vie* by a relatively short time and tends to confirm the "orthodox" dating of the *Lais* rather than the later dating proposed by Levi and Nagel. Only a few general criticisms of the textual portion of the book suggest themselves. K has tried to analyse the author's usage and to reform the scribe's text according to the principles he believes he has established. Nevertheless, since the author, like the scribe, wrote Anglo-Norman, it seems possible that some of the inconsistencies ascribed to the latter may well emanate from the former. In any case, it would surely have been wiser in l 1442—and similar instances (cf. p xxxviii)—to have left the metrically correct reading of the manuscript (here *sauve porte*) rather than to have "corrected" to a limping line (by substituting *sauif port* in this case). So, too, various orthographic changes introduced by the editor (enumerated pp cxxxi-cxxxvi) appear otiose and give the text an unnatural perfection foreign, one ventures to believe, to any mediaeval author's script. The Glossary, in general excellent, glosses without differentiating them a number of forms (*puer*, *requit*, etc) that occur, not in the manuscript, but only in the editor's corrections; here the usual convention of bracketing such words—or the line references to them—would have been welcome.

Such strictures, however, and minor changes in the text that

might be proposed, in no way minimize the achievement of the editor, who has presented us with a text of considerable importance, conscientiously studied and accompanied by sufficient critical apparatus to make further study a pleasant and relatively simple task

GRACE FRANK

Bryn Mawr College

The Works of Guillaume de Salluste, Sieur Du Bartas, a critical edition with introduction, commentary, and variants In three volumes By U T HOLMES, JR, J C LYONS, and R W LINKER, with the assistance of others Volume I *A Biographical and Critical Study* By U T HOLMES, JR Chapel Hill The University of North Carolina Press, 1935 Pp viii + 240 \$5 00

This work promises to be one of the largest American undertakings devoted to a single figure in French literary history Suggested in 1925 by Professor G C Taylor to his colleagues in the French department of the University of North Carolina, the project is being executed mainly by Professors Holmes, Lyons, and Linker The present handsome volume, composed by Dr Holmes, evidences the author's untiring scholarship and suggests the hope that the companion volumes will not be long delayed In it are studied the life and reputation of Du Bartas, his sources, ideas, and language, while many editions of his works are listed and complimentary verses, prefaces, letters, etc, are reproduced in an appendix Holmes announces that the second volume, which is nearing completion, will contain the texts of the *Première Semaine* and of the minor poems, the third, the text of the *Seconde Semaine* The biographical and bibliographical chapters of Vol I add considerably to our knowledge of the poet The study of the sources, ideas, language, and prosody will gain precision when the editing of the texts has been completed While there are certain details that could have been improved,¹ the author deserves great credit for providing us

¹ P 27, for Martin read Martino Pp 69-70, for Aix-la-Chapelle read Aix-en-Provence, why were no libraries in the Netherlands visited? P 121, l 10, add English P 133, the *Eglise fidelle* must refer to the whole Christian church, the *hérétiques* to traditional heresiarchs, such as Arius and his followers P 134, it is misleading to refer to the numbering of the Ten Commandments employed by Roman Catholics and most Lutherans as if it represented the "original" form, for the system used by the Greek church and by most Protestants is that of Philo and Origen, is almost that of the Talmud, and is probably older than that employed by Saint Augustine and officially adopted by the Council of Trent Pp 171-2, many of these words are older than Du Bartas, I find, for instance, in a

with so attractive and so scholarly a study of the queer and uneven genius that Du Bartas was. This first critical edition of his extensive works will be of great value to students, not only of French literature, but of English, Dutch, and German. It is most important that public interest be sufficiently remunerative to enable the editors to complete their ambitious enterprise.

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

Le Séjour de Christian Huygens à Paris et ses relations avec les milieux scientifiques français Par HENRI L. BRUGMANS
Paris Droz, 1935 Pp 200

M. Brugmans sketches the life of the Dutch *savant* who invented the pendulum-clock and his relations with scientific and other circles in Paris and London, where he knew such persons as Colbert, Conrart, Chapelain, Boyle, Evelyn, Kenelm Digby, helped found the Académie des sciences, and was received at Gresham College. M. B.'s interesting account of H. is based largely on the work of others, but he makes a valuable contribution to knowledge by adding two hitherto unpublished journals, one kept by H. during a trip to Paris and London, Oct., 1660-May, 1661, the other describing a visit to London in June, 1663. The journals were written partly in French, partly in Dutch, which B. translates into French. Though composed in telegraphic style, they give an entertaining picture of life in the two capitals as seen by one deeply interested in scientific experiments, telescopes, clocks, paintings, music, the theater, etc. On his way to Paris he was shown at Antwerp by Father Bolland five volumes of the *Acta Sanctorum* and discovered persons who had never heard of Erasmus. His first night at Paris he heard a "vacarme du professeur de langues, ivre." Rohault showed him a magnet "duquel un couteau estant frotté attireroit trois clefs mediocres l'une au bout de l'autre." Ménage took him to see Mlle de Scudéry.

Corps de jupe noir, robe de bleu mourant grands yeux noirs et les cheveux de mesme un peu sourde. Me leut les poesies de M. Pelisson et les scènes sur sa fauvette et ses amours avec le Roitelet. Mr. Boyer y leut sa comédie de *Poherville* (pp 147-8).

B. might have noted here that Boyer was reading a play he had taken from an episode in his hostess' *Grand Cyrus*. H. also visited

Promptuarium latinæ linguæ of 1571, *conduit*, *cottonner*, *desbondonner*, *paragonner*, *postposer*. P 180, it is not established that Marot was the first to rime short vowels with long. P 181, there is nothing peculiar or significant about the fact that Du Bartas at the same time counts *bien* as a monosyllable and *pharien* as a word of three syllables.

Boisrobert, who showed him "le portrait de Ninon nue dans sa chambre" In England he attended, not only scientific *séances*, but the initiation of knights and a fight between bulls and dogs, not, however, the coronation of Charles II, for, while that ceremony was in progress, he was "chez Reeves pour observer Mercure dans le soleil"

H saw performances of Scarron's *Ecolier de Salamancue*, Corneille's *Œdipe* and *Toison d'or*, the Italian opera *Xerxes*, Guérin's *Sanche Pansa*, Molière's *Précieuses*, *Mariage forcé*, and *George Dandin*. As B does not always realize the importance of H's notes on the drama, I add the following comment

P 25, H saw Cyrano's *Agrippine* at Rouen on July 13, 1655, this is the first evidence we have that the play was acted in the seventeenth century P 128, on Nov 7, 1660, "ou joua l'*Œdipe* de Corneille Baronne de Beauchasteau", B interprets this as meaning that the husband of the actress was the "baron de Beauchasteau," but the actor certainly had no such title, while it is known that la Baron, widow of Andre Baron, acted in the tragedy and was sometimes called "la Baronne", I would consequently interpret H's note as "Baronne[,] de Beauchasteau," that is, that la Baron and la Beauchasteau took the rôles of Jocasta and Dirce P 157, note that pices were raised, for a performance of the *Toison d'or*, much more in the parterre than in other parts of the house "on paya un louis d'or dans l'amphitheatre un demy dans le parterre 8 louis pour une loge" P 147, the much disputed question as to whether Molière wore a mask when he played Mascarille in *les Précieuses* is now definitively settled, for, when H saw the performance of Jan 28, 1661, he commented, "Masquarile masqué, le conte enfariné"

H CARRINGTON LANCASTER

Les Apports français dans l'œuvre de Wieland de 1772 à 1789
par ALBERT FUCHS (Bibliothèque de la revue de Littérature
comparée, Tome 101) Paris, Champion, 1934 xi, 750 pp

Geistiger Gehalt und Quellenfrage in Wielands "Abderiten" von
ALBERT FUCHS Paris, Belles Lettres, 1934 iv, 313 pp, 1
leaf

The headings of the ten parts into which the *Apports français* are divided will give an approximate idea of the contents of the book I. Wieland poète, conteur et auteur dramatique; II. Wieland historien et connaisseur des lettres françaises, III. Wieland et la langue française, IV Wieland et le problème des traductions, V Wieland comparatiste, VI Les Beaux-Arts, VII. Wieland débiteur de l'érudition française, VIII. Recueils, revues et "correspondances", un journal, informations épistolaires et orales, IX. La France, organisme vivant; X. Wieland et la pensée française

In Part I, which takes up about one-fourth of the book, the following works of Wieland are discussed *Der verklagte Amor*, *Titanomachie*, *Wintermarchen*, *Hann und Gulpenkeh*, *Schach Lolo*, *Pervonte*, *Klelia und Sinibald*, *Vogelsang*, *Geron*, *Sommermarchen*, *Gandahn*, *Oberon*, *Richard Lowenherz*, *Pandora*, twelve contributions of Wieland to *Dschinnistan*.

An exhaustive synopsis of each of these works is given, together with an outline of the source used in each case by Wieland. M. Fuchs has made good use of the Wieland literature cited by Seuffert and Goedeke, the particular works consulted being recorded at the head of every chapter. The Wieland Edition of the Berlin Academy is referred to occasionally in general, however, the author depends upon the Hempel Edition for his text of Wieland, without taking the trouble to verify it by reference to the original editions. This might seem to be a safe mode of procedure in a treatise of this character, particularly when the text is quoted in French translation. However, there are pitfalls in this method, as will appear from an instance on page 447, where we read, in the chapter on *Règles et doctrines littéraires*

Wieland s'explique dans la préface de la première édition du *Nouvel Amadis*, de 1771. Il veut la liberté de pouvoir faire des vers de six, cinq ou quatre pieds, et d'user, selon son gré, tantôt de l'anapeste, tantôt de l'iambe.

Reference is made to the Hempel Edition XVII, 8, where we read

Das Eigene dieser Versart liegt, außer der Freiheit, Verse von sechs, fünf und vier Füßen mit einander abwechseln zu lassen, in der häufigen, der Willkür oder vielmehr dem Urtheil und Ohr des Dichters überlassenen Vermischung und Vertauschung des Anapäst's (— — —) mit den Iamben, welche sonst die herrschende Versart des Gedichtes waren. Vielleicht

The genuine preface of 1771, which M. Fuchs thought he was quoting, has a quite different text (p. 12).

Das ganze Geheimniß dieser Versart liegt (außer der Freyheit, sechs- und fünf- und zuweilen auch dreyfüßige Verse mit einander abwechseln zu lassen) in der häufigen und der Willkür oder dem Urtheile des Dichters überlassenen Vermischung oder Vertauschung des Anapäst's (— — —) mit den Trochäen und Spondeen. Vielleicht

The discrepancy is due to the fact that in the *Ausgabe letzter Hand* of 1794, whose text Hempel simply repeats, Wieland inserted a preface with the caption *Vorbericht der ersten Ausgabe von 1771*, which differs, not only here, but in many other places, from the genuine text of the first edition. There are accordingly three prefaces to the *Neuer Amadis*, namely the genuine original one of 1771, the fictitious preface of 1771, written in 1794, and the final preface of 1794.

Another instance in which M. Fuchs failed to verify his authori-

ties occurs on page 29, where the *Contes turcs* are ascribed to M Galland as translator actually they are the work of François Petis de la Croix, and are often published together with the *Mille et un Jours* of this scholar.

On page 429 M Fuchs makes the parenthetical statement "Corneille n'existe guère pour Wieland", had he but referred to the index to Volume 14 of the Academy Edition of Wieland (he refers to this volume in other places) he would have found abundant proof of Wieland's acquaintance with Corneille

"damahls hatte Frankreich bereits einen *Korneille*, einen *Racine*, einen *Mohere*, einen *La Fontaine*, einen *Boileau*" (page 20, 16 1773), "die Rede des *August*, der dem *Cinna* (des *Korneille*) sein Verbrechen vorhält" (p 84, 11), "die *Rasereyen*, die *Verzweiflung* der sterbenden *Kleopatra* in *Korneillens Rhodogune*" (p 84, 20 1775), "Wo sind unsre *Boileau*, unsre *Mohere*, unsre *Corneille*, unsre *Racine* u s w ? Wo sind die Deutschen Trauerspiele, die wir dem *Cid*, dem *Cinna*, der *Fadra* dem *Britannikus*, der *Athalie* entgegen stellen können?" (p 406, 19 1782, cf p 407, 34), "Das Vorbild mag ein Shakespear oder ein *Corneille*, ein *Rafael* oder ein *Rembrand* seyn" (p 412, 18 1784)

In his chapter on *Oberon* (pages 105-144) the author naturally depends upon the work of Koch and Duntzer, who are unable to show Wieland's source for Cantos 10-12, the scene of which is laid in Tunis Had M Fuchs here turned to the well known translation of Pétis de la Croix, the *Mille et un Jours*, he would have come upon the chief source for the final cantos of *Oberon*, namely the *Histoire du roi Hormoz*, from which the name of Wieland's heroine, Rezia, was likewise taken Like Huon, Hormoz bribes the sultan's gardener to let him enter the gardens in disguise, in order to see Rezia also Hormoz is discovered, and condemned to die Even such details as the diamond used to bribe the gardener, the funeral pyre, and the triumphal car that sails through the air over the heads of the spectators occur in the *Histoire du roi Hormoz*¹

The volume on the *Abderiten* is a detailed study of the sources of this work, and a line-for-line commentary on the text, which was published in Vol 10 of the Academy Edition as far back as 1913, but without critical apparatus As far as I can judge from a mere reading of the book, without checking the references, M Fuchs has done a very thorough and useful piece of work, which does not leave much to be done by the editor of the apparatus of the Academy Edition. It is impossible here to enter into a discussion of details I should like to point out, however, that the name *Gulleru*, which the author, on page 97, assumes to be "Wohl frei

¹ See the Academy edition, XIII, 134 A-137 A Already Mayer, whom M Fuchs cites on page 108, points out incidentally that the name Rezia is borrowed from the *Mille et un Jours*, but he fails to make further use of this observation

geformter Name, dem gutturalen Klang einer Negersprache nachgebildet," also goes back to the *Histoire de la sultane de Perse et des visirs, contes turcs*, of Petis de la Croix. The thirteenth story in this collection is entitled *Histoire du roi Coutbeddin et de la belle Gultroukh*. In this case Wieland took not merely the name itself, but also the epithet connected with it, for he repeatedly speaks of *die schone Gulleru* (cf. Academy Edition X, 40, 28 32, 41, 1 3 4 and elsewhere).

W KURRELMAYER

De skaldenkenningen met mythologischen inhoud Door J DE VRIES Haarlem H D Tjeenk Willink & Zoon, 1934 Pp (3) + 85 (Nederlandsche bijdragen op het gebied van germaansche philologie en linguïstiek IV)

The "Scaldic Kennings with mythological contents" is an unusually clear-cut and definitive study of an important problem in the history of Old Norse culture. It had already been noticed by several scholars that kennings containing mythological names grew rare in the period immediately after A D 1000, when Christianity was introduced in Norway and Iceland. The present author surveys the whole stock of these kennings through four centuries (950-1350), determining their frequency (in periods of 50 years) in percentages of the strophe-numbers, thus five kennings in twenty strophes from one period make a frequency of 25%.

As an example of the results, the kennings of Odin, shown graphically on page 54, may be taken. Their frequency starts around 16% in the period 850-950, jumps suddenly to ca 38% in the period 950-1000 only to fall still more abruptly to ca 7% (1000-1050), and ca 4% (1050-1100), with a moderate revival in the 12th century ca 5% (1100-1150) and ca 7% (1150-1200), after which follows another decline up to 1350, when the frequency finally amounts only to ca 1%.

Although the names of other gods and goddesses follow a similar trend, generally speaking, there is a considerable difference in detail, as is also the case with the different *Óðins heiti*. The whole evidence is indicative of certain interesting conclusions, which the author draws, concerning the fight of heathendom and Christianity. It seems that towards the end of heathendom there was a final flare-up of piety accompanied by a strong belief in Odin. Then came the fall of heathendom in 1000 and Odin was long banished from the kennings. The revival in the twelfth century is no doubt connected with the antiquarian-historical interest then apparent in many ways and probably due to contemporary European currents in learning and literature.

The author believes that his findings may be used not only to throw light upon religious and literary currents of the times but also to date scaldic verses. A verse purporting to be from the 11th century and containing an obvious Odin's kenning is not, in his opinion, likely to be from that time.

A word may finally be said on his method. He gives us the frequency of mythological kennings in a given period in relation to the amount of verse-material found in that period. It seems to me that he should also have given their frequency in relation to other kennings. Everybody who has read the bulk of the scaldic poetry knows that an era of simplicity sets in with the 10th century, when the kennings become easier to understand, and I have the impression that their frequency is less than before. Theoretically such a movement of simplification could be literary only, but even so, its effect on the mythological kennings would be the same. In reality, however, this movement towards simplification in poetry cannot be divorced from the religious revolution. Christianity must have frowned upon the thoroughly heathen art of the scalds and more especially upon their direct references to the fallen gods.

The Johns Hopkins University

STEFÁN EINARSSON

The Intellectual Milieu of John Dryden. Studies in Some Aspects of Seventeenth-Century Thought. By LOUIS I. BREDVOLD (University of Michigan Publications, Language and Literature, Vol. XII.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1934. Pp. viii + 189.

After being urged for more than a decade to salute Dryden as a "style," it is gratifying to receive a book asking us to regard Dryden as a "mind." With almost malicious consistency an age which has revived poets for "affecting the metaphysics" has refused to see in Dryden anything but a master craftsman. Now Mr. Bredvold pays Dryden the homage of examining him in the "climate of opinion" created by the Pyrrhonic tradition, New Science, Roman Catholic apologetics, and political theory of his time. The result is a solid portrait of a conservative mind sceptical in philosophy, royalist in politics, and Roman Catholic in religion, only the literary aspect remains to be elaborated. This important work is not simply a pushing back of the bounds of ignorance, it is a learned and persuasive challenge to revise our estimate of Dryden.

Mr. Bredvold is sometimes confusing, however, because he both enforces and relaxes his definition of scepticism as "anti-rationalism"; he provokes us, mainly in Chapter III, to ask whether "a mild form of anti-rationalism" is not merely a cau-

tious form of rationalism. To discard Bacon is one thing, it is quite another to lay the Royal Society's "timidity in generalization" to scepticism. Did not Boyle in particular feel that Bacon, Descartes, and Gassendi had "brought the experimental and mathematical way of inquiry" into esteem? In the *Vanity of Dogmatizing* Glanvill employs scepticism to clear the air of dogmatism, not rationalism, for Cartesian method is "the only way to Science", he reverses Browne by saying that "To say, Reason opposeth Faith, is to scandalize both 'Tis Imagination is the Rebel, Reason contradicts its impious suggestions", for him, even in 1661, faith is built on reason, and the grand articles of belief are as demonstrable as geometry (*V of D*, pp 73, 103, 209). Sprat's *History* (1702 pp 370-74) actually identifies the Royal Society with the Anglican Church in temper and method, their great precept is "trying all things". The true position of the Royal Society was neither sceptical nor dogmatic, both in science and in religion. Sprat thought "that we cannot make War against Reason, without undermining our own strength, seeing it is the constant weapon we ought to employ" (*ibid*, pp 107, 370). In this respect Glanvill does not exhibit, as Mr Bredvold says (p 89), a "rather remarkable change of mind," but only an elaboration of the danger of scepticism recognized in the *Vanity of Dogmatizing*. If an "overweening dogmatizing on causes" was the frying-pan, a "speculative Scepticism" was the fire. But the struggle between rationalism and Pyrrhonism, which is debated in Tillotson's *Rule of Faith* and not evaded by Sprat's *History*, was dramatized in Dryden, and when he overshot his rationalism in the *Religio Laici*, he did not so much deny his Anglicanism (for Anglicanism also limited the sphere of reason) as precipitate his scepticism into a desire for the peace secured by an infallible authority. His earlier scepticism was Academic, a Socratic "way of reasoning," not a Pyrrhonic "suicide of reason."

One member of the Royal Society whom Dryden praised and apparently read, Mr Bredvold has failed to consider, though he uses the *Epistle to Dr Charleton* as evidence. Where there is so little to go on, Dryden's awareness of Charleton is too significant to be overlooked. And Thomas Baker's popular *Reflections upon Learning* (1700), which attacks Father Simon, might have been noticed, for it shows that the position of *Religio Laici* could be sustained by High-Church Anglicanism against Latitudinarianism, Deism, and Romanism. But such reservations do not contest Dryden's final claim to a place in the tradition of Montaigne, Sir Thomas Browne, and Pascal, where Mr Bredvold has established him. Thus Dryden is afforded an intellectual stature in Pyrrhonism, and at the same time relieved of several biographical slanders. No greater service could have been rendered Dryden.

The Metaphysical Poets: Donne, Herbert, Vaughan, Traherne

By J. B. LEISHMAN Oxford. Clarendon Press, [New York
Oxford U Press], 1934 Pp. 232 \$3 50

This book, the product of university lectures, is an attempt to communicate "pleasure and interest" in seventeenth-century poetry. It is ostensibly an introduction to "this most fascinating land," to which one is conducted chiefly by way of biography and very liberal quotation. Its critical remarks on the poetry are such as may be readily apprehended in a lecture, its reference to contemporary ideas is designed to orient the beginner. For readers wishing to read this poetry, and yet not to read it whole, to read the relevant seventeenth-century prose, but not to read it whole, and to do their reading under a competent guide, this book will have its appeal. But students should be advised to do their reading in the "original," undistracted by cross-purposes.

Mr Leishman does to Donne what he finds fault (p 119) with Palmer for doing to Herbert, that is, he "illustrates a spiritual progress" upon the basis of an uncertain chronology. To say (p 20) that he has only offered the reader of Donne's love poetry an hypothesis "which he is at full liberty to reject after it has served its turn" is to retract after the damage has been done. Even to ask, instead of the particular experience, "What was the *kind* of experience?" is only to beg the question.

Traherne is a "metaphysical" poet in a rather thin sense of the term, and this book (p 218) assumes rather than proves his right to that title. When Mr Leishman is obliged to admit (p 219) that Traherne "is a greater poet in prose than in verse," he virtually gives his case away, since no "metaphysical" poet could realize himself more fully in prose than in verse. To compare Wordsworth and Traherne on childhood (p 169) is not very happy, since childhood had for Wordsworth too much of "the attraction of a country in romance" to be a pure form of mysticism. The remarks quoted from Mrs Meynell (p 170) on Evelyn's obtuseness to childhood are scarcely adult, and would not have been understood by Traherne. Far too often Mr Leishman's commentary takes on a rambling, class-room character which is disconcerting and inconclusive.

To the reader who has some acquaintance with these poets, Mr Leishman is most useful when he relates the poetry to the background of ideas, although he does not follow these ideas very far, he gives us more than we find in many books on the period. If to the initiated there seems to be little excuse for his book, what there is will be found in this background of ideas. For the common reader, however, who is curious about the "metaphysical poets," this book will provide a very acceptable introduction.

GEORGE WILLIAMSON

University of Oregon

Plagiarism and Imitation during the English Renaissance By

HAROLD OGDEN WHITE Cambridge Harvard University
Press, 1935 Pp x + 209 \$2 50

The subject of Dr White's book is important for all who would understand some attitudes toward literary tradition in which Renaissance authors differed fundamentally from most moderns. The venerable theory of imitation and emulation explains, for instance, Spenser's wholesale borrowing from Virgil and Ariosto and Tasso, he was naturalizing in English themes and motives consecrated by the great poets. The whole question was of much concern to sixteenth-century Englishmen, who were conscious of inferiority and eager to see English writers, by judicious imitation of the best ancients and moderns, take their place beside Italians and Frenchmen.

Dr White very properly begins his study with a survey of the theory in classical times and in Italy and France, and then proceeds to a detailed catalogue and analysis of opinions expressed in England. The classical theory approved of imitation but not of servility, originality should be shown in fresh handling of what was borrowed. Except by some extreme classicists, who were few in England, the doctrine was interpreted with wise moderation, and the confidence which accompanied the growth of Elizabethan literature could not endure an academic yoke. Even so self-conscious a classicist as Jonson had a thoroughly sound conception of the value of imitation and the necessity of independence.

Dr White has combed "the entire literature of the period . . . for even the most incidental references to what modern critics call plagiarism." That claim is, unfortunately, borne out. The author has done well what he set out to do, but he may be thought to have aimed too low. He does not get far enough away from his innumerable texts to see, or at any rate to show, the larger issues and perspectives of the subject—the relation of learning to poetry, and of tradition to experiment, the background of the quarrel between ancients and moderns, and the whole theory of progress. Dr. White's various summaries, though rather brief and bald, suggest that he could have been more philosophic, possibly he thought such questions too broad for an austere monograph, but they are, after all, the main reason for exploring the subject, and they are, in different terms, alive in modern criticism. As it is, we are led from tree to tree, often from shrub to shrub, and are seldom given such a view of the forest as we have, say, in Professor Bullock's article on Renaissance plagiarism (*MP.*, xxv, 293 ff.).

Thus some authors whom one had expected to be mountain peaks in the discussion become mole-hills. The vigorous but relatively insignificant flying between Harvey and Nashe occupies twelve pages, and is followed by a paragraph of eleven lines on

Spenser and another paragraph on E. K., of Spenser's immense importance, and of such a document as the letter to Raleigh, there is hardly a hint. Twelve lines (of which five are a quotation from *Musophilus*) are given to Daniel, who of the poets who discuss imitation "says the least"—this of the man whose *Defence of Rhyme* stands out as a declaration of literary independence akin to Emerson's! Bacon fares better, but even here one gets no notion of the importance of the attack made by a realistic scientist and herald of progress upon effete Renaissance classicism. One does not like to let discussion of apparent shortcomings take the place of deserved praise, but too often Dr. White has been beguiled, like the rest of us, by the doctrine that all facts are born free and equal.

DOUGLAS BUSH

University of Minnesota

The Eighteenth Century By EDITH J. MORLEY. Chapter X of *The Year's Work in English Studies, Volume XIII, 1932*. Edited by FREDERICK S. BOAS and MARY S. SERJEANTSON. London: Oxford Press, 1934. Pp. 348. \$2.75.

Miss Morley reviews 35 books, 3 from foreign presses, 15 from English and American university presses (1 from Harvard, 2 from Pennsylvania), 1 reprint, 1 offprint, 4 printed privately or by clubs. Since 4 of the remainder were printed by Davies alone, if this representation is fair it is a tribute to the self-supporting nature of English studies and perhaps an indictment of them and of general English and American presses. Students are ultimately the best patrons of these presses, yet they saw fit to handle only 7 considerable books in 1932 on the 18th century, 2 being anthologies or selections and 3 (*England under Anne, Bath, English Travelers in France*) being certainly not undilutedly "English studies."

Miss Morley stresses the latter half of the century perhaps unduly (6 to 22, omitting 7 books of general interest). But *M. H. R. A.* more or less justifies her emphasis, designating Johnson (22 items), Swift (21), Boswell (15), Blake and Burns (12 each), Defoe and Smollett (11), and Cowper and Pope (10) as centers of most numerous, if not most significant, activities. She devotes most of her space to summary. Especially when books like the Malahide series are not yet readily accessible everywhere, this method is acceptable, though one cannot always be sure where summary ends and impressionistic elaboration begins and though, of course, sometimes one would quarrel over the selection of books for discussion (e.g., *England under Queen Anne, The Idea of Union in American Verse*, the single and unimportant study in

American letters) In addition to the 35 books, Miss Morley notices 71 articles from 19 periodicals in about 4 pages

The fact is of some importance that *M H R A* lists 430 items for Old and Middle English literary studies, 421 for the 16th, 834 for the 19th, and 425 for the 18th centuries *The Year's Work* devotes about 72 pages to Old and Middle English literature, 93 to the Renaissance (20 to Shakespeare alone), 38 to the 19th century, and 25 to the 18th, of the last of which the Malahide and Rylands Johnson-papers consume 5 It may be very well argued that attention should not be directed to centers of greatest activity like the 19th century, that centers of interest are not necessarily centers of importance in "English studies" Is one therefore to conclude that in comparison with students of earlier periods, whose contributions are on a par in numbers, 18th-century scholars in 1932 only diddled?

Professor Crane! Professor Bredvold! Professor Root! Professors Bernbaum, Lovejoy, Nicholson, Griffith, Pottle, Havens (both), Tinker, Sherburn!

ARTHUR E DuBOIS

Duquesne University

Basic English By C K OGDEN London Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1930 Pp 100 2/6

Basic Rules of Reason By I A RICHARDS London Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1933 Pp 138 2/6.

Longinus and English Criticism By T R HENN. Cambridge The University Press, 1934 Pp 163 \$2 25.

The first two books apply the theory of symbols which was elaborated by their authors in their *Meaning of Meaning* (1923) As language is a common carrier, they put the question What load can it carry and where, in view of the confused state of national and international communication, is it likely to take us? Any unknown term, they concluded, can be identified by putting it into relation with a known term By an examination of the levels of generalization it is possible to determine the level symbolised by any term, from, for example, the high level of generalization indicated by such a fiction as the word "quality" through lower levels, "colour," "blue," to specification, "Celia's blue eyes" After the referent of the symbol is placed, it is possible, by putting the symbol in relation with other symbols, to judge the correctness of symbolization and through that the adequacy of the reference Theoretically, then, unknown terms of correct symbolization and adequate reference can be placed if we have the names of the relations. Moreover, by putting the complex symbols

with which men of letters spend their lives through this process of definition the symbol gets broken up into its parts and its several referents are identifiable. If we do this with poetry, we make many useful discoveries of the kind Mr. Empson made in his *Seven Types of Ambiguity* or of the kind Dr. Richards made in his books on criticism. If we do this with the more general terms used in logic we make discoveries of the kind Dr. Richards makes in his *Basic Rules of Reason*.

Basic English is the analytical vocabulary constructed on these principles. *Basic Rules of Reason* is an identification of the pivotal terms. Mr. Ogden treats the verb as a complex symbol of motion in a direction. Only 18 verbs are retained, these, in combination with prepositions take the place of all others. "*Get off the ship*" is *disembark*, when we *enter* a room we *go into it*, when we *analyse* a statement we *get it broken up* or *get at the details of it*. In order to facilitate discourse words are selected from the several levels of generalization and a vocabulary of 850 words is the result. By means of this "everything may be said for all the purposes of every-day existence: the common interests of men and women, general talk, news, trade and science." A supplementary list of 100 words is presented for scientific discussions. The Basic vocabulary is not a list of the words most used by telephoners, business correspondents, school children and the like, because those words might not serve the needs of a curate, a labor agitator or a stranded sailor in Japan. It is rather a list of the most useful words arrived at by an analysis of possible operations and levels of symbolization. "To the eye and ear it does not seem in any way different from normal English."

This vocabulary finds many uses. It exploits that tendency towards analysis which is particularly notable in English. It serves as an international auxiliary language which, since the entire vocabulary can be put on one side of a sheet of note paper, can be learned easily and quickly. It is an excellent first step in the learning of English, as has been shown in Germany, Holland, Denmark, China and Japan.

The *Basic Rules of Reason* is written in Basic and is an application of the vocabulary. By multiple definitions of the chief senses of the words "cause," "true," "property," and 26 others commonly used in discussion, Dr. Richards gives illustration of the value of an analytical vocabulary in the clearing up of those emotions which are commonly mistaken for thoughts by literary critics, historians and religious apologists. He observes: "most questions are not questions at all in the form in which they are put, ('What is Art, the Mind, Existence, Science, Value, Belief, etc.')" and consequently the answers to them "cannot be either right or wrong." In two pages are given the chief points which have come up in Dr. Richards' lengthy discussion with Mr. Eliot on "belief." By an ap-

plication of this method and vocabulary to the study of literature, the various meanings of a passage can be separated and examined. Power in the use of language as well as an increased pleasure in the complex symbols we call poems will result. The subsidised emotionalising which in many universities is mistaken for the appreciation of literature can then be returned to its proper place. But to this there can be little objection.

In *Longinus and English Criticism* Mr T. R. Henn attempts to illustrate Longinus' precepts by specimens of English verse, and to articulate his thought with the traditions of English criticism. After eight chapters devoted largely to exposition, Mr Henn gives an account of Blair's, Reynold's, Burke's and Bradley's discussions of Longinus and concludes with a discussion of the psychology of the sublime. The task is of interest although, owing to the present imperfect state of critical notation—a state Mr Henn is aware of (p. 5) but does not sufficiently take into account,—success is not to be expected. For to assert that "‘sublime’ is a term used of literature which is the product of a great and noble mind . . . presenting ideas in an organization . . . remarkable for instantaneous appeal . . . producing a range of emotion similar to that which inspired the artist . . . the result . . . being a ‘valuable state of mind’" (p. 15) is to say little more than that the term refers to a kind of writing which Mr Henn approves of approving. Most readers will concur with Mr Henn in his assertion that the works of the master critics are in need of re-examination (p. 143), and it is to be hoped that the examination will make use of a notation that will make possible an analysis of the emotive, referential and suasive factors in the meanings of the critical terms. Mr Henn's reading among minor poets has offered him excellent illustrations for Longinus' negative precepts.

R. D. JAMESON

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BRIEF MENTION

The Mythical Sorrows of Shakespeare. By C. J. Sisson. Annual Shakespeare Lecture of the British Academy, 1934. From *The Proceedings of the British Academy*, Vol. xx. London: Humphrey Milford. Pp. 28. Mr Sisson offers a very sane rebuke to those who have sought to find in Shakespeare's plays reflections of his personal moods and sorrows. Such interpretations, traced briefly by Mr. Sisson, first appear, of course, in the criticism of the 19th century Romantics. Shortly after Malone's efforts to determine the

chronology of the plays, Coleridge, declaring himself more interested in the "physiological and pathological than chronological" order, divided the plays into periods in Shakespeare's life and suggested changing moods reflected in them. Soon thereafter the Schlegels envisioned the dramatist's melancholy and tragic sorrows. In England Hallam was to go even farther in tracing the change from Shakespeare's cheerful youth to his disillusioned maturity. Although Knight and Delius had voiced disapproval and warning, finally, through the "immense influence" of Dowden's *Shakespeare a Critical Study of his Mind and Art* (1875) and the popularity of such successors as Swinburne, Ten Brink, and Brandes, it became usual to explain the plays by their author's changing moods and passions (and *vice versa*).

Mr. Sisson decries also the more recent view that the mature plays of Shakespeare reflect the disillusionment and pessimism of the age; the early years of James's reign were quite the contrary, years of hope and accomplishment. He denies that any of the so-called bitter plays reveal cynicism or disgust at all; they are "sound to the core," Shakespeare ever being "scrupulous to hold the balance even with right and wrong. . . ." Sane, if conservative, is Mr. Sisson's insistence "that there is nothing in any of the plays that is not amenable to the conception of a great and disinterested poet and thinker in the process of dramatic creation, and little that is inexplicable save on the assumption of the reflection of direct personal experience and feeling, as distinct from the vast excitement and intensity of creative art."

BALDWIN MAXWELL

University of Iowa

The French Language By ALFRED EWERT. London: Faber and Faber, 1933. Pp. xii + 437. 18 sh. In the past five years there have appeared a number of histories of the French language, differing considerably in point of view. One's preference will depend largely upon one's particular need. The divisions of Mr. E.'s book are general and external history (brief treatment), phonology, orthography, morphology, and syntax, vocabulary, and, in the appendix, selections illustrating the various stages of the language, as well as a bibliography. Because of the anticipated publication of Miss Pope's *From Latin to French* (Manchester Univ. Press, 1934), the phonology and the morphology are not given much emphasis. The treatment is analytical rather than a continuous narrative reflecting the history of the French people as mirrored in their language. While I am not in perfect accord with many of the generalizations of the Vossler school of linguistics, I do believe that the younger student should be constantly made to realize, period by period, that the development of the French language has much in common with changes in literature and civilization and that he should not be given many facts of a purely linguistic nature.

It was just this which for many years caused the first chapter in Nyrop's *Grammaire historique* to be a standard guide for the history of the French language among American students. It is for more mature readers, particularly for those who are familiar with philologic methodology, that Professor E's book should be at its best as an introduction to French linguistics, yet it is my intention to try the book, in conjunction with a more elementary treatise of the narrative type, in my class for advanced undergraduates in the history of the French language. The scholarship that has gone into this book is very thorough. As is always the case, no one can agree with all the opinions expressed. E's definition of Vulgar Latin (p. 3) has been improved by him in a recent review (*Medium Aevum*, III (1934), 63-7). The study of Romance philology in England has special vigor just now and this careful book by a mature scholar should become well known in America. It is a volume in a series called *The Great Languages* and edited by G. E. K. Brauholtz. A history of the Spanish language by Professor Entwistle is to appear shortly.

The University of North Carolina

URBAN T. HOLMES

Notkers des Deutschen Werke. Nach den Handschriften neu herausgegeben von E. H. SEHRT und TAYLOR STARCK. Ersten Bandes zweites Heft, Boethius *de Consolatione Philosophiae* III, pp. 137-244, drittes Heft, Boethius IV, V, pp. 245-403. The reviewer would refer to his account of the first fascicle in this periodical, November 1933, pp. 479 ff. The same reliability of text is found in the later issues as before. The only error the reviewer found in a number of photographs is the circumflex in *fölleglîh*, p. 198, note. He feels that in a relatively excellent text as the St. Gall MS 825 it would have been possible to follow the MS and relegate the emendations to the notes. It is difficult to know how far Notker had developed a 'grammatical' feeling for phonology or how far he followed his instinct for fine differences of pronunciation, and so seeming errors may prove on closer investigation to be justifiable variations explained by special conditions. However the editors have aimed at a 'critical' text, and in any case the convenient footnotes enable the reader to decide what reading he wants to approve.

New York University

FREDERICK H. WILKENS

Three Lectures on Chinese Folklore. By R. D. JAMESON. Peking. n. d. (1932?). Pp. ix + 164. So little has come from China to give the Western folklorist a correct idea of the wealth of its tradition that the present work would be welcome if it but added a little to our knowledge. But it is much more important than

that The three lectures delivered at the North China Union Language School must have made the audience aware that they had an important folklore heritage and also that in the person of the lecturer they had someone who could make adequate use of their materials. By their very nature the lectures are popular, but they are not superficial. Prof Jameson gives in the first, "Prologomena to Chinese Folklore" an adequate sketch of folklore activity in the Occident and in China. In two other lectures he shows his command of the historical-geographic method of folk-tale study by an analysis of the Chinese versions of Cinderella and of the Constance cycle. In addition he has included some shorter sketches and a really valuable bibliography of Chinese folklore. It is to be hoped that under the stimulus of Prof Jameson's work the collecting and study of folklore in China will rapidly proceed.

Indiana University

STITH THOMPSON

Beasts and Birds in the Lives of the Early Irish Saints By Sister MARY DONATUS Philadelphia University of Pennsylvania. 1934 Pp 255 Sister Mary Donatus has combed the available lives of Irish saints most industriously for references to beasts and birds, and has docketed them in an orderly way. As everyone who knows the lives is aware, there is a wealth of such material. At first sight it may seem pedantry to assemble the stories as she has done, with little comment and little attempt at correlation with other texts, but it is useful, after all, to have the tales brought together for reference. A good deal of interesting lore is embodied in them and suggested by them. The author would have added to the obligations of other scholars if she had provided a subject-index, since for them her work is valuable chiefly as a guide to the texts themselves. This is not to say that the stories are not pleasant reading as presented by Sister Mary Donatus. Her secondary purpose of showing the interest of the lives is amply fulfilled. One could wish that she had exercised more care in reading proof, for slipshod little errors in text and notes give rise to distrust of her accuracy in larger matters.

Princeton University

G H GEROULD

Essays by Divers Hands, being the transactions of the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom N. S. XIII. Edited by W B MAXWELL. London [and New York] Oxford University Press, 1934 Pp xiv + 133 \$2.75 These slight essays consist in the main of biographical sketches, although Bonamy Dobrée deals with the novel and attempts to show that its function is to clarify our ideas regarding life of today. R. E. Roberts's "Lamb" is pleasant, R. H. Mottram's "Contribution of Norwich to English Letters" and H. B. Walters's "Some English

Antiquaries" are disappointing treatments of important subjects. The best thing in the volume is V de Sola Pinto's illuminating study of the poetry of Rochester.

Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association. Vol. xx. Collected by GEORGE COOKSON. Oxford [and New York] Oxford University Press, 1935. Pp. 151. \$2.50. Three essays in this volume deserve particular mention. E. Tillyard's "The Personal Heresy in Criticism" (an answer to C. S. Lewis's criticism that Tillyard's *Milton* treats poetry as the expression of personality), W. R. Parker's "The Greek Spirit in Milton's *Samson Agonistes*," and V. de Sola Pinto's "Isaac Watts and the Adventurous Muse." Parker may be right in holding that *Samson* is Greek in its emphasis on the hero's unmerited suffering, in its fatalism, in its profound tragic irony, yet it seems to me that Milton intended us to think of Samson's misery as deserved and the end of the play as triumphant. Pinto's illuminating essay praises Watts as "a poet who kept alive the spirit of freedom and adventure in imaginative literature at a time when it was nearly stifled." There is also a pleasant appreciation of the "Writings of W. H. Hudson" by R. H. Charles.

R. D. H.

The Oxford Book of Seventeenth Century Verse. Chosen by H. J. C. GRIERSON and G. BULLOUGH. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1934. Pp. xiv + 974. \$3.00. The reputation of its editors leads one naturally to expect that this new addition to the Oxford Books of Verse will maintain the quality of its predecessors, and the book does not disappoint one's expectation. Nearly all its defects—such as a somewhat stiffly chronological order, and a tendency to include tantalizing bits rather than adequate amounts of longer poems—are not its own but defects of the series to which it belongs. The reader wonders a little, to be sure, as to the editors' reasons for omitting outstanding poems like Donne's *Love's Deity* and Jonson's *A Celebration of Charis*. But a perfect anthology is no more to be found than a perfect man. The editors have used exceptional care and good judgment in preparing their text, and their experiment at striking a happy medium between complete modernization and complete adherence to the originals, in spelling and punctuation, is a brilliant success. It deserves the perfect tribute of imitation by future anthologists of that century's verse. The slightly unusual, and wholly attractive, appearance which this system of spelling and punctuation gives to the verse, added to the beauty in format which the book shares with the others of its series, is a constant satisfaction to a reader's senses, and a temptation which is likely to draw his hand frequently to the place on his shelves where it lies.

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THE REVIEWERS AND THE NEW TRENDS IN POETRY, 1754-1770

In a companion article which examined the reviews of the leading critical works from 1754 to 1770,¹ I attempted to show that, so far from being startling or revolutionary, the "romantic" ideas of these works generally seemed either commonplace or sufficiently consistent with the reviewers' own notions and tastes as to be immediately acceptable; in several cases the critical heresies appeared to be trite or old-fashioned to a reviewer who had already become aware of the inconsistencies and insufficiencies of the common Augustan standards of criticism, the few reviews which still tried to maintain strictly the old critical dogmas were apologetic in tone or equivocal in substance, frequently using old terms for new concepts or fitting old concepts to new terms. Liberal views had been expressed by critics throughout the Augustan period, interspersed among orthodox beliefs, but in the period discussed critics began to adapt them to contemporaneous works, both obscure and distinguished, and they grew conscious that many productions accepted by their predecessors would fare badly when tested by the new criteria for true poetry. In the present article I shall comment on developments of literary theory in the reviews of several poetical compositions which were connected with the "romantic" trend, showing how the fresh currents in poetry affected critics and to what extent liberal principles of criticism are exemplified in the reviews.²

¹ "The Reviewers and the New Criticism, 1754-1770," *PQ*, *xiii* (1934), 189-202. For a fuller discussion of the developments in literary theory see my article, "The Discussion of Taste, from 1750 to 1770, and the New Trends in Literary Criticism," *PMLA*, *xliv* (1934), 577-92.

² I have selected fourteen poetical works which appear to me among the

The concept of the poet as a bard and an original genius had broadened the early eighteenth-century idea of the essence of poetry, emphasizing the need of warmth, animation, wildness, imagination, creative genius, boldness, and an appeal to the heart, and turning away the stress from reason and polish of form.³ In the ode-writer passion and irregularity had long been allowed, so it is not surprising to find Gray's *Odes* hailed for the qualities of fire and wildness, and even for enthusiasm, ecstasy, and prophetic fury.⁴ But the "romantic" qualities were admired in other sorts of verse as well. Beattie's *Original Poems and Translations* met with praise for exhibiting energy and imagination,⁵ and Macpherson's *Fragments of Ancient Poetry* won approval for being "animated with a wild, passionate and pathetic spirit of poetry," and for displaying "strokes of a fine imagination" and passages truly sublime.⁶ In Smart's *Song to David* one reviewer found great rapture and devotion, and decided that the poem "must at once please and affect a sensible mind."⁷ Another reviewer detected in it something altogether original, and described it as being not so much greatly irregular as irregularly great.⁸ The enthusiasm and wildness of *Fingal* appealed strongly to the *Critical Review*,⁹ and the *Annual Register* for 1761 liked in it "that native simplicity, that wild luxuriance, that romantic air." In Percy's *Five Pieces of Runic Poetry* one writer felt the lack of imagery and art, but he still was pleased with a portion for its boldness and rapidity of composition.¹⁰

Along with boldness, passion, and imagination, critics were beginning to demand originality of thought and creative power

more significant of the period (though two of them are perhaps only tenuously connected with the "romantic" current), and have considered all genuinely critical reviews which notice them in the *Monthly Review*, *Critical Review*, *London Magazine*, and *Annual Register*.

³ The reviewers were generally from the first taste deeply impressed by the poetry of the Bards. The *Monthly's Review* (formerly attributed to Goldsmith) of Mallet's *Remains of the Mythology and Poetry of the Celts* discovered the Edda's account of the future destruction of the world to be "to the last degree, sublime and picturesque" (xvi [1757], 381).

⁴ *Critical*, iv (1757), 167, 169.

⁵ *Ibid*, xi (1761, 302; *Monthly*, xxiv (1761), 393.

⁶ *Annual Register* for 1760, p. 254, *Critical*, x (1760), 28, 29.

⁷ *Critical*, xv (1763), 324.

⁸ xii (1761), 413, xiii (1762), 50.

⁹ *Monthly*, xxviii (1763), 320-21.

¹⁰ *Critical*, xv (1763), 309.

Mason's volume of odes was condemned on one hand for its lack of originality and its "obvious sterility of thought", and on the other hand for its want of "true creative genius," which in odes is even more necessary than in any other performance.¹¹ Though the *Monthly* admired part of Gray's *Odes*, it still advised the poet that if he wanted to give greater pleasure and acquire greater fame, he must stop imitating and be more an original.¹² And in Smart's *Song to David* one of the features most admired was its conspicuous originality.

While critics were insisting on imagination, originality, boldness, and passion, they were engaged in disparaging verse characterized chiefly by correctness or polish. The *Critical* admitted that Mason's odes were pleasing to the ear, but asserted that they were not calculated to touch the heart.¹³ And the same author's volume of elegies was coolly received by the *Critical* because it exhibited merely "a cold correctness of expression", and by the *Monthly* because on the whole it displayed art but lacked simplicity and originality.¹⁴ Regarding the book as a product of acquired taste rather than native genius, the *Monthly* dismissed Hamilton's *Poems on Several Occasions*, the *London Magazine*, though admitting it to be genteel and agreeable, evidently considered it of minor importance, and the *Critical*, while conceding the work to be pleasing and to exhibit an elegant taste, concluded that it lacked the sublime and the higher qualities of poetry.¹⁵ Home's *Douglas*, despite its happy descriptions, failed to impress the *Monthly* greatly because it lacked poetic fire and pathos.¹⁶

Since originality was demanded by critics, it was natural that works of translation should no longer receive the homage paid them in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century. Both the

¹¹ *Monthly*, XIV (1756), 435, *Critical*, I (1756), 209, 214

¹² XVII (1757), 240

¹³ I (1756), 212. Toward mere correctness, piety, and technical competence the general attitude of reviewers in this period is expressed by the comment upon Mason's *Odes Descriptive and Allegorical*: "Upon the whole, our author wants that wildness, glow, and heat of imagination, which constitutes the true poet, though he is every where superior to the common herd of ode-writers" (*Critical*, XI [1761], 158-9).

¹⁴ *Critical*, XIV (1762), 447; *Monthly*, XXVII (1762), 485-92

¹⁵ *Monthly*, XXIV (1761), 162, *London Mag*, XXX (1761), 56, *Critical*, XI (1761), 48

¹⁶ XVI (1757), 428.

Critical and the *Monthly* spoke slightly of the translations and lauded the original verse in Beattie's volume of 1761¹⁷ Moreover, didactic poetry, as it merely embellished commonplaces of morality, was likely to be frowned upon, and we find Mason's *Elegies* attacked for expressing only "a dull morality of sentiment," for being the work of a good man rather than of a "warm, animated, and enthusiastic poet."¹⁸

In the period herein discussed there is discernible the gradual development of an idea of progress¹⁹—an idea, it is true, which is likely to stress the non-bardic qualities of delicacy and refinement as the basis of modern superiority,²⁰ but which, since it opened the way for asserting the desirability of originality and for emphasizing a spirit and manner in the modern literature which was supposedly absent from the ancient, encouraged poets to strike out in new paths, after the manner of the bards

Among the Augustan critics irregularities had sometimes been excused if they were accompanied by distinguished beauties, but after the mid-century it was no longer necessary to apologize for them Smart's *Song to David* was praised though it was irregularly great The *Monthly*'s conservative notice of *Douglas* restated a belief long current, that "A mechanically exact adherence to all the rules of the Drama, is more the business of industry than of genius"²¹ But reviewers generally had much less respect for the once-sacred rules, holding them to be a result of superstition or an actual cause of dullness²² For example, the reviewer of *Fingal* in the *Monthly*, feeling the power of its loosely constructed figures, bold similes, and the romantic obscurity of

¹⁷ *Critical*, XI (1761), 304, *Monthly*, XXIV (1761), 393-5

¹⁸ *Critical*, XIV (1762), 447-8

¹⁹ For a few indications of this trend see "The Reviewers and the New Criticism," *PQ*, XIII (1934), 197

²⁰ The *Critical Review* (XII, 1761, 405-18, and XIII, 1762, 45-53) observed of *Fingal* that it was superior to Homer and Virgil in respect to its tenderness and humanity of feeling

²¹ XVI (1757), 427

²² The *Critical* in 1762 denounced the authors of modern English tragedy, who were "fond of imitating the dull regularity of the French drama" (XIII, 404) And in the 1755 volume of the *Monthly* a correspondent, noticing Voltaire's *Orphelin de la Chine*, protested against the authority of Aristotle in the drama, if we credited Aristotle, he sneered, we should have to believe that the sun moves around the earth (XIII, 494)

atmosphere, contended that precision and propriety are "enemies to the sublime" which check "the powers of genius, and cool the warmth of imagination."²³

Admiration of the bard such as we find in Blackwell had prepared the way for praising conditions in early society as favorable to the growth of great poetry. In reviewing *Fingal* the *Annual Register* for 1761 exclaimed enthusiastically about society and men in Fingal's day, "the wild sublimity of their virtues," their extravagant heroism, and "their superstitious notions so beautifully poetic" And the clearer perception of the diversity of life and manners in distant ages gave great impetus to the development of the historical viewpoint

The historical viewpoint was one of the strongest forces leading to the downfall of the rules since it undermined the assumption of Aristotelian critics that all men were essentially the same, an assumption which made universal rules possible In one review of *Fingal* it was pointed out that though the poem was admirable as an expression of an early society, yet, if it were found to be modern, there would be no extenuation of its faults.²⁴ And in noticing Gray's *Odes* the critic of the *Monthly* avowed a distaste for the ode-form, asserting that it was fashioned to please the warm and sensitive Greek spirit and was therefore unsuited to the English temper and to English music²⁵ Realizing that classical rules could not be imposed on a creation of a different type of society and of a different age, the *Critical* reviewer said of *Fingal* "It would be as absurd to examine this poem by the rules of Aristotle, as it would be to judge a Lapland jacket by the fashion of an Armenian gaberdine."²⁶

²³ xxvi (1762), 44

²⁴ *Annual Register* for 1761, p 282.

²⁵ xvii (1757), 239

²⁶ xii (1761), 410 The historical viewpoint had been assumed by John Dennis in discussing the use of a chorus in tragedy and of the love motif in the drama, and the idea that national differences must be taken into account in applying rules to a work of art was a commonplace, stated by Saint-Evremond and repeated by Rowe, Pope, Warton, and many others The principle, however, was not commonly applied to specific works nor to specific literary problems until after the middle of the century For a fuller discussion of the historical viewpoint, see the unpublished Johns Hopkins dissertation by Miss Frances Miller, *The Historic Sense in Eighteenth-Century English Literature*

For other reasons also the rules were falling under attack. There was an inclination, strongly illustrated in Dr Johnson, to submit poetry to a pragmatic test: it is good if it succeeds in pleasing. Dramatic critics were disposed to speak well of a play which delighted audiences. Discussing Home's *Douglas*, the *Critical* observed that sentiments natural to the characters and lines natural to the situation pleaded strongly with the audience in favor of the play, and the reviewer, although warning against the dangers of judging a play by its representation in the theater, appeared somewhat impressed by the audience's verdict.²⁷ The pragmatic view was well stated by the writer who noticed Ossian in the *Critical*: "Some critics, more attached to the form than to the spirit of poetry, have condemned Ariosto because he deviated from the established rules of the Stagyrte, and others have as strenuously asserted, that he had a right to invent a new species of composition. . . Without all doubt, if the poetry is agreeable, the poet has a natural right to choose the manner in which it shall be presented."²⁸

One of the sturdy props of the Aristotelian rules was the idea that art should imitate only idealized nature, *la belle nature*, and not the variegated nature of realistic and vulgar experience. The Augustans approved of fidelity to nature but did not care for "low" nature, for dialect, or for rusticity or provincialism (except in comedy and pastoral), they believed that an artist must select his details so as to present the best possible picture of the subject. After the middle of the century, however, a description might be praised because it was accurate and realistic in its details. Reviewing Percy's *Reliques*, the *Critical* admired the habits of the ballad-muses, observing: "The manners not only of their ages, but the provinces where they lived, are delineated by the

²⁷ III (1757), 266

²⁸ XII (1761), 410. This review is the more notable as it was presumably written before the publication of Hurd's *Letters on Chivalry*, famous for its defence of Ariosto and the romances. The tendency to accept that which succeeded in pleasing, without regard to form or regularity, received strong support from the current discussions of taste. It was generally agreed in these discussions that a standard of taste and guide for composition must be grounded, not on the old critical dogmas, but on a psychological study of the works which actually pleased the public and of the causes for their pleasing (see *PMLA*, XLIX [1934], 577-92).

truest pencil, that of Nature, and however homely her strokes may sometimes be, the resemblance is always just, and therefore pleasing" ²⁹ This defense of homely realism, and even of local color, is matched in the *Monthly's* review of *Douglas*, in which the critic finds the chief virtue of the play to lie in its happy description of "Those parts of Nature, and that rural simplicity, with which the Author was, perhaps, best acquainted." ³⁰ That simple and humble characters in tragedy could be admired if only they were realistic, illustrates how the idea of a tragic poem had changed.

Certain of the new trends in poetry were received cordially, in part because the conception of classical art was being distinctly widened, partly by a closer study of Greek literature. The *Critical* applauded Gray's Norse poems as evidencing a vigorous imagination, with imagery strongly conceived and "abounding with those terrible graces of which Aristotle tells us Æschylus was so fully possessed" ³¹ It is significant that the Gothic *diableries* can be compared with the classical graces. Even obscurity might be regarded as classical, and we find the *Critical* (IV, 167) remarking of the vague transitions in Gray's *Odes* " . . . even this obscurity affords a kind of mysterious veil, which gives a venerable and classical air to the performance "

Of course, all reviews were not romantic in their trend. Many Augustan prejudices still survived. The *Monthly* disdained the Gothic air of Gray's Norse poems, ³² as it had scorned the Gothic mysteries of the *Castle of Otranto*—and as it denounced the "gross improprieties and tautologies" of Macpherson's *Fragments* ³³ And though the *Critical* admired the boldness and wildness of *Fingal*, it still tried to reassure itself with the reflection that the poem might be proved an epic by the standards of Aristotle, ³⁴ while the *Monthly* actually measured it by the rules for the epic and found it wanting. ³⁵ Both the *Monthly* and *Critical* regretted the lack of

²⁹ XIX (1765), 119

³⁰ XVI (1757), 428 For a discussion of the growing appreciation of realistic qualities in Shakespeare during this period, see David Lovett, "Shakespeare as a Poet of Realism in the 18th Century," *ELH*, II (1935), 267-289

³¹ XXV (1768), 367

³² XXXVIII (1768), 408

³³ XXXIII (1760), 205

³⁴ XII (1761), 410

³⁵ XXVI (1762), 41-57, 130 41

art and imagery in Percy's *Five Pieces of Runic Poetry*,³⁸ and while the *Monthly* confessed that the compositions had some merit in themselves for their pleasing simplicity and artless graces, the "rude simplicity" and "antique roughness" of early poetry as represented in Percy's *Reliques* were not to the taste of the *Annual Register* for 1765.³⁷ Moreover, the bogus antiquity of Macpherson appealed to one reviewer much more than such older poetry as appeared in Percy's translation of *Northern Antiquities*.³⁸ Though the *Critical* detected signs of genius and the sublime in certain parts of Evan Evans's *Specimens of the Poetry of the Antient Welsh Bards*, yet it admired the work chiefly because of its freedom from low, vulgar, and unpoetic diction.³⁹ Also it styled *Douglas* a poor tragic poem inasmuch as the plot was faulty, poetic justice was violated, and the characters generally were not well supported.⁴⁰ These were types of criticism that might well have been voiced fifty years previously.

Nevertheless, the dominant trend of the reviews was liberal, or "romantic," and poetry was not likely to be received with much favor unless it exhibited imagination, enthusiasm, originality, strength, and passion (an appeal to the heart). More and more the test of verse was coming to be merely its ability to please. Those poems which were rejected, were commonly dismissed not because they were filled with irregularities or improprieties but because they were dull of imagination, unoriginal, or tame of spirit. "Romantic" principles of criticism were scarcely striking or revolutionary since they were being regularly applied in the popular reviews of poetry. Furthermore, the new poetry, harbinger of later romantic feeling, cannot accurately be said to have been in advance of public taste—at least in so far as public taste is reflected in the reviews. The way was well prepared for it, and in several instances the new developments in verse were not sufficiently advanced to satisfy the cultivated tastes of critics.

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³⁸ *Monthly*, xxviii (1763), 283, *Critical*, xv (1763), 307-10

³⁷ *Monthly*, xxxii (1765), 241-53

³⁹ xviii (1764), 87

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, xliii (1770), 100

⁴⁰ iii (1757), 258-68.

SHELLEY AND MILTON'S 'CHARIOT OF PATERNAL DEITY'

In his *Influence of Milton*, Professor Raymond D Havens called attention to the fact that Shelley's lines in *Queen Mab*

The restless wheels of being on their way,
Whose flashing spokes, instinct with infinite life,
Bicker and burn to gain their distant goal (ix 152-4)

appear to have been borrowed from the description in *Paradise Lost* of that chariot wherein the Son rides to victory over the rebel hosts.¹

That the Miltonic passage,

Forth rushed with whirl-wind sound
The chariot of Paternal Deity,
Flashing thick flames, wheel within wheel, undrawn,
Itself instinct with spirit
And from about him fierce effusion rowled
Of smoke and bickering flame and sparkles dire
Under his burning wheels
The steadfast Empyrean shook throughout,
All but the throne itself of God,²

was indeed one which made a profound impression on Shelley's imagination is evidenced by its appearance elsewhere in his work. Its influence is seen first in *The Wandering Jew*,³ where "bickering fire" occurs twice (784, 794), "bickering flame" twice (263, 1322) and "bickering hell-flames" once (305) in the text,⁴ and "bickering flames," "bickering coruscation" in the note to line 764.⁵ It next appears in a letter to Miss Hitchener of November 26, 1811 "Heavens! were I the charioteer of time, his burning wheels would rapidly attain the goal of my aspirations." For the Fairy's car, in *Queen Mab*, Shelley had, of course, models which

¹ *The Influence of Milton on English Poetry* (Cambridge, 1922), p 230, n 3

² *P L*, vi. 749 ff

³ Ed B Dobell, Shelley Society Publications, London, 1887

⁴ These are almost certainly Shelley's lines. See Manfred Eimer, "Zu Shelley's dichtung *The Wandering Jew*," *Anglia*, xxxviii (1914), 445, 447

⁵ In that portion of the note which is Shelley's addition to the German Museum translation of Schubart. Cf. *ibid*, 471.

make the Miltonic vehicle appear rather remote,⁶ the following passage, however, shows the infusion of two details from Milton—"flame and sparkles," slightly modified, and "burning wheels"

The magic car moved on
The night was fair, and countless stars
Studded heaven's dark blue vault,
Just o'er the eastern wave
Peeped the first faint smile of morn
The magic car moved on—
From the celestial hoofs
The atmosphere in flaming sparkles flew,
And where the burning wheels
Eddied above the mountain's loftiest peak,
Was traced a line of lightning⁷

In the same poem we have again (ix 217) the detail of "burning wheels," and Milton's verses are even more strikingly paralleled by the passage singled out by Professor Havens and cited *supra*. In the *Essay on Christianity*, Milton's "wheel within wheel, undrawn, itself instinct with spirit" is obviously involved. "The great community of mankind has been subdivided into ten thousand communit[ies] each organized for the ruin of the other. Wheel within wheel the vast machine was instinct with the restless spirit of desolation."⁸ Finally, Shelley appears to draw upon the Chariot for his fine appreciation of Dante in the *Defense of Poetry*. "His very words are instinct with spirit, each is as a spark, a burning atom of inextinguishable thought"⁹

Shelley's work contains many reminiscences of Milton, but most of these appear in an unassimilated state—mere fossilized remnants of his reading in the older poet. The behavior of the Chariot-passage is in interesting contrast. There was something about it which gained it instant admission to the working stratum of Shelley's mind. From time to time it emerges, and we watch the image in process of losing its chariot character, of being re-

⁶ Cf W E Peck, *Shelley* (Boston, 1927), I, 305-6. One of these—the Ship of Heaven in Southey's *Kehama*—perhaps owes to Milton's chariot in that it is "instinct with thought" (vii st 1).

⁷ *Q M*, I, 207 ff.

⁸ *Shelley's Prose in the Bodleian Manuscripts*, ed A H Koszul (London, 1910), p 28.

⁹ *Ibid*, p 100.

fined down to what was for Shelley its essence. Finally it reappears in a supreme phrase

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THE AUTHORSHIP OF *LE MYSTÈRE DE GRISELDIS*

Elie Golenistcheff-Koutouzoff in his *Histoire de Griseldis en France* (Paris, 1933), pp. 42 ff, has assembled cogent reasons for believing that an early French prose translation of Petrarch's version of the Griselda story was made by Philippe de Mézières. These reasons, in brief, are that (1) the author of the translation speaks of his work in the prologue as a "livre de la vertu du sacrement de mariage," which is the title of a book known to have been written by Philippe, though hitherto thought lost, (2) the author refers to himself as *le povere pelerin* and *le vieil solitaire*, names used by Philippe of himself in his authentic works, (3) the author, like Philippe, had intimate connections with the Celestians and was devoted to the cult of the Virgin, (4) like Philippe, also, he was interested in the politics of the Orient and had personal relations with Petrarch and with Léon V of Armenia.

To these reasons should be added the fact that in 1395, not long after the French prose translation was made—Golenistcheff-Koutouzoff dates it between 1384 and 1389,—at a time when Philippe was urging that England and France make peace and that this peace be cemented by the marriage of King Richard II of England and Isabelle of France, Philippe wrote his *Épître à Richard II*, in which he specifically wishes the king a wife like Griselda and particularly mentions "la cronique autentique du dessus dit marquis de Saluce et de Griseldis, . . . escripte par le solempnel docteur et souverain poète, maistre François Petrac," words which seem to echo those of *le vieil solitaire* when he says in the prologue of his prose translation that he found "ceste histoire en Lombardie entre les gracieuses escriptures du vaillant et solempnel docteur-poete, maistre Fransoys Patrac" ¹

¹ See N. Jorga, *Philippe de Mézières* (Bibl. de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes, Vol. 110, 1896), pp. 26, 485 and Golenistcheff-Koutouzoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 53, 155. Philippe wrote the *Épître* between May and July, 1395.

However, Philippe's preoccupation with the story of Griselda in 1395 is of further interest because it was in that year that the curious French play on this theme, known as *Le Mystère de Griselidis*, was written.² This play, while containing some additional material, may nevertheless be considered, in its main outlines, as a versified and dramatized version of Philippe's prose. Verbal resemblances are striking throughout. Compare, for example, the following typical passages

Moy delitoie en liberté
Et en ma franche volenté,
Si est liberté de coraige
Petit trouvée en mariage,
Ce scevent bien les mariez

Maiz pour vostre amour suis tournez,
Et me soubmet par amisté
Du tout à vostre volenté,
Or est il vray que marier
Fait moult les vertus varier,
Et s'est une chose doubteuse,
Tres pesant et souspeçonneuse,
Car souvent avient, chose est clere,
Que l'enfant ne ressemble au pere,
Et se aucun bien vient à l'omme,

Tout vient de Dieu, ce en est la
somme,

Si lui recommande humblement
Le sort de mon mariement,
Esperant en sa bonté bele,
Qu'il me ottroit à femme tele
Avec qui vivre puisse en paix
A mon salut desoremaiz,
Et je vous promet et ottroy
A prendre femme et tenir foy,
Pour condescendre à vostre vueil
Maiz une chose quier et vueil,
Laquelle vous me promettrez
Et sanz enfreindre garderez-
C'est que celle que je prendray

Je me delitoie en liberté
et en franche volenté,
laquelle est paou trouvée
en mariage,
ce scevent bien ceulx qui l'ont
espruvé

Toutefois, pour vostre amour,
je me sousmés à vostre bon conseil
et à vostre volenté
Vraye est que mariage

est une chose doubteuse,

et maintefois les enfans
au pere pas ne ressamblent,
toutefois se aucun bien vient à
l'omme,

tout vient de Dieu lassus,

à lui je recommans
le sort de mon mariage,
esperant en sa doulce bonte
qu'il m'octroyera telle
avec laquelle je puisse vivre en pais
et en repos expedient à mon salut
Je vous octroy, mes amis,
de prendre femme et
le vous promés,
mais de vous je vueil une chose
que vous me promettés
et gardés,
c'est assavoir que celle que je
prendray

² Edited by M-A Glomeau, Paris, 1923 and by H Groeneveld in *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen*, Vol LXXIX, 1888. The Explicit reads *ci fine le*

Par m'election et vouldray,	par ma election, quelle qu'elle soit,
Fille du prince des Rommains	filie du prince des Romains
Ou d'autre vaillant plus ou moins,	ou autre,
Selon que bon me semblera,	
Vous et chascun de vous avra	vous le doyés entierement amer
Agreable et celle honnourrez,	et honorer,
Aimerez et obeirez,	
Sanz ce qu'aprez aucunement	et qu'il n'ait aucun de vous qui apres
En doiez estre mal content,	de ma election du mariage doye
	estre mal content,
N'aucunement en murmurer	jugier ne murmurer

Mystère, ed Glomeau, pp 23-4,
cf ed Groeneveld, 441-79

Philippe de Mézieres, ed Golenist-
cheff-Koutousoff, p 159, ll 57-73

The dramatist, to be sure, introduces new scenes and new characters, but here and there, throughout the play, passages as closely allied to the prose translation as those just cited may be found.³ Indeed, of the dependence of the play on Philippe's translation—first suggested by the Frères Parfait and later established by Hauvette and especially by Golenistcheff-Koutousoff's edition of the prose text—there can be no doubt.

The question has occurred to me could Philippe himself have written the play? No categorical answer can be given, and at first it may seem unlikely that a man who was sixty-eight or sixty-nine years old in 1395, whose recognized works are all in prose, and who was living with Celestinian monks⁴ at the time—though preserving his lay status and his lay interests—could be the author of a dramatic work in verse. Yet it seems highly probable to me that Philippe, if not the actual writer of the play, was its instigator and intimately concerned in its performance.

livre de l'estoire de la marquise de Saluce miz par personnages et rigmé l'an mil cccm^{xx} et quinze

³ See also the brief excerpts printed by Hauvette (*Bulletin italien*, ix [1909], 4) and Gol-Koutousoff, *op cit*, p 120. Other long passages in the play—there are many shorter ones—that are directly taken from the prose translation may be listed as follows (references are to the editions of Glomeau and Gol-Koutousoff, respectively) pp 168 = pp 158-9, ll 28-53, 49 = 161, 16-20, 51 = 162, 23-31, 52-3 = 162-3, 32-57, 54 = 163, 57-61, 72-5 = 165-6, 47-85, 76-7 = 166, 85-99, 78 = 167, 108-16, 87-90 = 168-9, 23-64, 91 = 170, 82-7

⁴ The Second Bergier's humorous reference to monks (ed Glomeau, p 63) and his resolution to be a "bergier amoureux" rather than a "fol hardi" (ed Glomeau, p 66) are of course intended to represent the shepherd's—not the author's—ideas.

As we have seen, the character of Griselda was in his thoughts in 1395, and it was his prose translation of Petrarch's tale that the playwright used. Now, Philippe de Mézières was too eminent a person and his literary works far too well-known⁵ to be lightly "borrowed" without his knowledge. He was no poor jongleur, but a distinguished diplomat, traveller and crusader, the intimate adviser of the Pope, "le conseiller, le familier at le commensal" of King Charles V, and "le premier fauconnier," i. e., the preceptor, of the young King Charles VI. (See Jorga, *op cit*, pp. 409, 421 and 429). It seems very unlikely that during his own lifetime long passages from his prose translation of Petrarch would be incorporated *verbatim* in a play without his consent.

Of Philippe's connection with the lay theatre there is no record, but we do happen to know that he introduced into Western Europe and personally prepared for performance on the Feast of the Presentation of the Virgin a Latin liturgical play which he was instrumental in having performed both in Venice and Avignon.⁶ Young says of this dramatic ceremony

Its importance for the history of medieval *mise en scène* could not easily be exaggerated. In few records of the stage are costume, setting, text, and action prescribed in such detail. From the copious rubrics it is clear that we have before us not a mere piece of dramatic liturgy, but rather, a true play. The story is completely presented in the form of action, and the characters are elaborately impersonated (*op cit*, II, 244).

This liturgical play, with its copious rubrics, is preserved in Philippe de Mézières' own service-book. Surely, for a man capable of preparing a dramatic performance of this sort, it would be a relatively simple matter to turn his own prose into the dramatic verse form of a *mystère*.

Moreover, the pious tone of the *mystère*, the devotion to the Virgin displayed by its author,⁷ its learned references (to Jason,

⁵ See Jorga's lists, *op cit*, pp. vii ff. Many of these works are still unpublished and the attribution to him of the *Somnium Viridarii* together with its French translation, the *Songe du Vergier*, has been questioned. Cf. Molinier, *Les Sources de l'histoire de France*, iv (1904), 112-6 and § 3343. But Mézières' contemporaries could not fail to recognize him as the author of the prose translation of Petrarch because of his revealing references to himself in the prologue.

⁶ See Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, II, 226 ff.

⁷ Jorga, *op. cit*, p. 29, says "[il] voua pendant toute sa vie une

Hercules, Bacchus and Ulysses, cf pp 13, 64-6, and xiii of Glomeau's edition with Jorga, *op cit*, p 24 ff),⁸ its phraseology⁹ and even its slight Picardisms,¹⁰ all are consonant with what we know of Philippe and his works¹¹

Finally, it has already been plausibly conjectured by Glomeau (*op cit*, pp xiv-xvi) that the writing of the play had some connection with the projected marriage of Richard II and Isabelle of France "les réjouissances nuptiales, qui dominent la pièce, faisaient écho aux événements de l'époque" Now, no one was more concerned in trying to bring about a durable peace between France and England and in trying to cement it by this marriage than Philippe de Mézières (see Jorga, *op cit*, 480 ff.) In fact, if one reads the *mystère* with Philippe's letter to Richard II in mind, the play takes on new significance, especially in those opening scenes (neither in Petrarch nor in the prose translation) where the chevaliers and barons of the young Marquis de Saluce express their desire that their lord choose a wife It is the "quint chevalier," a person of course invented by the playwright, who is ap-

dévotion spéciale [à la Vierge] . qui apparaît dans tous ses ouvrages"
Cf the Prologue of the *mystère*

⁸ "Les œuvres de cet homme de guerre abondent en citations" (Jorga, p 24)

⁹ Verbal resemblances to Philippe's prose translation have been noted above, but even in the purely dramatic additions there are phrases recalling his, cf, for example, the expression used by the Secont Bergier at the end of the play, *une amoureuse chansonnette*, which unexpectedly echoes the phrase *gracieuses chansonnettes amoureuses* used by Philippe in his *Épître à Richard* (Jorga, p 486)

¹⁰ Philippe came from Picardy and called himself a *miles Picardus* (Jorga, p 11) Groeneveld, *op cit*, p xxxvi, reached the conclusion that the work was by a Picard living in Paris, and Glomeau finds in it "quelques rimes ou quelques formes plus particulières au Picard (p vii).

¹¹ It has been suggested (Golenistcheff-Koutouzoff, pp 121-3) that the play contains an attack upon the reputation of the papal court at Rome. Philippe after 1378 was an enthusiastic partisan of the Avignon pope and of course unfriendly to Rome Yet, I hesitate to find evidence of partisanship in the play dramatic exigencies account for the somewhat awkward scene in question and present sufficient justification for the papal action whether one reads *bulles faintives* or *saintives* (Glomeau, p 101; Groeneveld, l 1894 a, Petrarch's *simulatas* favors *faintives* here, but the Bishop later calls these *bulles autentiques*, which leaves the reading doubtful).

pointed to acquaint the Marquis with the desire of his knights, and the description of this chevalier by "le secont baron" strikingly resembles a portrait of Philippe de Mézières himself

Un chevalier a, ancien,
En ceste court, bon catholique,
Et qui aime le bien publique,
Saige, de droit naturel senz,
S'a plus veu que homs de ceenz,
Si est soubtilz et beau parlier
Si que Ulixes le conseilher,
Se ore feust o nous en vie,
Je croy ne l'en passerait mie
Si seroit bon de l'en parler

(ed Glomeau, p 13, Groeneveld, II 232-41)

In short, the man who in the play is to persuade the Marquis to marry is a man exactly like Philippe de Mézières who made a similar appeal to Richard II, a wise and sensible old man, a good Catholic, one devoted to the public welfare, who had seen more of the world than other men of his country, one so subtle and fair of speech that Ulysses, the counselor, were he still alive, would not surpass him

Accordingly, because of the play's date and its extensive use of Philippe's prose translation, because of Philippe's known interest in another dramatic performance, because the play is consonant in tone and language with Philippe's recognized works and because it connects in theme and purpose with contemporary events which aroused Philippe's fervent concern, I believe the *mystère* was written or directly inspired by Philippe de Mézières himself. If so, the time when it would most fittingly have been performed would have been during the negotiations preceding the marriage of Richard and Isabelle, that is, in July, 1395, and the tradition¹² that the handsome manuscript, with its decorative initials and illustrations, was presented by the author to his sovereign would receive considerable support

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¹² This tradition, transmitted by the unreliable Chevalier de Mouhy, was questioned by Petit de Julleville, but both Groeneveld and Glomeau are inclined to accept it

A SUGGESTION AS TO THE SOURCE OF MONTAIGNE'S
TITLE: "ESSAIS"

The expression *coup d'essai* was well known in the sixteenth century. In the mediaeval guilds it had been used to designate the sample of skill presented by a journeyman upon his application to pass up to the rank of master. In this connection it has the meaning of 'masterpiece'. The feat of prowess required of a squire before he could be dubbed 'knight' was known as the *coup d'essai*. The term was also applied to the ceremony of tasting the king's dishes, the intent of which was to guard against poisoning. It was also a term in tennis, a game which was exceedingly popular in France in the sixteenth century and which found a place in the literature of the period, for example, the *Enigme en prophete* at the end of Rabelais' *Gargantua*. The term *coup d'essai* makes its appearance in the literature of the sixteenth century in the preface to Marot's *Adolescence Clementine* in 1532, where he says: "Ce sont œuvres de jeunesse, ce sont coups d'essay." In this connection the expression has the meaning of 'first attempt,' the definition given in present-day dictionaries. Rabelais uses the expression in the prologue to *Gargantua* in 1534. "A quel propos, en voustre advis, tend ce prelude et coup d'essay?" In 1537 François Sagon "moved partly by professional jealousy, partly by orthodox zeal, published under the title of *Coup d'Essay* a poem in which Marot's poetry, religion and morals were attacked in the most offensive terms." The title of Sagon's poem is a direct hit at Marot's use of the expression *coup d'essay* in the preface to the *Adolescence Clementine*.

In 1540 the Floral Games¹ of Toulouse introduced a feature into the annual poetic contests (May 1-3) which became a custom, and was known as the *Essay*. The *Essay* was a regulation formu-

¹ For account of the Floral Games in the sixteenth century see Dawson, *Toulouse in the Renaissance*, Columbia University Press, 1921, complete edition 1923. The society of the Floral Games was founded in 1323. Throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries it was known as the Consistory of Gay Science, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it was known as the College of Rhetoric. In 1694 Louis XIV transformed it into an organization of State, and from then to the present time it has been known as the Floral Games (*Académie des Jeux Floraux de Toulouse*).

lated in 1540 to meet the difficulty which arose of having to choose from among a number of contestants of equal skill and merit. After unanimously awarding the Violet² to Jehan Corrière, a student in the University of Toulouse, the judges had difficulty in awarding the Marigold and Églantine, for there were four other candidates whose poems appeared to be of equal value. After deliberation it was decided to put the four to a test (*examen*). To each was assigned a certain refrain upon which he was required to construct an impromptu *huitain* or *dixain*. After the verses were completed they were delivered to the Chancellor, who in company with the *Mainteneurs*, *Maîtres* and *Capitouls-bailes*,³ awarded the prizes. In 1545 a similar test was resorted to, mentioned in the *procès-verbal* as the *essay* or *examen*. To five poets was assigned the refrain, "Point n'est à tous parvenir à Corinthe." After having examined the *dixains* composed by the aspirants, the judges awarded the Marigold to Aymar du Vabre. In 1540 two prizes had been awarded after the test, but in 1545 only one, the other two having been decided previously. In 1551 the test is called simply the *Essay*, by which name it continues to be known throughout the records of the *Livre Rouge*, the secretary's book—so called because of its red morocco binding. This book contains the secretary's record of the proceedings of the annual meetings of the Floral Games from 1513 to 1641. It is preserved in the archives of the Académie des Jeux Floraux at Toulouse. Beginning with 1551 the *Essay* became a regular feature of the annual meetings, and continued until at least 1641 when the records of the *Livre Rouge* ceased. After the sonnet became popular in France it displaced the *quatrain*, *huitain*, and *dixain* as the form required for the *Essay*.

Below are specimens of the lines to which the youthful contestants were required to compose impromptu poems from year to year.

² At the annual contests flowers wrought in gold and silver were awarded as prizes. For full account of the prizes see Gélis, *Histoire critique des Jeux Floraux*, Toulouse, Privat, 1912.

³ The Chancellor was the presiding officer, the *Mainteneurs* were the regular members constituting the self-perpetuating body, the *Maîtres* were the poets who by virtue of having won three prizes were admitted to membership, and the *Capitouls-bailes* were representatives from the body.

"Le vice et la vertu ne sont jamais ensemble"
 "Le desir de regner a engendré les troubles"
 "Le naucher qui jamais sa nef ne laisse peindre"
 "Aymer le vray poete afin d'estre poete"
 "Ung chemin aus vertus, plusieurs chemins au vice"
 "Le miroir bien poly qui reçoit toute forme"

While there is no documentary evidence to prove it and Montaigne is silent on the subject, it has been generally agreed among scholars that Montaigne pursued his course in law at the University of Toulouse. He tells us in the *Essais* that he completed the course at the Collège de Guyenne in Bordeaux at the age of thirteen. Since he was born in 1533, he completed his secondary education in 1546. It is conjectured from the character of his learning displayed in the *Essais* that he then took the two years of the course in philosophy at Bordeaux, and that between 1548 and 1554, when he became a *conseiller* in the *Cours des Aides* at Périgueux, he completed the law course at Toulouse. The University of Toulouse was a very flourishing institution in the earlier Renaissance. Around 1540 it is said to have had as many as ten thousand students. Humanism and Reform had strong footholds there, and the school of law became so outstanding that in 1551 Henry II declared Toulouse the best university in his kingdom for the study of jurisprudence, and it is said that at least four thousand students listened to the lectures on law of Jean de Coras. Toulouse produced in this period the celebrated Cujas known to posterity as the "Father of Modern Law." In the sixteenth century most of the contestants at the annual meetings of the Floral Games were students in the University, many of them law students. In 1534 Etienne Dolet, who in 1532 had enrolled at Toulouse as a student in law, entered the contest, but did not receive a prize.

Since the connection between the students and the Floral Games was so close, it is quite certain that Montaigne would have been familiar with the annual programs and the trial by *Essay*. Since

of city aldermen who represented the city of Toulouse in an official capacity at the annual meetings of the Floral Games

⁴ For information on the University of Toulouse in the sixteenth century see Dawson, *Toulouse in the Renaissance*, Part II, Columbia University Press, 1923. For Etienne Dolet as student at Toulouse see same work Part III.

the *Essay*⁵ was an impromptu trial or test it is possible that Montaigne caught the idea of his title from it, as he uses the word in precisely the same sense as it was used at Toulouse. Also there is a similarity between the composition of the *Essays* and the composition of the poems for the *Essay* at Toulouse. In his earlier essays Montaigne uses an anecdote or a quotation from the ancients as his starting point, around which he clusters his own observations.

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RESTORATION PROMPT NOTES AND STAGE PRACTICES

As the student of Restoration dramatic literature mulls over the musty texts of plays which in that theatre-loving age really sprang into life upon the boards and tickled the fancy of a superficially genteel audience, his mind is often lured across the footlights and behind the scenes. But to gain a good look backstage, he finds, taxes his imagination to the utmost. Outside the published plays themselves there are almost no descriptive references to practices within "the House" (that portion of the Restoration theatre behind the proscenium), and even the printed dramas with their generally scanty directions afford by no means a really satisfying picture of stage conditions. Prompt-book copies, an obvious and fruitful source of information, do not exist in the case of a single Restoration play. The only item of that category dating from the period is an octavo text of James Shirley's *The Sisters*, annotated with prompt directions for its revival at the Theatre Royal in the late 1660's.¹ In addition to this unique and valuable exhibit, belonging to the library of Sion College, London, the contemporary editions of some eighteen Restoration dramas preserve prompter's notations in one form or another.² Almost all these texts, how-

⁵ For a complete history of the custom of the *Essay* from 1540 to 1641 see Dawson, "The Custom of the Essay in the Poetic Contests of the College of Rhetoric at Toulouse," *Howard College Studies in Howard College Bulletin*, LXXXI, No. 4, Dec., 1923.

¹ This volume was first described by Montague Summers, *TLS*, June 24, 1920, p. 400 ff.

² *The Mulberry Garden* (1668), *Juliana* (1671); *The Dumb Lady*

ever, display mere traces of the original prompt script, only four or five offer information of any real significance. Yet the curious scholar has to turn to this handful of remains from theatrical scripts, and to the sole Restoration prompt book aforementioned, in order *not* to miss several choice details on his fanciful visit backstage. Only from this little sheaf of extant prompt notes can he secure glimpses of certain interesting matters connected with Restoration play production.

The glimpses which first catch his eye are of those important personages, the prompters, and of their peculiar devices for directing the stage personnel. The Restoration prompter with his manifold responsibilities at every performance acts really as major-domo of backstage operations. There in an alley close behind the proscenium he hovers nervously, book in hand. The tools of his authority appear prominently on his person, a little bell hanging from his arm and a whistle suspended on a chain about his neck. Each of these instruments has its own particular function, and the province of each is strictly observed by the prompter.

By the tinkling of the little bell, the prompter, whenever music is called for in the course of the production on the boards, signals the fiddlers in the music room over the stage to begin their playing. Sometimes his signal rings forth within the act, as illustrated by the first act of William Mountfort's farce, *The Life and Death of Doctor Faustus* (D. G. c. 1686), where the original prompt direction has been preserved and reads "*Ring. Good and bad Angel descends.*" That is to say, the prompter, after having a little before warned the two angels to be ready to descend from the billowy clouds suspended aloft (as a previous prompt note discloses), at the proper moment rings his bell to signal for the musical accompaniment, and thus he simultaneously initiates the descent of the angels. Such bell-ringing by the prompter within the act is to be imagined no uncommon occasion despite this one Restoration relic of its occurrence, for many plays of that era demand music under similar circumstances.

(1672), *The Careless Lovers* (1673), *The Mistaken Husband* (1675), *Tom Essence* (1677), *The Revenge* (1680), *Theodosius* (1680); *The Injured Princess* (1682); *Constantine the Great* (1684), *Valentinian* (1685), *A Fool's Preferment* (1688); *The Treacherous Brothers* (1691), *Bussy D'Ambois* (1691), *Guzman* (1693), *The Richmond Heiress* (1693), *The Life and Death of Dr Faustus* (1697), *The Albion Queens* (1704).

Whether a piece has musical interludes or not, however, the prompter always sounds his bell at the end of every act, except the last, in order to start the orchestra on the entr'acte music. As one of the many survivals from the pre-Commonwealth theatre, the custom of an act-interval filled with song or orchestral composition is universally observed in the Restoration playhouses, no matter what the character of the production. The extant evidence for this as a general practice is conclusive, because it comes from the following pieces of widely varying nature and date—namely, Shirley's *The Sisters*, a romantic tragi-comedy revived c. 1668-70, Sedley's *The Mulberry Garden*, a social comedy of 1668, Lacy's *The Dumb Lady*, a farce of 1672, and Lee's *Theodosius*, a tragedy of 1680. The prompt notes of these plays agree in demonstrating that the prompter regularly gives a preliminary call warning to the musicians between twenty and thirty lines before the close of an act. His conventional call at this point is "Act ready." Then, just as the final couplet or line of the act is being uttered, the prompter tinkles his bell for the orchestra to commence the music of the entr'acte. In the half-dozen extant references his action is denoted by the simple direction, "Ring."

Now as to the second instrument of the prompter's authority, the whistle,—it is directed toward that other indispensable body of workers backstage, the scene-shifters. At the sound of the whistle, they hasten to lay hold on the flats which, sliding easily in floor grooves, are swiftly shoved either off or on the stage, as the case may demand. Of this highly important prompter's whistle Aaron Hill says, when writing about the eighteenth century theatres, "this is an Instrument of great Use and Significance. . . . *Dr. Faustus's* celebrated Wand has not a more arbitrary and extensive Power, than this musical Machine. At the least Blast of it, I have seen Houses move, as it were, upon Wings, Cities turned into Forests, and dreary Deserts converted into superb Palaces"³. In view of the fact that the whistle blast probably was introduced as a regular prompter's signal after movable scenery became the order of the day in 1661, it is somewhat strange that the sole Restoration revelation of the whistle in use comes from the Theatre Royal prompt book for Shirley's *The Sisters*. Throughout its text the changes of scenery are carefully

³ See *The Prompter*, No. 1, Tuesday, November 12, 1734.

indicated and described by manuscript interpolations. Alongside the description of each new scene invariably stands a prompt symbol, a circle with a dot in the center. This striking mark, which may be observed in a number of eighteenth-century theatre scripts, was presumably invented after the Restoration as a conventional sign for the prompter. It is to be interpreted "Whistle for change." And what a deal of whistling the prompter must do for a production of *The Sisters*, where there are twelve changes of scenery.

The scene-shifters, however, are kept as much on the jump changing scenes for the new Restoration plays as for the revivals of pre-Commonwealth drama. Yet some conventional limit on the number of different flats used in any one production may possibly exist, if the extraordinary close-up on Restoration sets in actual use which the prompt notes of Orrery's comedy, *Guzman*, afford, really evidences what it is tempting to believe from the implications therein. This piece, first acted at the Duke's Theatre in 1669, was printed a quarter-century later from the playhouse script with all the prompter's directions for Acts II-V, including notations as to what stage sets were actually employed in the original production. Thus *Guzman* has the unique honor to be the one Restoration play, the exact staging of which remains completely recorded to this day. Standing by the prompter on an afternoon when *Guzman* is being performed, the backstage visitor sees in action on the grooved runways to the forepart of the "House" only four "flat scenes," arranged from front to rear as follows: (1) "The new flat scene of the Piazza", (2) "the scene with the Chimney in it", (3) "a flat scene of a chamber", (4) "the Queen of Hungary's chamber," so-called from its original pictorial function in Orrery's tragedy, *Mustapha*, four years before. Throughout the performance the front pair of flats represents solely the piazza, while the last pair always depicts a chamber in Leonora's house. The second pair of flats, however, is called upon for two different locales, denoted in the play text as "Guzman's House" and "Francisco's House," and the third pair serves also for two distinct scenes, described as "Piracco's House" and "Guzman's House." This curious doubling of conventional interior sets, where complete differentiation would be theatrically more effective and could be had at no extra expense, suggests deliberate restriction of scenery dictated by some other reason than economy. Most

apropos, there flashes into mind that well-known sketch by Sir Christopher Wren, supposedly a cross-section view of the first Drury Lane playhouse of 1674. It pictures on the stage wall behind the proscenium seven grooves which are divided into two groupings of four and three respectively. The group of four grooves nearer the proscenium obviously represents the runways which hold in place the regular scene shutters, as distinguished from the three back flats. In this connection also, Webb's plan of the Rutland House stage shows only four grooves for the ordinary scene shutters, and there *The Siege of Rhodes* was produced with four flat scenes and a scene "in relief." It is at least barely possible, therefore, that the customary arrangements of the scenic machinery in the Restoration theatres provided for the employment of not more than four different flat scenes.

Whatever the truth about this conjectured restriction of Restoration stage sets, the *Guzman* prompt notes do certainly bring to light the interesting fact that recurrent textual locales, such as "Guzman's House" in the Orrery comedy, are not necessarily represented in the actual Restoration stage production by the same set throughout. The interior of Guzman's house is portrayed once by "the scene with the chimney in it," and then, on the second occasion, by "a flat scene of a chamber." Clearly the producer has not paid too much heed to the playwright's instructions as to scenery, but has changed the stage picture from a living room to a bed-chamber in accordance with hints furnished only by the dialogue. Such a variation, unauthorised in a sense, but rendered desirable as a means of greater scenic harmony with the play's action, would seem an important indication of a tendency on the part of the Restoration producers toward a more studied realism in stage setting than has generally been imagined by the theatre historians.

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FYNES MORYSON AND JONSON'S PUNTARVOLO

In *Every Man out of his Humour*, Puntarvolo's eccentricity or humour is "dealing upon returns," i. e., putting out money to receive more upon his return from a journey. Early in Act II, Puntarvolo announces his latest project of this kind:

I do intend, this year of jubilee [i. e., 1600] coming on, to travel and, because I will not altogether go upon expense, I am determined to put forth some five thousand pound, to be paid me, five for one, upon the return of myself, my wife, and my dog from the Turk's court in Constantinople. If all, or either of us miscarry in the journey, 'tis gone: if we be successful, why there will be five and twenty thousand pound to entertain time withal.¹

Later, Puntarvolo is compelled to modify his plan to the extent of substituting his cat for his wife, because his wife, he says, is "out of her humour" and will not go.² He has a notary "draw the indentures" in elaborate detail,³ and begins to look for prospective speculators.

In the dénouement of the comedy, however, his well-laid plans go awry. At the opening of Act v, Puntarvolo, accompanied by Fastidious Brisk and Fungoso, arrives at the Palace Stairs to assist in the intrigue to dupe Saviolina, the court lady. Not being able to take his inseparable dog into the Palace, he intrusts the animal to an unknown groom until his return. He considers himself shrewd in not revealing to the groom the value of the precious dog. The groom, disappointed in not receiving a fee and suspecting that he is being duped, abandons the dog to Macilente, who poisons it. Upon coming out of the Palace and learning that his dog is dead, Puntarvolo realizes that his speculative scheme is ruined before he has begun his journey to Constantinople. He is thus put out of his humour.

While it has been generally understood that Jonson was satirizing in Puntarvolo's humour a prevalent vogue of speculating upon travels abroad, no one, so far as I have been able to discover, has pointed to a specific contemporary instance of this kind. I have recently found one so strikingly similar to Puntarvolo's project that it is, I think, worth recording.

In the year 1597 (about two years before Jonson was writing *Every Man out of his Humour*),⁴ Fynes Moryson,⁵ an Elizabethan

¹ II, 1 (*Works*, I, 89. I cite the Gifford Cunningham edition of Jonson.)

² III, 1 (*Works*, I, 97.)

³ IV, IV (*Works*, I, 113.)

⁴ Jonson was working on the play during 1599, cf. the Oxford edition of Jonson, by Herford and Simpson, I, 373.

⁵ Moryson was born in 1566, a younger son of Thomas Moryson of Cadeby, Lincolnshire. Entering Peterhouse, Cambridge, he took his B.A. and

traveller, returned from a trip to Constantinople In his *Itinerary*,⁶ Moryson describes this trip in detail Even more significant than his visit to Constantinople is the fact that, before beginning the journey on 8 December 1595, both he and his brother Henry, who accompanied him, put out money upon returns in just such a speculative scheme as that of Puntarvolo In the *Itinerary* Moryson writes thus about his proposed second journey

being newly returned home, I thought the going into more remote parts would be of little use to me, yet I had an itching desire to see Jerusalem, the fountaine of Religion, and Constantinople

Being of this mind when I returned to England, it happened that my brother Henrie was then beginning that voyage, having to that purpose put out some foure hundred pounds, to be repaied twelve hundred pounds upon his returne from those two Cities, and to lose it if he died in the journey My brother thought this putting out of money, to be an honest means of gaining, at least the charges of his journey, and the rather, because it had not then been heard in England, that any man had gone this long journey by land, nor any like it, excepting only Master John Wrath, whom I name for honour ⁷

In his usual garrulous manner, Moryson goes on to defend his brother's action, citing as prevalent other speculative schemes of a much lower order He also, he says, gave out "upon like conditions money to some few friends," but later changed his mind, in view of the fact

that these kind of adventures were growne very frequent, whereof some were indecent, some ridiculous, and that they were in great part undertaken by bankerouts, and men of base condition, I might easily judge that in short time they would become disgraceful⁸

Despite this prick of conscience, the temptation proved too strong for him, as witness this later statement

M A degrees He was made Fellow in 1584 In 1589 he obtained a license to travel, and was away on his first journey from 1591 to 1595 (see Sir Sidney Lee's article in *DNB*, xxxix, 172-173)

⁶ The full title is *An Itinerary Containing His Twelve Yeeres Travell through the Twelve Dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Switzerland, Netherland, Denmarke, Poland, Italy, France, England, Scotland, & Ireland* The work was originally published in folio in 1617 (see Sidney Lee, *loc cit*, xxxix, 173) I have cited the four-volume edition published at Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1907

⁷ *Itinerary*, I, 425 Who "Master John Wrath" was I have not been able to discover.

⁸ *Ibid*, I, 426.

Onely I gave out one hundred pound to receive three hundred at my return I moreover gave out to five friends one hundred pounds, with condition that they should have it if I died, or after three yeeres should repay it with one hundred and fifty pound gaine if I returned; which I hold a disadvantageous adventure to the giver of the money Neither did I exact this money of any man by sute of Law after my returne, which they willingly and presently paid me, onely some few excepted, who retaining the very money I gave them, deale not therein so gentleman-like with me, as I did with them⁹

Having confessed to participation to this extent, Moryson plunges into another verbose defence of his action, saying that the practice of giving out money upon returns "was first used in Court, and among the very Noble men if bankrouths, Stage-players, and men of base condition, have drawne this custome into contempt," he cannot see that "courtiers and Gentlemen have reason to forbear it"

Since Moryson says that dealing upon returns was a common practice, it is evident that Jonson was satirizing in *Puntarvolo* a contemporary vice in his own words, "stripping the ragged folies of the time naked as at their birth"¹⁰ This is another proof, then, that Jonson presents in his satirical comedy a truly realistic "image of the times"

Whether Jonson had in mind Moryson or any other contemporary speculator upon returns is, of course, uncertain There is no evidence that Jonson knew Moryson's reputation as a traveller; if there were such evidence, one could not say conclusively that any one man inspired his portrayal of *Puntarvolo* Jonson, moreover, stoutly asserted many times that he did not direct his satirical thrusts at any particular individual¹¹

On the other hand, it seems certain that Jonson's practice in satire is often inconsistent with his assertions. Instances of personal satire in his early comedies may be cited In *The Case is Altered*, Gabriel Harvey is apparently lampooned in the character

⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 427-428

¹⁰ Induction to *Every Man out of his Humour* (*Works*, I, 65).

¹¹ See the "Apologetical Dialogue" attached to *The Poetaster*, the Prologue to *Epicoene*, the Dedication to *Volpone*, *The Magnetic Lady*, Intermean between Acts II and III, the *Discoveries* (ed Schelling), pp 72-73

Juniper¹² In *Every Man out of his Humour*, it seems certain that Marston is ridiculed in Clove and Dekker in Orange¹³ *The Poetaster*, one of the plays connected with the Stage Quarrel, is almost entirely a comedy of personal satire¹⁴ It is possible, therefore, that other individuals of the time were satirized in the "humours" of these early comedies One wonders whether it is merely a striking coincidence that Fynes Moryson had returned from Constantinople and was collecting, or attempting to collect, the fruits of his speculative scheme, immediately prior to the time Jonson was planning and writing his first comedies of humours

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H L SNUGGS

ABNORMAL PSYCHOLOGY IN JOHN FORD'S *PERKIN WARBECK*

Scholarship has given slight attention to a question which occurs to everyone who reads John Ford's chronicle play *Perkin Warbeck* The plebeian hero of this drama claims, with every appearance of sincerity, that he is the rightful king of England Is this pretender a scoundrel who can act a part superbly, or is he mentally unbalanced?¹

The chaplain Urswick, a character in the play, gives a hint regarding the dramatist's intention As Perkin, still stoutly asserting his royalty, goes to the gallows to pay for his folly, Urswick comments:

Thus witches,
Possess'd, even [to] their deaths deluded, say
They have been wolves and dogs, and sail'd in egg-shells

¹² See C R Baskervill, *English Elements in Jonson's Early Comedy*, p 94, W E Selin's edition of *The Case is Altered*, *Yale Studies in English*, p xli

¹³ See the Herford-Simpson ed, I, 24-25, 382

¹⁴ See J H Penniman's intro to his ed of *The Poetaster and Satiromastix* (Belles Lettres Series), H S Mallory's ed of *The Poetaster*, *Yale Studies in English*, pp xxiii ff, the Herford-Simpson ed, I, 415 ff

¹ Felix E Schelling, (*The English Chronicle Play*, pp 262-65) and M. Joan Sargeaunt (*John Ford*, pp 79-80) discuss this problem intelligently but lack conclusive evidence Other critics, I think, have nothing very valuable to offer.

Over the sea, and rid on fiery dragons,
 Pass'd in the air more than a thousand miles,
 All in a night —the enemy of mankind
 Is powerful, but false, and falsehood confident²

The ideas which lie behind this passage, apparently ideas of some currency, are expounded at length in Reginald Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584).³ According to Scot, there is no such thing as witchcraft. Those who claim sincerely to have purchased supernatural powers from the Devil are victims of a mental disorder produced by the humor melancholy

melancholie abounding in their head, and occupieng their braine,⁴
 hath depraved their judgements [They] imagine, they are witches
 and by witchcraft can worke woonders, and doo what they list

In their

drouisie minds the divell⁵ hath gotten a fine seat, so as, what mischeefe, mischance, calamitie, or slaughter is brought to passe, they are easilie persuaded the same is doone by themselves They are so firme and stedfast in their opinions, as whosoever shall onelie have respect to the constancie of their words uttered, would easilie beleieve they were true indeed⁷

Such persons, on trial for witchcraft, make preposterous confessions which, as they know, will mean death

² v, 111 King Henry, like Urswick, considers Perkin demented; see v, 11

³ One finds a passage in this work which may have influenced Ford's phraseology. Some writers, says Scot, claim that witches can "flie in the aire, and danse with divels. Som saie they can take the forms and shapes of asses, wolves, ferrets, cowes, apes, horssees, dogs, &c. [Some affirm that witches can] saile in an egge shell, a cockle or muscle shell, through and under the tempestuous seas"—ed Brinsley Nicholson (London, 1886), p. 8

⁴ Dr Timothy Bright, in *A Treatise of Melancholie* (1586), describes the noxious effects which the melancholic humors and the vapors rising from them have upon the brain and the mental faculties; see pp. 102, 110-11, *et passim*. Similar ideas appear, somewhat confusedly, in Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, see ed. A. R. Shilleto, I, 430-37

⁵ *Discoverie*, p. 41.

⁶ One reads in Burton's *Anatomy* that "Melancholy is called *Balneum Diaboli*" because the Devil is best able to tempt and delude melancholic persons (I, 228). Urswick means the Devil, of course, when he speaks of "the enemy of mankind"

⁷ *Discoverie*, p. 5

A much later writer, John Webster, presents the same thesis in similar terms. Those who think themselves witches confidently believe and assert

that they are really changed into Wolves, Hares, Dogs, Cats, Squirrels, and the like, and that they fly in the Air when all these are but the meer effects of the imaginative function depraved by the fumes of the melancholick humor.⁸

Urswick has noticed that Perkin, like self-styled witches, has stubbornly clung to strange and incredible avowals even in the face of death. Evidently he believes that Perkin, like the witches, is melancholic.

But can Perkin's conduct be linked any more specifically with melancholia? According to Scot, one finds a great variety of delusions and fixed ideas among melancholy persons. Just as some believe themselves witches, others imagine "that they are monarchs and princes, and that all other men are their subjects."⁹ According to Robert Burton,

If an ambitious man become melancholy, he forthwith thinks he is a King, an Emperor, a Monarch. *Francisco Sansovino* records of a melancholy man [who] would not be induced to believe but that he was *Pope*, gave pardons, made Cardinals, &c. *Christophorus à Vega* makes mention of another of his acquaintance, that thought he was a King driven from his Kingdom, and was very anxious to recover his estate.¹⁰

Edward Reynolds writes that some melancholy men think

themselves turned into Wolves, Horses, or other Beasts, others [please] themselves with Conceits of great Wealth and Principalities being all but the delusions and waking Dreames of a distempered Fancie.¹¹

Thomas Walkington tells a story of a melancholy man who believed that he was God Almighty.¹²

From evidence in his other plays, especially *The Lover's Melancholy*, we know that Ford was greatly interested in the multifarious mental abnormalities attributed to melancholy by the

⁸ *The Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft* (1677), p. 33.

⁹ *Discoverie*, p. 41.

¹⁰ *Anatomy*, I, 464.

¹¹ *A Treatise of the Passions and Faculties of the Soule of Man* (1640), p. 29.

¹² *The Optick Glasse of Humors* (1664), p. 138. This work appeared first in 1607.

learned writers of the period. It is reasonable to suppose, then, that Ford conceived of Warbeck as a melancholic with the delusion of grandeur. Apparently Urswick is speaking for the playwright when he compares Perkin to melancholy persons who fancy themselves endowed with supernatural powers. The better informed members of a Carolinian audience, upon Urswick's hint, would have perceived melancholic symptoms in Perkin's behavior.

The chronicles which Ford used or may have used as sources (those of Bacon, Gainsford, Holinshed, and Hall) represent Perkin as an impudent rascal who is under no illusions regarding his base origin. But he is no rogue and no hypocrite in Ford's play. By making him a psychopathic case of him, Ford has given him the sincerity and dignity requisite in a tragic hero. It is not surprising that the author of *The Lover's Melancholy* should have created a protagonist of this unusual nature.

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PARALLELS BETWEEN SOLIMAN AND PERSEDA AND GARNIER'S BRADAMANTE

Miss Marion Grubb¹ presents evidence that certain passages in *Soliman and Perseda* may be imitated from Garnier's *Bradamante*. As a typical illustration of Renaissance modes of composition, these parallels are worth a critical examination. One should notice that the passage in Garnier is constructed as an Erasmian theme on proverbs, a mode of composition to which Ascham objects, saying that Princess Elizabeth, that is, Ascham, "cannot endure those foolish imitators of Erasmus, who have tied up the Latin tongue in those wretched fetters of proverbs."² But Elizabethan schoolmasters continued to treat this type of theme as fundamental, and Brinsley in 1612 gives elaborate instructions upon it. Evidently, Garnier had also been taught this type of writing.

Garnier begins properly with a *definitio*. "Seule on ne doit priser la contree où nous sommes."³ This merely reverses the

¹ *MLN*, I, 169-171

² Giles, *Ascham*, I, lxxv

³ Foerster, *Bradamante* (1883), II. 580-83, 587-9

usual definition of *patria*, "urbs, siue alius locus, in quo nati sumus," to quote the contemporary Calepine Garnier then advances his first commonplace argument in his next two lines,

Tout ce terrestre rond est le pais des hommes,
Comme l'air des oiseaux, et des poissons la mer

This is a translation of a proverb which is quoted in nearly all the collections as it occurs in the first book of Ovid's *Fasti*,

Omne solum forti patria est, ut piscibus aequor,
Vt uolucris uacuo quicquid in orbe patet *

In his commentary on this passage in Ovid, Paulus Marsus explains,

Loquitur ex sententia, uiro forti ubiq, esse patriā, iuxta illud
Omnibus est inquam communis patria tellus,
Vt uacuum uolucris, piscibus utq, mare est

It is the second form of the proverb, given in this note, that Garnier has translated line for line, phrase for phrase, though fortunately for our purpose not quite construction for construction. It is not the very similar form in Ovid. The next line in Garnier is, "Vn lieu comme vn estuy ne nous doit enfermer." This seems to be a quotation from the second *Paradox* of Cicero, regularly placed in the collections under *exilium*, the opposite of *patria*. "Exilium terribile est iis, quibus quasi circumscriptus est habitandi locus, non iis qui omnem orbem terrarum unam urbem esse ducunt." At least, the idea is there, and has not required much rephrasing.

We may omit with Miss Grubb the three-line interruption and transition of the companion speaker, and pursue our still quoted theme in the next speech, "Le pais est par tout où l'on se trouue bien." The first half of this line is a literal translation from an adage which Miss Grubb quotes in a form that occurs in Cicero's *Tusculans*, also in *Ad Gallionem De Remediis Fortuitorum*, attributed to Seneca, etc., "Patria est ubicumque est bene." The wording of the latter half of Garnier's line suggests that he may have been thinking also of the comment of Erasmus upon a similar proverbial line from the *Plutus* of Aristophanes, translated into Latin thus, "Illic enim patria est, ubi tibi sit bene." Erasmus collects several adages, including these, on the theme of *patria*,

* Ovid, *Fastorum Libri VI*, etc (Basle, 1550), p. 60

and comments on the one from Aristophanes, "Dicuntur haec a Mercurio, cupiente uel caelo relicto, in Chremyli iam diuitis adscisci familiam Vsqueadeo credebat ibi demum esse patriam homini, ubicunq; feliciter ageret illic exilium, ubi parum commode uiueret"⁵ Garnier translates literally, "Patria est ubicumque," and very nearly so, "commode uiueret," though the idea itself is in the previous proverb At least, Garnier is using some form of this adage The last two lines are no more original

La terre est aux mortels une maison commune
Dieu seme en tous endroits nostre bonne fortune

The first of these lines is a sentiment said in the quotation books to be attributed by Stobaeus to Musonius "Communem omnium hominum patriam dicebat esse ipsum mundum" The final line appears to be the heading statement by Erasmus of a proverbial idea, "Deus vndecumq; iuuat, si modo propitius"⁶

Here is an excellent illustration of a common form of "original" composition, not unused by Shakspeare, and used fundamentally by Bacon in his *Essays* It will be noticed that Garnier's originality consisted in going directly to the proverbs and selecting for translation the ones which most nearly suited his *definitio*. His mode of structure and his close translation make it certain that Garnier is the "original" author of the passage quoted

The parallel passages noted by Miss Grubb in *Soliman and Perseda* come directly from this sentential background, not through Garnier

Sooth to say, the earth is my country
As the aire to the fowle, or the marine moisture
To the red guild fish
Each place is my habitation,
Therefore each country's word is mine to pronounce
And where a man lues well, there is his country⁷

The first three lines are from the proverb quoted by Marsus, as were two of those from Garnier But the author of *Soliman and Perseda* translates directly, not through Garnier

Omnibus est inquam communis patria tellus,
Vt uacuum uolucris, piscibus utq; mare est

⁵ Erasmus, *Adagia* (Florence, 1575), p 520

⁶ Erasmus, *Adagia* (Florence, 1575), p 990

⁷ *Soliman and Perseda*, I, III, 79-81, 112-13, IV, II, 7

The second line especially has been translated literally, construction and all "Vt uacuum uolucris," "As the aire to the fowle" Garnier alters the construction to the genitive plural, the author of *Soliman and Perseda* retains the dative singular. The construction of the second half of the line is also retained. Only now the author has enlarged his fish by means of what Armado would call a "congruent epitheton," and has in equally conventional way varied "sea" into "marine moisture." There can be no doubt that the author of *Soliman and Perseda* is translating directly the same proverb which Garnier used, this fact accounting for the close parallel. Since the *Fasti* found regularly a place in grammar school, and since the commentary of Marsus was widely current with it, both Garnier and the author of *Soliman* may have found their proverb there. Incidentally, Shakspeare himself doubtless acquired early from the *Fasti* the information which he was later to use in *Lucrece*.

The next two lines from *Soliman*, somewhat further on but still in the same connection, repeat the idea, though not in significant fashion. The final line quoted by Miss Grubb—from the other end of the play at that—is another of the proverbs used by Garnier. It is not, however, in the form used by Garnier, but in that given by Erasmus in *De Conscribendis Epistolis*, a regular textbook on epistles, the next stage in grammar school above simple themes, "Ubi cunque bene sumus, in patria sumus"⁸. This form became the current one in England, being quoted in *Wit's Commonwealth* as, "Wheresoeuer we may live well, there is our Country." The statement in *Soliman* is a variant from this form, which was thus probably already in English before *Soliman* was written, though I have not checked to see, since it is not necessary for the present purpose. The whole claim to relationship between the two passages, then, lies in their common sentential sources.⁹ They have no direct connection whatever.

If to nothing else, perhaps this note may call attention to the

⁸ Erasmus, *Opera* (1703), I, 430

⁹ It is amusing to note that the proverb hunters broke a couple of proverbs out of Garnier's passage and put them back into the same patriotic heap of Latin proverbs whence they had originally been derived—"from the great deep, to the great deep." See Garnerius, Philip, *Thesaurus Adagiorum Gallico-Latinorum* (Frankfort, 1625), pp 563-4

necessity of detailed study upon all phases of Renaissance composition. Certainly the hordes of parallels and other facts which we are gathering are worthless until they are interpreted in their proper background.

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FALSTAFF IN THE *MERCURIUS AULICUS*

The number of the *Mercurius Aulicus* for the week *From* July 13 to July 20 1645 ends with an interesting Shakespeare allusion (p. 1672).

But besides this *new Colonell* there's another newly peeped forth to command all the North, one Major Generall *Poyntz* (sure he was borne *Major Generall*) but 'tis not *Poyntz* who fought so valiantly that Sir *John* tooke him and another for eleven men in buckram.

FINIS

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BENEDICT VON WATT'S "WAS ZU EIM SCHÖNEN HAUSZ GEHORE"

According to a note by Theodor Hampe,¹ the Meistersinger Benedict von Watt wrote verses listing household utensils. Since I have long been collecting materials connected with this minor literary form, I obtained a photostat of this text in *Cod. Berol. Germ. Fol. 24*, fol. 246^{a-b}.² As appears from the verses below, Hampe was misled by the title. Watt's *Meisterlied* has nothing to do with the versified lists of household utensils, but is an episode from the siege of Antwerp. Since few *Meisterlieder* belonging to the period from the death of Hans Sachs to the decay of the art in the early seventeenth century are accessible, I print the text.

¹ *Mitteilungen des Vereins für die Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg*, XI (1895), 176-77, *Euphorion*, IV (1897), 28, n. 3.

² For assistance I am indebted to the kindness of Oberbibliothekar Professor Dr. Hugo Hepding of Giessen and the officials of the library. I am greatly obliged to Professor Charles Goetsch for a careful transcription of the text.

The "Grundweise," in which this Meisterlied is composed, is a favorite metre of the schools for the versification of tales and jests.³ The singers ascribed the invention of the metre to Heinrich von Meissen (Frauenlob), but apparently they were in error. No authentic verses by Frauenlob exist in this metre. The ascription is found only in the anthologies of *Meisterlieder*. Gustav Roethe characterizes the metre as "late" (*ein später Ton*) rather than medieval in form. This ascription exemplifies the uncertainty about the invention of the metres of *Meistergesang* and suggests that a careful examination of the nearly fifty metres ascribed to Frauenlob is in order.

The Martin von Rosz referred to in the Meisterlied is Martin van Rossem of Geldern, called Maarten de Zwarte. In the year 1542, he laid waste the country around Malines. Possibly the incident narrated in the Meisterlied belongs to this time. The householder's fear was wellfounded, tradition declares that Maarten van Rossem coined the epigram "De brandstichting is de krijgsmagnificat." Benedict von Watt appears to have learned the story from a source favorable to the general. In modern Belgian tradition children's songs have confused Maarten van Rossem and St. Martin.⁴

The following text is a reprint *literatim et verbatim* except for the following. (1) parallel sloping lines marking the division into syllables to fit the music are omitted in the second and third lines, (2) the words "abgsang" opposite the sixth line, "Repetier den ganzen Stollen" following the ninth line, and "2" in a square followed by "Der" at the end of the first stanza are omitted.

³ L. Ettmüller (ed.), *Heinrichs von Meissen des Frauenlobs Leiche* etc. ("Bibliothek der gesammten deutschen National-Litteratur," VIII, Quedlinburg 1843), pp. xii (No. 5), xvii, K. Bartsch (ed.), *Meisterlieder der Colmarer Handschrift* ("Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins," LXVIII, Stuttgart 1862), p. 173 No. 16, G. Roethe (ed.), *Die Gedichte Reinmars von Zweter* (Leipzig 1887), p. 124, n. 161, A. L. Mayer (ed.), *Die Meisterlieder des Hans Folz* ("Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters," XII, Berlin 1908), p. 404 No. 13, E. Ricklinger, *Studien zur Tierfabel von Hans Sachs* (Diss.; Munich 1909), pp. 46-47. For the musical accompaniment see P. Runge, *Die Sangesweisen der Colmarer Handschrift* (Leipzig 1896), pp. 90-91 No. 38, G. Munzer (ed.), *Das Singebuch des Adam Puschman* (Leipzig ca. 1906), p. 15. The "Grundweise" ascribed to Barthel Regenbogen in the Colmar manuscript is entirely different and is, moreover, an error. It is properly the "kurzer Ton" of Barthel Regenbogen, see Bartsch, p. 178.

⁴ A. de Cock, *Volkskunde*, XIX (1907), 198-200.

In der Grundweisz / Frawenlobs
Was zu eim schonen Hausz gehore

Zur Zeit als Martin von Rosz das land flandren
Verwustet mit einandern
Vnd Antorff beleget Kam zu im nausz
Ein Hispanier wonhafft in der state
vor diser der selb hate
So gar ein vber Kostliches lust hausz
Darmit hinfurt
Nicht verwust wurt
Das lust hausz sein
Biandschatzt eis vmb ein gosse Suma gelte
vnd als der vor gemelte
von Rosz darnach wurde gefurt darein

2

Der Spanier fragt den von Rosz on grause
Wie im gfiel dises hause
Dann Da er west das er Zum lust etwas
oder Zum Pracht etwas versaumet hete
So wolt ers (wie ei rete)
Doppelt erstatten / darauff sagt furbas
Martin von Rosz
Des lusthauses grosz
hab ich mein tag
disem gleich, oder schoner nie gesehen
Doch musz ich der verjehen
Das im noch das furnomste fehlt ich sag

3

Ein Ehrlich Redlichen Wirt solt es haben
desz namen oder gaben
du Schelm nicht wert bist Zu tragen ich sag
Het ich die Schatzung nicht von dir Empfangen
Du soltest gar bald hangen
Vor dein hausz vmb dein Vnthat noch denn tag
Vnd das genent
hausz solt verbrent
Werden mit Dir
Darmit dein gedechtnus wurd gedilgt ause
Nichts Ziert besser Ein Hause
Dann ein Redlicher Wirt gelaubet mir

Anno 1600 hdj 18 Nouember /D Benedict von Watt.

ARCHER TAYLOR

RECENT WORKS ON PROSE FICTION BEFORE 1800

What was the nature of prose fiction in its early state, before it was recorded in writing? For what various purposes was it then composed? What consequently different genres resulted? Is it possible to answer such questions by critically examining the stories that appear in ancient literatures,—Egyptian, Chinese, Hebraic, Greek, etc? Except for the researches of Mr and Mrs H M Chadwick, as yet unfinished, to which I called attention in my last survey,¹ little work has hitherto been done on these basic problems. The Professor of Classics at King's College, J A K Thomson, in his *Art of the Logos*, makes an ingenious contribution towards their solution by studying Herodotus, master-recorder of oral tales (λόγοι) current in Egypt and Greece in the fifth century B C. A tale must, obviously, fall into one of three possible classes: it may be true, it may be intentionally invented, or it may be unintentionally fictitious. To the second class, which includes the Fable, Thomson gives little attention, his main quarry is the elusive and mysterious third, "unconscious fiction," in which he finds Herodotus to abound. He subdivides this class into three genres: (1) Myth (of religion), (2) Legend (of history), and (3) Marchen (of ordinary life), and of each he gives examples in translation. Orally transmitted Myths or Sacred Stories were kept as secrets among devotees, and Herodotus does not intend to record any, but unwittingly he relates a few of them, whose religious nature he did not perceive. The Logoi, products of an age when human life was overlaid with fear and pain, are predominantly tragic in spirit, yet not without admiration for those who gallantly combat man's sad destiny. They have both the defects and the merits of tales that were to be orally addressed to the populace: on the one hand, they are full of credulity, wishful thinking, and shallow motivation, on the other, they are clear, vivid, and not impeded in their action with unnecessary description or psychological analysis.

Martin Dibelius' *From Tradition to Gospel*, now translated into English, is a theological treatise, but he provides us with relevant matter because his favorite method is that of "Formgeschichte,"¹ i e., literary analysis of the various kinds of biblical narrative. Surveying a large body of literature, not only biblical, but also Rabbinic and Greek, he finds that the oral and written stories current in Palestine in the first century A. D. were chiefly these: (1) the Paradigm, the short story told to make a point, (2) the Legend (which may or may not be fictitious), told in praise of a

¹ *MLN.*, XLIX, 524

saintly person, and (3) the Tale ("Novella"), told primarily for its own sake. In other words the predominant purpose might be moral, or religious, or aesthetic, and the literary traits of the different genres would vary accordingly. Whether these attempts by the Chadwicks, by Thomson, and by Dibelius, to classify early prose fictions can be harmonized with one another, is a question which cannot be answered until *The Growth of Literature* has been completed, but the outlook at present seems favorable.

A. W. Wade-Evans' *Welsh Christian Origins* attempts to prove in a rather unconvincing way, that "Badonicus," who flourished c. 708, concocted a fictitious addition to Gildas' *De Excidio*. With that slight exception, the only noteworthy contributions concerning the medieval period are editions or studies of Legends. Angelo S. Rappaport compiles *Medieval Legends of Christ* (including that of The Wandering Jew), and Frances M. Mack edits for the *EETS*. two versions of the exceptionally colorful and popular *Seinte Maierete*. C. A. Williams' *German Legends of the Hairy Anchorite* includes an edition of the legend of St. Chrysostom, which Luther denounced as fictitious and which (mistakenly) he charged Rome with considering authentic. The influence of the Legend of Pope Gregory is shown by G. P. Faust in his *Sir Degare*, and that of the Legend of St. Nicholas by O. E. Albrecht in *Four Latin Plays of St. Nicholas*. The danger of misjudging pious fictions to be true history is illustrated by W. Douglas Simpson's *Celtic Church in Scotland*, which on the archeological side is a learned and curious volume, but which bases its historical thesis upon the assumption that Ailred's Legend of St. Ninian, composed centuries after the alleged events, and commonly recognized by scholars as fictitious, may be relied upon. Shane Leslie's *Script of Jonathan Swift* includes a delightfully appreciative discussion of the Legend of St. Patrick's Purgatory.

SIXTEENTH CENTURY Rudolph Kapp's *Heilige und Heiligenlegenden in England (1500-1700)*, only the first volume of which has as yet appeared, is of distinct importance. Challenging the common assumption that the rise of Humanism and Protestantism reduced the Legends to insignificance, he raises these questions: Was English Protestantism unqualifiedly hostile to them? Did they really disappear, and, if not, how, and where, and under what conditions, did they survive? Were the old legends modified in the new era? Were new ones composed? Kapp's answers to such questions rest upon an examination of some 30,000 books and manuscripts. He admits that most of the Humanists despised the legends as contemptible *fabulae*, that the seventeenth century rationalists (e. g., Hobbes) attacked them as dangerous lies, and

that for their full rehabilitation the saints had to abide the coming of the Romantics. He likewise admits that under Renaissance influences certain *classes* of readers lost interest in the legends, but he contends, and, in my judgment, convincingly proves that among other classes (especially among women and among the common people) the interest in them grew intense. While the cult of some of the Roman saints declined, that of St. George (under whose banner "Protestant" England vanquished Catholic Spain and France) waxed greater and greater. Even when the government forbade the publication of legends, their substance or spirit survived in disguised forms, in Malory, Mandeville, the *Seven Sages*, *Gesta Romanorum*, *Robert the Devil*, *Guy of Warwick*, etc. They survived because they satisfied the constant craving for sustenance of faith, for credibility in the marvelous, and for hero-worship. Kapp's investigation of the influence of the legends upon secular Elizabethan literature might, as he himself says, have been extended much farther, (*e g* into Deloney), but he has done more than enough to give the final blow to the old theory that medieval fiction had no influence upon modern.

The Cambridge University Press has published the first volume of the second edition of W. F. Smith's translation of Rabelais, which is particularly valuable because of its full annotations. The so-called "new introduction" cannot be of later date than 1919, when Mr. Smith died, and one regrets that it was not brought abreast of later scholarship.—F. E. Budd (*RES*, Oct.) shows that the oft-cited passage in *King Lear* does not prove that Shakspeare knew Rabelais.—Andrée Bruel's Wellesley lectures, *Romans Français du Moyen Age*, includes accounts of *Les Quinze Joyes de Marriage* and *Jehan de Saintré*, but has nothing new on those subjects.—The Golden Cockerel Press produces a handsome limited edition of Adlington's translation of Apuleius' *Cupid and Psyche*.—René Pruvost (*RES*, Jan 1934) proves that three of Turberville's *Tragical Tales* derive from an Italian version of Pero Mexia's *Silva*.

1935, the year of the canonization of Sir Thomas More, produced two books of lasting importance to students of the author of *Utopia*. One was R. W. Chambers' biography of More, which is a perfect illustration of Coleridge's doctrine that the way to truth lies through a reconciliation of apparent opposites. More's apparent vacillation between England and Rome, between rationalism and authority, between communism and capitalism, is here successfully explained. Throughout his life More saw that order was better than license, that nationalism was better than civil discord, but even higher than nationalism he set international peace, and even higher than the need for authority he set the right of freedom of

speech, of conscience, and of worship. He was "the King's good servant, but God's first." This Anglican interpretation, is, so far as the *Utopia* is concerned, in essential harmony with that of Christopher Hollis, a Roman Catholic, whose *Su Thomas More* maintains that the *Utopia* was not intended by its author to describe the perfectly ideal state of society, but merely that partly admirable state which man might attain to by the feeble light of mere reason,—"a society which has risen as high as it would be possible for a society to rise which was hampered by no natural or accidental disadvantages, but whose members had only their unaided reasons to lead them to truth."

M. S. Goldman's *Sir Philip Sidney and the Arcadia*, besides fortifying with a plenitude of new biographical and literary evidence Greenlaw's interpretation of the *Arcadia* as a sincere expression of a virile and magnanimous spirit, gives that interpretation an English background by demonstrating the influence upon Sidney of Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*. As was intimated above, the building of such bridges between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance is a great aid to historical truth. The best service of K. O. Myrick's *Sir Philip Sidney as a Literary Craftsman* is to show the close harmony between Sidney's literary theories in *The Defense of Poesie* and his practices in the *Arcadia*. But this is incidental to the main contention of his "essay of reinterpretation," viz that the key to Sidney lies in an understanding of "that urbane quality which Castiglione called *sprezzatura*," "a certain dash and easy grace which conceals the seriousness of his purposes." Myrick's essay is marred by his failure to acknowledge that Goldman's monograph is the weightiest proof of that seriousness. To give due credit to one's contemporaries and rivals is even more seemly than to give it to the elders who sit in the seats of the mighty.

A handsomely printed and illustrated volume, *The Fool: His Social and Literary History* by Enid Welsford of Newnham College, sheds new light upon the *Facetiae* of Poggio, the *Novelle* of Sacchetti and Boccaccio, and such popular tales as *Solomon and Marcolfus*, *Kalenberg*, and *Till Eulenspiegel*, because it discusses them in relation with the actual history of professional buffoons and court-fools. After reading Miss Welsford's book, one is likely to change one's former impression that the jest-books are merely vulgar and silly jocosities, and to recognize them as realistic reflections of the social habits and the mental and moral temper of their times. The purpose of Louis B. Wright's *Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England* is "to describe the intellectual background and interests of the literate common people." Mr. Wright justly protests that Miss Vida Scudder and others have exaggerated the

aristocratic character of Elizabethan literature. He proves that during that period there was a large increase of readers among the middle class, especially among women, and that authors, in composing new works and in revising old ones, adapted them to the limited knowledge and crude tastes of this new public. Mr Wright does not idealize the bourgeoisie, at times, indeed, as in his remarks on its faith in education (p. 80), he seems unfairly contemptuous towards it. But he has paid the plain people the compliment of reading nearly everything they read,—most of it to ordinary literary historians insufferably dull, and therefore by them ignored. He has read and describes Elizabethan revisions of medieval romances such as an atrocious adaptation of Malory "with the popish utterances expurgated," and aesthetically degraded versions of *Amadis*, *Palmerin*, the *Mirror of Knighthood*, etc. He furnishes abundant evidence which might be used to refute Mrs. Q. D. Leavis, whose *Fiction and the Reading Public* (1932) exalted the level of Elizabethan intelligence and taste and maintained that shallowness and vulgarity in prose fiction did not arise until the nineteenth century.²

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. The first English translation (1620) of Boccaccio's *Decameron* is reprinted by Blackwell in a magnificent limited edition, adorned with the woodcuts of the Venetian edition of 1492. Giuseppe Petronio's *Il Decamerone Saggio Critico* raises the question: What to Boccaccio was the most important thing in human life?, and answers "saviezza,"—a quality of mind not as low as cunning but not as high as wisdom. In a subtle and convincing way he shows that the characters in the *Decameron* succeed or fail according to whether or not they possess "saviezza," which, though not from an ethical point of view an admirable trait, human experience shows to be essential for self-preservation in the kind of world in which, like it or not, we find ourselves. In reading Signor Petronio's analysis of this kind of sagacity, it strikes me that his words might, with little change, be applicable to another great piece of prose fiction,—Le Sage's *Gil Blas*.—To the Shakespeare Association Facsimiles has been added *The Life and Death of Gamahel Ratsey*.

W. Y. Tindall's *John Bunyan Mechanick Preacher* (Columbia University thesis) purposes "to show that Bunyan was a typical mechanick preacher [one who worked with his hands for a living], and that his writings owe their nature both to the social, economic, and sectarian condition of their author and to the literary conventions of a numerous company of mechanicks." If for the words "owe their nature," we substitute "owe much of their nature," Mr. Tindall may be credited with having achieved his objectives.

² See my review, *MLN*, XLVIII, 370.

This might easily have been an exceedingly dull thesis, for many of the writings which he describes are of the dreariest kind, but it is quite the contrary, for he has a delightfully nimble and witty style. It seems regrettable, however, that in this academic dissertation the author should have been permitted to display continually a flippant and sarcastic attitude towards faith and piety. Throughout he jeers at those who believed that they were possessed by the Holy Spirit. "Concerning the favorite residence of the Holy Spirit, we may accept the assurances of His hosts" (p. 190). Insistently he mocks Bunyan's pretensions that his works were inspired from on high.

That the Spirit maintained a residence within John Bunyan we may allow for the encouragement of piety and for want of contrary evidence, but that the literary work of this favored saint owed its form and substance to his ghostly tenant we must decline to believe. The traditional character of his work would suggest the Holy Spirit's unoriginality, but reason recoils from this dangerous and ignoble inference (p. 209).

In substance, this is true, in manner, it is contemptible.

Drawing upon the narratives of the actual experiences of Bunyan's fellow-itinerants, and upon the literature of sectarian controversy, Mr. Tindall establishes the indebtedness of Bunyan to both of those sources in *Pilgrim's Progress*. He stresses its autobiographical elements,—the similarity of Christian and Evangelist to the young Bunyan, and of Greatheart to the older, and the resemblance of By-Ends to his latitudinarian enemies in general, and to his opponent, Edward Fowler, in particular. An annotated edition of *Pilgrim's Progress*, embodying the results of the late Dr. Golder's studies, of Mr. G. B. Harrison's, and of Mr. Tindall's, is much to be desired. Mr. Badman he finds a combination of three popular types of contemporary narrative: the dialogue on moral problems, the horror-stories that showed forth divine judgments, and the memoirs of rogues and eccentrics, and he adduces many passages in them which anticipate Bunyan's work. But he admits that for the greatest moment of all,—the death-scene of Badman,—he can find no source. Will he permit one to cherish the belief that, in at least this instance, Bunyan really was inspired?

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY F. C. Green gives us in *Minuet. A Critical Survey of French and English Literary Ideas in the Eighteenth Century* one of the most important works in this field that have appeared in many years. It is a masterly essay in Comparative Literature in the literal sense of that term, for, although it makes contributions to literary history, and attacks a particular historical dogma, its main purpose, as indicated in its sub-title, is to compare French and English drama, poetry, and prose fiction, in order to discover to what extent they are similar or dissimilar.

to each other. Accordingly, Mr Green examines side by side *Manon Lescaut* and *Moll Flanders*, *La Vie de Marianne* and *Pamela*, *Clarissa Harlowe* and *Les Liaisons Dangereuses*,—i e., groups of novels dealing with similar materials,—to determine whether the methods and the spirit with which those materials were set forth were alike or unlike. It is a method which requires the power of accurate perception of the significant incidents and characters in the novels, and sensitive appreciation of their peculiar tones and atmospheres. Both of these gifts Mr Green possesses in a high degree,—more highly as to French masterpieces than as to English, but also as to the latter (see his admirable analysis and appraisal of *Clarissa Harlowe*). His style is easy and graceful, and the only discordant notes are in occasional peevish and ill-informed outbursts (which have a colonial ring) against British customs and manners, e g the rash generalizations that the English have no sporting instinct (p 336) and that they are the only people who ever practised social ostracism (p 404).

Mr Green maintains that Joseph Texte's brilliant *Rousseau et le Cosmopolitisme*, with its theory that "Richardson changed the destiny of the French novel," has been uncritically accepted and should be overthrown. The French became "acquainted with English novels, but refashioned them to the taste of their nation." A French "translation" of Richardson was usually a Frenchified Richardson. After all, the English are Baconians, empirical, interested in concrete detail and variety, and the French are Cartesian, rational, interested in general truths and unity, and (it is tacitly assumed) "never the twain shall meet." It is therefore not surprising that after comparing the French masterpieces with the English, we should be "led to the irresistible conclusion that the cosmopolitan spirit left no deep or lasting imprint upon the imaginative literature of eighteenth-century France or England." This is a truth which needed to be spoken, but it is what I should like to call a "two-thirds" truth. Texte overstated his case, but so does Mr Green. The latter is right (1) in denying that to borrow "occasional scenes and characters" is to undergo really literary influences and (2) in maintaining that differences in style, methods of composition, and aesthetic atmosphere, continued to distinguish French from English art. But there is another element in literary works besides materials (experience) and narrative form, and that is the philosophy or the ideas which determine the selection and interpretation of the materials, and sometimes affect the form also. Mr. Green successfully refutes the notion that the French novelists were influenced by the literary fashions of the English, but he pays little or no attention to the contention that they were strongly

influenced by sentimental ideas and ideals (which, incidentally, were anti-Baconian) Eighteenth-century England was teeming with new ideas about the divine, about nature, about human nature, history, and destiny and the main contention of scholars in Comparative Literature has been that France was deeply influenced by them That contention Mr Green does not, and I think cannot, refute

Numerous translations of English novels are listed in Mary B and Lawrence M Price's *Publication of English Literature in Germany in the Eighteenth Century* Ernest J Simmons' *English Literature and Culture in Russia* shows that, beginning with *Gulliver's Travels*, nearly every important English novel was translated, often from German or French versions, into Russian, and that some authors, notably Sterne, had a strong influence —The Amsterdam dissertations of Michelson and of Cardozo are supplemented by H R S Van Der Veen's *Jewish Characters in Eighteenth Century English Fiction and Drama* He finds that with the exception of a Jewish money-lender in *Count Fathom*, all Jews in the novels of this period are characterized unfavorably His interpretations of the facts are superficial

John Campbell Major's *Role of Personal Memoirs in English Biography and Novel* begins with an account of the development of memoirs and pseudo-memoirs in France, discusses their relationship to English memoirs, and traces the history and influence of the latter into the first half of the century Mr Major keeps to essentials, and, as he takes us from early memoir-writers such as Sir James Melville and Francis Osborne, through Turner, Ludlow, Clarendon, and Burnet, up to Sir William Temple, the Duchess of Marlborough, and John Hervey, he makes us conscious of a step-by-step progress, and of what each writer contributed thereto Ultimately the memoir attained literary value because it abandoned the abstractness and dryness of historiography and gradually gave more and more of the significant personal "little facts" of life, the kind of incidents that reveal character, and personal conversations and letters The memoirs of political and social intrigue, of romantic adventures, and of roguery, served as models to Mrs Manley, Mrs. Haywood, Mrs Davys, Prévost, and especially to Defoe. To the last about one-third of the book is devoted Some of this merely confirms Secord's researches, but new discoveries are made as to Defoe's indebtedness to the Memoirs of Ludlow, and as to Defoe's *History of Charles XII* and *Life of Mrs Davies*. Dr. Major seems to be unacquainted with two recent German studies in his field, Birnbaum's *Die Memoirs um 1700* and Zeller's *Die Ich-Erzählung*

im englischen Roman,³ reflection upon which might have improved his competent and useful survey

The first edition of Defoe's *Journal of the Plague Year* that is both legible and textually correct is given us by A W Secord, with an admirably scholarly introduction. One of Defoe's chief literary creditors is presented in W H Bonner's *Captain William Dampier*, wherein his loans to *Gulliver's Travels* as well as to *Robinson Crusoe* are audited. I suspect that a closer comparison of Dampier and Swift would show even more borrowings than are here revealed. In *RES* (July and Oct.) Hans W. Hausermann analyzes the ruling ideas of *Robinson Crusoe*,—including a Calvinistic aversion to art-for-art's sake, a strong interest in religion, and an even stronger devotion to human welfare and to commerce. John R. Moore's *Daniel Defoe and Modern Economic Theory* (Ind Univ Studies) shows Defoe as a defender of sound fiscal policies and an opponent of the "new dealers" of his day.

A decided improvement upon previously available texts of *Gulliver's Travels* is given by John Hayward in the Nonesuch Press edition (cf "New Light on Swift," *TLS*, 10 Jan 1936). Shane Leslie's *The Script of Swift*, being his Rosenbach lectures at the University of Pennsylvania, contains little that is new, but is most wittily set forth. Mr Leslie argues that the reason why Swift did not marry Stella lies in his "eminently practical" mentality: he realized that they would have to live in poverty, which neither of them was suited to endure. An amusing curiosity is Coley B. Taylor's *Mark Twain's Marginalia on Thackeray's Swift*. Mark is sometimes termed "The American Jonathan Swift", but a perusal of these marginalia,—violent invectives against Swift,—proves that he would not have regarded the designation a compliment.—The first scholarly study of Simon Berington's *Gaudentre Dr Lucca* (1737), a Utopia too much neglected, is given by L. M. Ellison (*PMLA.*, L, 494), who sets forth its sources and its ideas in contrast with the Utopias of More and other writers.

While France, Germany, and even Russia were rapturously welcoming the English sentimentalists, Rome, as F. J. Schleck reveals (*TLS.*, 25 Apr.), was placing *Pamela* and *A Sentimental Journal* upon its index of Prohibited Books. For good measure and in a spirit of impartiality, it added to the list the *Anti-Pamela*. William M. Sale proves (*TLS*, 29 Aug.) that Richardson in 1757 carefully revised Miss Anne Meade's letter-novel, *Sir William Harrington, a Description of Modern Life* (1771). The author of *The Brothers* (1753), a novel of the Richardsonian school, is identified by F. G. Black as a Miss Smythies (*TLS*, 26 Sept.). Heinz Ronte's

³ See *MLN.*, XLIX, 529 and 531.

Richardson und Fielding Geschichte Ihres Ruhm attempts in some two hundred pages to recount the entire history of the criticism of those two authors in detail. Much of this work has been previously done by F. T. Blanchard and others, and I can find nothing new in Ronte except a so-called "literarsoziologischer" methodology which seems to me more pretentious than fruitful. If an Index had been provided to the critics mentioned (there must be nearly a thousand of them), this would have been a useful reference manual.

Mr. Claude E. Jones in the introduction to his edition of Smollett's *Essay on the External Use of Water* gives us the first competent account of Smollett's attitude towards his profession and his fellow-practitioners. In the Parrott Presentation Volume appears G. M. Kahri's *Influence of Shakespeare on Smollett*.—Geoffrey Tillotson (*TLS*, 29 Aug.) shows that *Rasselas* drew from Pétis de la Croix' *Persian Tales* several elements,—including perhaps its main idea, and probably its general plan, method of narration, and certain details,—but surpassed his predecessor in elevation of tone and in verisimilitude. This is a model, in miniature, of what a source study should be.—An original interpretation of *Candide*, emphasizing its essentially eighteenth-century and anti-romantic qualities, is found in André Maurois' brilliant *Voltaire*.

Among the new editions that I report this year, by far the most valuable is Lewis P. Curtis' *Letters of Laurence Sterne*. Here we have for the first time all the extant authentic letters and no spurious ones, with the valuable addendum of forty contemporaneous letters pertaining to Sterne and his family. The annotations are so full and so learned that the most inquisitive antiquary could not reasonably ask for more. It is unqualifiedly a definitive edition. The carping review of it in *TLS* (21 Mar.) was ably refuted by Margaret R. B. Shaw (6 June).

Miriam R. Small's *Charlotte Ramsay Lennox* (Yale Univ. Studies) includes, in its chapter on *The Female Quixote*, a description of other eighteenth-century imitations of *Don Quixote*. Both here and in the accounts of Mrs. Lennox's lesser works there is little criticism that rises above the perfunctory and obvious. The main historical conclusion, not a new discovery, is that Mrs. Lennox belonged to the "moral" school of Richardson. The most interesting passages in her novels are the American scenes in *Harriot Stuart* and *Euphemia*, but usually she made the mistake of imitating other writers instead of drawing materials from her personal experiences and observation. The biography of a woman who spent her girlhood in New York and (as the Governor's daughter) in Albany, who in London was befriended by Richardson, Fielding,

and Johnson (he wrote the best chapter in her *Female Quixote*), and who fought the battle of life valiantly but died in poverty, should prove more interesting than her own writings are. But Miss Small fails to bring Mrs Lennox alive again, she diligently gathers and records the facts, but does not animate them. Her remark in the preface may explain the reason. "I have endeavored to assemble a more complete biography than has before been presented." One "assembles" buttons, and hash, and crowds, but the art of biography is one of imaginative re-creation.

Charles J. Hill's *Literary Career of Richard Graves* (Smith College Studies), like Professor Small's work, was originally a Yale dissertation. Supplementary researches in England enabled Mr Hill to find eighty unpublished letters of Graves, which disclosed facts of importance both to the biography and to the interpretation of the novels. Mr Hill proves that some of the incidents and characters in *The Spiritual Quixote* reflect Graves's personal experiences, and that his romantic elopement and marriage are very probably the basis of the episode concerning Mr Rivers in the sixth book of that satirical novel. He shows that Graves, commonly described as indiscriminantly hostile to Methodism and all its ministers and practices, was personally an insistent preacher and rigorous practiser of temperance, that he had a kindly feeling towards John Wesley, and that it was not Wesley, but the Calvinistic George Whitefield (a college classmate) whose doctrines and manners were the chief point of attack in *The Spiritual Quixote*. Mr Hill's monograph seems to me a workmanlike and well-balanced performance, with the right proportion of biography, literary analysis, and literary criticism. It arouses one's desire to reread *The Spiritual Quixote*, and makes one feel that the lesser works of Graves ought to be republished.—Sir Samuel H. Scott's *The Exemplary Mr Day* (Author of "*Sandford and Merton*") is handsomely printed and illustrated, but has no scholarly value, being merely an intelligent and graceful retelling of an oft-told tale.

Warren Hunting Smith's *Architecture in English Fiction* is mainly concerned with the second half of the eighteenth century. In the first half of that century the fashionable new architecture was of what we now call the "Georgian" type, and the remains of medieval, or "Gothic," dwellings and cathedrals were despised. In the second half of the century there arose an increasing interest in medieval architecture,—because of its historical associations, its picturesqueness, its mysteriousness, its sublimity, and its evocation of the pleasures of melancholy. One result was the attempt to imitate medieval architecture,—e.g. Walpole's Strawberry Hill, where, in the chief objective was the reproduction of medieval ornament,

and Beckford's castle, which attempted to reproduce medieval sublimity by means of height, and medieval grandeur by massiveness. Unfortunately these imitators overlooked one of the intrinsic merits of Gothic architecture,—its structural soundness. Mr. Smith shows that a principal cause of the new architectural craze was the increasing amount of description of castles, cathedrals, etc. in the novels, especially, from 1770 onwards, of Mrs. Radcliffe, Sophia Lee, Regina Roche, and Charlotte Smith. After 1794 there was such "a deluge of castles and abbeys" that Mr. Smith foregoes an attempt to describe them. Prior to that year, however, I think he has overlooked only one pertinent instance, viz. in *The Spiritual Quixote*, iv, Chapter v, where Mr. Townsend, the irate antiquary, inveighs against the fad of "building a ruin" to adorn one's landscape.

This dissertation is more than a diligent compilation of facts. Mr. Smith has evidently pondered their significance, and in his conclusion arrives at generalizations of real cogency and value. Since "housing is an important fact in human existence," he thinks it legitimate that novelists should give it a place in their works,—but only in an amount "commensurate with the actual influence of architecture upon life." The late eighteenth-century novelists went to an excess. Their "literary intrusion into architecture subjected the art of building to the caprices of fashion." It made them yearn for buildings whose proper character they did not fully understand. The consequences were bad on both sides. It disgraced landscapes with monstrosities like Strawberry Hill, and burdened romances with tedious descriptions, thus "concentrating a novelist's attention upon inanimate objects rather than upon human life." "It is just as bad to make literature draw a floor plan as it is to make architecture tell a story"—A useful supplement to Mr. Smith's study of Walpole is W. S. Lewis' "The Genesis of Strawberry Hill" in *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, v.⁴

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⁴There is opportunity for much fruitful research in this field. Another study of the same type is Josef Hartmann's *Architektur in den Romanen Hardy's*.

REVIEWS

The Fortunes of Montaigne, a history of the Essays in France, 1580-1669 By ALAN M BOASE London Methuen, 1935
Pp xl + 462

The title of Mr Boase's book is sufficient indication of its purpose and scope. It does not, however, do justice to the detail of the work which includes not only the relation of the various authors studied to Montaigne but frequently a concise outline of their general philosophical position. On the whole it may be said that the task has been done well enough to constitute a definitive study of the problem involved. Apparently all authors who may have been influenced by Montaigne have been treated, as well as those who contributed to his fortunes by their adverse criticism of his ideas.

The results of the study corroborate what, one might imagine, was already known, namely, that Montaigne's prestige did not seriously suffer until the Cartesian critique of some of his ideas was developed and spread about by Port Royal. One gathers from Mr Boase's Introduction that the most influential doctrine of Montaigne was what he calls his *fidéisme*, a term which most historians reserve, I believe, for certain doctrines of the early nineteenth century but which can be well applied to any theory of the supremacy of faith to reason in matters of religion. The *fidéisme* of Montaigne was, according to Mr Boase, the root of Montaigne's scepticism, since it could best be substantiated by a demonstration of the weakness of reason. This was not, of course, the case in the nineteenth century, Batain was far from being a sceptic in matters of science or common sense and indeed if reason and faith are to have two entirely different realms, one needs only to prove that reason is incompetent in those fields which one wishes to reserve for faith, not in all fields. The combination of scepticism and *fidéisme* nevertheless is to be found in the *Essays* and ran through many of the writings of the seventeenth century. That certainly cannot be denied, whatever the argument.

The opposition to Montaigne, continuing Mr Boase's exposition, arose from the rationalists, i. e., the Cartesians, in spite of their acceptance of certain of their opponent's ideas. Descartes had been able to show what he thought were good reasons for believing in the existence of God and his reasons undoubtedly appealed to a large number of people in seventeenth century France. If his reasons were sound, one could be a Christian without being a *fidéiste* and though the Cartesian point of view was rejected by the

Church, yet it won an important place for itself in the annals of Christian apologetics. But when one turns to Descartes himself one sees that what he says he objects to in Montaigne is not his *fidéisme* but the supposed immoral consequences of the theory that animals have souls. This appears very clearly at the end of the fifth part of the *Discourse on Method*.

I here entered, in conclusion, upon the subject of the soul at considerable length, because it is of the greatest moment for after the error of those who deny the existence of God, an error which I think I have already sufficiently refuted, there is none that is more powerful in leading feeble minds astray from the straight path of virtue than the supposition that the soul of the brutes is of the same nature with our own, etc. (Everyman ed.)

There can be no doubt of the object of Descartes's words in this sentence. But what *fidéisme* is involved in it? There were "animalitarians" before *fidéisme* was ever dreamt of nor is there any necessary logical connection between the two points of view.

In spite of these reservations the chapter on Descartes is one of the best in the book and has the excellence of many of the other chapters in recognizing conflicting motives in a single mind, an excellence which is not frequently exhibited in the history of ideas. Descartes was no more nor less of a Cartesian than Plato was of a Platonist, and it is folly to try to explain away or "reconcile" the non-Cartesian elements in his works. Mr Boase appears to recognize this and thus to avoid a too consistent exposition of his thought. It is, however, regrettable that Montaigne was not treated in the same way. Montaigne was, as everyone knows, deeply read in such authors as Plutarch, Sextus Empiricus, and the Paradoxists. The general humor of such men was to try out odd and amusing opinions and one can understand the point of many of Montaigne's essays more easily if one sets them in that tradition. Even the work of Agrippa von Nettesheim was translated into French as a paradox and one cannot argue from the serious import of an opinion that it was read or written because of that import. Many of the most familiar quotations from Montaigne—this too is common knowledge—are literal translations from his classical sources and were widely circulated saws in late classical and Renaissance times. His animalitarianism, such as it was, was platitudinous by the first century A D and the famous *Natura non mater sed noverca* was quoted from "the Ancients" by Philo. If it had not been for Charron's systematizing of the *Essays*, it is doubtful whether anyone would ever have thought of Montaigne as anything other than a shrewd moralist, a sort of literary Diogenes. That is part of the irony of his fortunes and a part which Mr Boase seems to neglect.

It is the unfortunate task of a reviewer to speak more lengthily of the deficiencies than of the achievements of a book. This re-

view should not close without paying tribute to Mr Boase's erudition, his industry, and his good sense. Should anyone feel that much of what he has done had already been accomplished by Villey's *Montagne devant la Postérité*, that feeling may be calmed by the knowledge that Villey apparently was indebted to Mr Boase for much of his information (*vide* Preface, p vii). It is only right to invite a reader's attention to this fact, though one would feel more sympathy for Mr Boase if he did not himself rather contemptuously dismiss an author (p xxvii, n 2) whom he was later to utilize down to his very neologisms and that without the slightest acknowledgement (pp 400 f).

GEORGE BOAS

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Jules Lemaître et le Théâtre Par GERMAINE DURRIÈRE Paris
Boivin et Cie, 1934 Pp iii + 320

L'ouvrage dépasse un peu son titre, sans que l'on songe pourtant à reprocher à l'auteur d'étendre les limites de son sujet. La carrière universitaire de Jules Lemaître, les querelles littéraires, sociales, politiques où il a pris part, les contes et nouvelles qui ont été les essais de thèmes que plus tard il a mûris pour la scène, les tristesses de sa vie privée tout cela est d'un intérêt indiscutable, mais peut-être pas toujours à propos. Bonne part est faite aussi aux effarouchements qu'a provoqués dans le public un critique impressionniste et friand de nouveauté. Pour le mieux saisir enfin une figure d'homme complexe jusqu'à la contradiction inclusivement, Mlle Durrière a sollicité les témoignages de ceux qui ont connu les "multiples personnages qui habitaient en Lemaître". C'est évidemment le titre de l'ouvrage qui a tort.

Au surplus, ce gros livre est court, ou du moins il dit plus de choses qu'il n'est gros, et a vite fait de captiver le lecteur. L'auteur analyse personnalités, milieux, débats, aventures, paradoxes, critique et théâtre avec autant de concision que de délicatesse. Et ce livre conçu dans un sentiment d'admiration n'a rien d'une apologie. Si les tours et les détours de l'esprit de Lemaître sont tracés avec sympathie, ses faiblesses et ses erreurs sont étudiées sans parti pris.

On pourrait peut-être chicaner sur quelques détails, par exemple, l'assertion que Lemaître n'a jamais la moindre gaminerie quand il aborde les tragédies de Racine (68). J'ai cru, pour ma part que certaine "Conférence de M. Francisque Sarcey sur *Athalie*" était une interprétation de "la plus profonde des tragédies politiques" (Lemaître) dont Sarcey n'avait pas été seul à s'amuser. On pourrait se demander si "apologiste de Diderot" est un titre qui

convienne à Joseph Reinach (77) Je ne saisis pas très bien la signification de "critique expérimentale" (134), ni l'utilité de quelques remarques "Cela n'est-il pas joli?" (115), ". . . l'Administration n'a guère compris qui était Lemaître, du moins en ses débuts" (3, n 1) Je relève aussi une ou deux répétitions (8 et 35, 46 et 105), et je m'empresse d'ajouter que si des distractions de ce genre sautent aux yeux, c'est que Mlle D. n'en est pas coutumière

"Lemaître est quelqu'un sur qui il ne faudrait écrire qu'avec cette encre polychrome dont rêvait Renan pour traduire les mille nuances de la mouvante réalité" (290) Mais la franchise et le tact, l'enthousiasme et la mesure ont aussi leur magie, et Mlle Durrière a écrit sur le dramaturge, le critique, l'homme que fut Jules Lemaître un livre définitif dont, j'imagine, Lemaître eût goûté l'intelligence

MAURICE BAUDIN

New York University

The German Legends of the Harry Anchoite By CHARLES ALLYN WILLIAMS. ("University of Illinois Bulletin," xxxii, No. 39 = "Illinois Studies in Language and Literature," xviii, Nos. 1-2, Urbana, Illinois, 1935) Pp 140 and 5 plates

This essay brings to a close Williams's studies in the legend of St John Chrysostomos His interest in the legend was awakened by the discovery of a version in a volume of manuscript *Meisterlieder* and it has led to an ample interpretation of the story told by the old *Meistersinger* Williams points out the similarities between a myth told of a Babylonian god of fertility and a Christian legend of a saint. The gap between the two is wide, and he is entirely aware of that fact He does not pursue the later history of the legend and has no occasion to deal more than incidentally with the Romance texts Whimsically I add that he might have mentioned the French use of St Jean Bouche d'or as a name for a braggart (see J M Adriaño, *Revista Lusitana*, xxxii [1934], 48) This volume, the last of three studies in the legends, contains important editions of the anonymous *Meisterlied* and—edited by Louis Allen—two Old French versions of *La Vie de Saint Jehan Paulus* (=pelu) Professor Williams calls my attention to a new version of the *Meisterlied* in the fifteenth-century MS Germ. 4° 1587 foll 262^r sqq in the State Library at Berlin; H Degering, *Kurzes Verzeichnis der germanischen Handschriften der preussischen Staatsbibliothek*, II, 295 Although the new version is complete (the version printed by Williams is not), it does not otherwise give as good a text as the printed version Unfortunately

Williams did not learn of it in time to use the variant readings. We may hope that Williams will print a collation of the new version. This new version settles Wesselski's unfounded doubts about the age of the *Meisterlied* (see *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, LVI [1935], coll. 2039-40) and fixes the date of the *Meisterlied* before 1500. Furthermore, Wesselski protests at length against seeking a connection between Enkidu of the Gilgamesh-epic and St John Chrysostomos. One will grant readily enough that the domination of demons and gods of fertility and their rituals has become as tiresome in the interpretation of popular materials as the sun-hero of blessed memory. Indeed, the demon of fertility is in a fair way to become a jack-of-all-trades. The ritual of fertility-cults now explains the Holy Grail as well as the Witches' Sabbath. One can neither accept nor reject these things *en masse*. Some of these explanations are more plausible than others, and some, indeed, are surely correct. Since the hero of this legend is in some versions St Jean le *Paulu* (i.e. 'the hairy'), I cannot cast aside the mention of hairiness as an incidental detail of no great importance. After all, the resemblances between Enkidu and St John Chrysostomos are curious and need some explanation. Williams prints his texts carefully. He has suggested, as I have pointed out elsewhere (*Germanic Review* [1936]), several matters calling for further investigation. All in all, a good book attractively got up.

ARCHER TAYLOR

The University of Chicago

Deutscher Sprachatlas, fortgesetzt von WALTHER MITZKA und
BERNHARD MARTIN. 7. Lieferung. Marburg. N. G. El-
wert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1934.

The seventh number of the *Sprachatlas* has appeared after an interim of two years. During this time the editor, Ferdinand Wrede, under whose able guidance the *Deutscher Sprachatlas* became a real instrument for the scientific study of the German dialects, was all too soon called from his earthly labors. Here is not the place to dwell upon Wrede's services in behalf of dialect study, but if there ever was an individual whose name was synonymous with his activities, it certainly was Wrede's. One cannot think of 'Mundartenforschung' in the modern sense of the word without thinking of Wrede, no matter from what angle we approach the subject.

This number of the *Sprachatlas* concerns itself with the forms and distribution of the words *unserm* in sentence 26 ('Hinter unserm Hause stehen drei schöne Apfelbaumchen mit roten Apfel-

chen') and *Wiese* in sentence 40 ('Ich bin mit den Leuten da hinten über die Wiese ins Korn gefahren') It also contains two *Ergänzungskarten* E and F, which deal with supplements to maps 21 (accusative *euch* in sentence 31), 22 (*sei* in sentence 17); 23 (*fest* in sentence 24), 24 (*Hause* in sentence 26), 25 (*dich* in sentence 14), 26 (synonyms for *Dienstag* in South Germany, as well as two lists of synonyms for *krumm* and *Apfelbaumchen* in sentence 26)

It is greatly to be regretted that the so-called 'Paus- or Pergaminblätter' have been discontinued for reasons of economy They may, however, be got from the publisher if desired Whether an extra charge is to be made for them is not stated Also to economic reasons is to be attributed no doubt the fact that the 'Text' is no longer separately bound but simply folded and sent along in the folder which contains the maps There is otherwise no change in the character of the work and none, I believe, is contemplated, for Wrede had already cared for all the manifold details and established a well-nigh ideal model for such publications

In conclusion I wish to congratulate Dr Walther Mitzka on his appointment as Wrede's successor, and wish him all success and may he meet with no untoward circumstances which could in any way interfere with the continuation of the undertaking

EDWARD H SEHRT

George Washington University

An Indiscretion in the Life of an Heiress (Hardy's "Lost Novel")

By THOMAS HARDY Edited by CARL J WEBER. Baltimore
The Johns Hopkins Press, 1935 Pp viii + 146 \$2 00.

Tess of the D'Urbervilles By THOMAS HARDY. Edited with notes
by CARL J WEBER New York Harpers, 1935

Colby Notes on "Far From the Madding Crowd" Edited by
CARL J WEBER Waterville, Maine, 1935.

An Indiscretion in the Life of an Heiress is a novelette of Hardy's which appeared in 1878 in *The New Quarterly Magazine*, and is now first printed in America and in book form It is obviously a very early work of Hardy's, thin, stiff and conventional in conception and execution Its great interest to book-lovers lies in the fact that it probably constitutes a slightly revised form of Hardy's first novel, *The Poor Man and the Lady* The identification is here made and established with high plausibility by Professor Carl J Weber, an expert in Hardiana Mr Weber lists all the items known about the contents and history of Hardy's lost novel—including the criticisms passed on it by Alexander Macmillan and

George Meredith, and Hardy's own statement that, when moving in 1878, he "got rid" of the manuscript. His theory is that Hardy did not destroy the manuscript but instead "dismembered" it. The satirical and "socialistic" parts, which had been objected to by his critics, he cut out. The parts which had been most highly praised—Dorset scenes, a Christmas eve party at a tranter's house—he included in his novel, *Under the Greenwood Tree*. Most of the rest—including the main body of the story—was thriftily reworked and disposed of to a magazine.

A cultivated country youth is in love with an heiress, but is scorned (by her father) for his poverty and lowly birth. He goes to London and makes good. He renews his acquaintance with the rich girl at a concert, and their secret marriage leads to the lady's death. In the earlier version, the hero was an architect who won a prize. Here he is an author who establishes himself with a successful novel. In either case the youthful Hardy was taking himself for a model, and—except for the heiress—the autobiographical flavor is unmistakable.

A part of the editor's fun was identifying the quotations prefixed to the several chapters. He has noted three quotations from Shakespeare, two from Browning, and one each from Shelley, Thackeray, Waller and the Bible. The following he missed: Part I, Chap 2, Browning's "The Flight of the Duchess", I 4, Shakespeare's Sonnet 111, I 6, Byron's "The Corsair", II 3, Shelley's "When the Lamp Is Shattered". We are made to realize how conscientiously the ambitious young writer was going through his favorites among the English classics.

A large amount of interesting Hardiana has been collected by Professor Weber in his notes to Harpers' editions of *Tess* and *Far from the Madding Crowd* in their Modern Classics series. The notes to *Tess* are included in the volume itself, those to *The Madding Crowd* make up a pamphlet supplementary to the Harpers volume. In both cases the notes are extremely miscellaneous, and include matter suitable for use only in elementary classes and often better left to dictionaries and other books of reference. Mr. Weber has been hampered by the tradition of annotated classics for school children. The most valuable features are matter topographical and dialectal, time-schemes of the carefully-prepared chronology of events, reference to significant alterations from the serial form of the novels, citation of the (often perverse) critical comment by contemporary reviewers and by more distinguished authors like George Moore, Frank Harris, Henry James and George Meredith. These notes represent a large amount of devoted research. Hardy may now be studied line-by-line like Chaucer and Shakespeare. May our teachers be inspired to use this apparatus with more discretion than pedantry!

JOSEPH WARREN BEACH

University of Minnesota

- Milton's Use of Du Bartas* By GEORGE COFFIN TAYLOR Cambridge, Mass Harvard University Press, 1934 Pp 129
- Milton's "De Doctrina Christiana"* By ARTHUR SEWELL Oxford Clarendon Press, 1934 (Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association, XIX, 40-66)
- Milton's Anschauungen von Staadt, Kuch, Toleranz* Von GERTRUD HARDELAND Halle Niemeyer, 1934 Pp 175
- Further Studies Concerning the Origin of "Paradise Lost"* By H MUTSCHMANN Dorpat, Esthonia 1934 Pp 56
- Milton's Blindness* By ELEANOR GERTRUDE BROWN New York. Columbia University Press, 1934 Pp 167

Mr Taylor has grossly exaggerated his statement of his case. There are certainly many similarities between Milton and Du Bartas, since both write on themes in which a basis of Christianity, humanism and occultism is common to practically all writers of the XVIth and XVIIth centuries. Verbal coincidences mean very little. The line "Invisible, immortal, infinite" which Mr Taylor makes much of because it is found in Milton and in Sylvester is nothing but a platitude which anyone might have used. A man saying "all is well that ends well" is not necessarily copying a friend of his who said it ten years before. In order to show genuine similarity of ideas between two writers, one has to study not this or that particular statement, even if verbally identical in both, but the value given to ideas or words by their place in general schemes of thought. "Matter essentially good" may mean several very different things e.g. (1) that God created matter good, although the Fall made it evil, (2) that matter remained good even after the Fall, but that man misuses it, (3) that matter is a divine substance. Similarly, every one agrees that Light is the first of created things that may be said by a Trinitarian, by an Arian, by a materialist. Reversely, Du Bartas cannot be a witness as to what Milton meant by "uncircumscribed myself retire" one has to fit the statement into a general scheme to understand it at all, and Du Bartas' scheme is essentially different from Milton's.

In short, this very painstaking study has, in my opinion, been stultified by a lack of sound historical method much as though one were to say that Cardinal Newman derived all his ideas from Bossuet, but that they are also found in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. (The Mirror and Hexaemeral literatures). Had Mr Taylor studied first the common ground and then the differences between Du Bartas and Milton, his work might have been of great value, and he would have achieved one of his aims to give greater importance to Du Bartas—a very legitimate aim.

Mr. Arthur Sewell holds that there are contradictions between

the *De Doctrina* and *Paradise Lost* I find myself unable to agree His two main points seem to me to be wrong he believes that Bk III, 245 ff shows Milton hesitating as to a possible double death of Christ, whereas in the *T C D* the whole of Christ dies But X 780 ff uses the same language about Adam, and yet makes it clear that the whole of man dies, the mortalist arguments of the 1655 pamphlet and of the *T C D* are already there The second point is that there are traces of Trinitarianism in Bk III and none in the *T C D* But I fail to see any Trinitarianism in Bk III, where the Son is called (383)

of all Creation first
Begotten Son, Divine Similitude

Even the line, "Bright effluence of bright essence increate," which Sewell quotes, goes against his thesis, since metaphysically the *effluence* must rank below the *essence*

Fraulein Hardeland gives a rather conservative study of Milton's political creed and tries to prove that there is much Calvinism about him She minimises the fact that Calvinistic predestination and Miltonic liberty do not go at all well together But her criticism of her opponents is moderate and sensible, and her knowledge of Milton is precise and extensive Only she brings forward but little that is new

Professor Mutschmann continues his lyrical effusions on Milton—which have made him deservedly famous One can say that every single sentence he writes is wrong, and yet that the fury of his temperament and the abundance of his learning make his book fascinating although exasperating reading

Miss Brown will have none of the syphilis theory of Milton's blindness But she fails, or rather her medical friends fail, to bring any decisive solution Perhaps, as she says, we have not enough data to decide Her statements seem to me well-balanced and carefully thought out, and I personally accept her chastisement of me with a smile It is really quite indifferent to me whether Milton suffered from hereditary syphilis or not But I note that in Europe most of my medical friends incline to the view that there is a relationship between syphilis and genius Let the doctors fight it out.

King's College, London

DENIS SAURAT

The Neo-Classic Theory of Tragedy in England during the Eighteenth Century By CLARENCE C GREEN Cambridge Harvard University Press, 1934 Pp x + 245. \$2 50 (Harvard Studies in English, XI)

Dr. Green's study is an ambitious attempt to treat a large subject in small compass. It brings together a widely culled

assortment of interesting materials, and treats them with an active and inquiring mind. The results are necessarily tentative, however, and perhaps only the specialist will be able to view the evidence in its proper perspective.

One weakness of the work is that it tends to present a "neo-classical" viewpoint as though the viewpoint stood unchanged throughout the period. In the discussion of taste (pp. 75-9), for example, Dr. Green fails to show the important changes in the conception of that faculty which occurred about the middle of the century (see my article in *PMLA* for June, 1934). Similarly, he outlines (pp. 74-5) a prevailing idea that the rules were inductively derived, but fails to point out that this idea did not attain much prominence until about 1750.

Certain of Dr. Green's generalizations are hasty and unsound. For example, he says (p. 107) that in 18th-century usage fancy—and, by indiscrimination, imagination—were likely to be regarded as trivial. Because critics held that imagination must be controlled by reason, we cannot conclude that they considered it trivial. It should be recalled that Dryden, in the preface to *An Evening's Love*, remarked, "Judgment, indeed, is necessary in [the poet], but 'tis fancy that gives the life-touches, and the secret graces to [a dramatic poem], especially in serious plays, which depend not much on observation." Even John Dennis observed in the *Characters and Conduct of Sir John Edgar* that no matter how much judgment a man may have, he cannot be a poet unless he possesses imagination; he insisted in the *Advancement and Reformation of Modern Poetry* that strength of imagination was one of two important factors in the greatness of poetry, and he asserted in the *Grounds of Criticism* that sacred poetry, of which he had a particularly high opinion, required great capacity and "a very warm and strong imagination." And from about the middle of the century, as Dr. Green himself later intimates (p. 122), the importance of the imagination came to be more and more heavily stressed.

Perhaps a point should have been made of the effect on critical theory of the popularity of certain tragedies other than Shakespeare's. At any rate, Dr. Green should have recognized specifically the part taken by critics who were actively engaged with dramatic production in breaking down the rules. It is of primary importance that in the first quarter of the century three of the ablest playwrights, Farquhar, Cibber, and Steele, expressed themselves violently in opposition to the rules.

Dr. Green sometimes tends to rely too heavily on isolated quotations, or to consult only a small portion of a critic's work, as a result, an inadequate impression is left of the purpose and import of various eminent critics such as John Dennis and Joseph Warton. Such obvious sources as Steele's *Theatre* are disregarded. Occasionally quotations are misinterpreted, on p. 79 are two

remarks of Gildon's which completely contradict each other, yet both are taken to illustrate a single idea Dr Green's book is an interesting start, but a great deal more work needs to be done on his subject¹

E N HOOKER

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John Florio The Life of an Italian in Shakespeare's England
By FRANCES A YATES Cambridge At the University Press,
New York The Macmillan Company, 1934 Pp 364 \$5 25.

At last John Florio gets justice Miss Yates answers some of the most stubborn questions about him and raises a host of new problems, solving many of them and leaving the rest with bearings plainly charted on the seas of uncertainty Dispassionate about everything except the pursuit of her evidence, she draws an impartial portrait definitely more prepossessing than the braggart, sycophant, and buffoon whom Mr Arthur Acheson once painted and more convincing than the Comtesse de Longworth-Chambrun's "sensibilité suraigue, intelligence bornée, coeur plus borné"¹

Miss Yates slays the most scandalous chimaeras which haunt the Florio record, but by relentless tracking through every available archive she involves John in political intrigues and literary quarrels enough to have crushed all but the most 'resolute' spirit Her first chapter leaves no doubt that he was the son of Michael Angelo Florio, who fled to London in 1550 and became the pastor of the Italian Protestants there Although "an act of fornication" lost him his pastorate in 1552, he became Italian master to Lady Jane Grey and continued his career as a Protestant apologist, fleeing from England in the Marian persecutions and dying some time between 1566 and 1572 among the Italian expatriates in Soglio, then in Switzerland To the accidents of his father's exile it appears that John Florio owed his London birth and his education probably entirely outside of Italy

After such a youth it is not surprising to find a vein of puritanism and of sympathy with free-thinking Italian religious *fuorusciti* running all the way from the *First Fruits* to the selections from Boccacini's *Ragguagli di Parnaso* which Florio chose

¹ Since this review was written, an article has appeared by D F Bond, "Distrust of Imagination in English Neo-classicism" (*PQ*, xiv, 54-69), in which the important place of imagination in the literary theory of this period is interestingly described Mr Bond's excellent point might be stated even more positively many writers tended to regard imagination or fancy as the fundamental element in poetry, and judgment simply as the basis of that element of form common to all the arts

² *Giovanni Florio Un Apôtre de la Renaissance en Angleterre à l'époque de Shakespeare* (Paris, 1921), p 36.

to translate in the *New-found Politicke*. That tendency made him the quixotic supporter and friend of his 'olde fellow Nolano,' in whose quarrels with English pundits Miss Yates shows him bearing a hand in the *Second Frutes* and again in the Montaigne prefaces. His loyalty to Giordano Bruno and his puritanism exposed his Italian-English dialogues to the Rabelaisian satire of John Eliot's *Ortho-epia Gallica*. Some of Miss Yates's best detective work is done in her chapter on Eliot and Florio. Still more interesting is the succeeding chapter on "The Dictionary and 'H S'," for the Shakespeare surmise anent 'H S' is finally shattered by irrefragable proof that the initials are those of Hugh Sanford, or Samford, the literary henchman of the Countess of Pembroke. Florio held Sanford responsible for the bad taste which marred the 1593 edition of Sidney's *Arcadia*. From this investigation there emerges the likelihood that Florio himself was the "overseer" employed by Fulke Greville to prepare the *Old Arcadia* for the press. In general, it seems that he had a talent for friendship with the better minds in the world of letters. At one time he was "banded" with Nashe. He seems to have been in alliance with Ben Jonson. If he had a quarrel with Shakespeare, it arose out of his neo-classical dramatic prejudices more definitely than it can be shown to have sprung out of resentment of any personal caricatures in Holofernes or Armado in *Love's Labours Lost*. The last of the great names to be associated with Florio's, if Miss Yates is right in identifying the author of the second part of the *New-found Politicke*, is that of Robert Burton.

If readers carp at this monograph, they are likeliest to object to the professionalism which betrays itself in the treatment of names which have richly deserved oblivion as "well-known", while the man who englished *The City of God* makes his bow as "one John Healey," knocking here at the portals of Fame as a humble translator of Epictetus. But this price is worth paying for the sleuthing which exposes Florio in correspondence—as friend or teacher or confidential agent or even as political spy—with half the persons, both English and foreign, who mattered in the England of Elizabeth and James I.

MERRITT Y. HUGHES

University of California

Essay on the External Use of Water By TOBIAS SMOLLETT
 Edited by CLAUDE E. JONES. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1935. Pp. 31-82. (Reprinted from *Bulletin of the Institute of the History of Medicine*, III.)

Smollett's *Essay on the External Use of Water* made little stir in its own day, and has since been largely neglected by most of

Smollett's biographers and critics It is, however, a document which ought to be available, whether to those interested in medical history or to the students of Smollett. Since it is extremely rare (but three copies, according to Mr Jones, are extant in the United States), to make it more accessible was, in itself, a task worth while. Mr Jones has added to the value of the reprint, by his Introduction and notes, and also by a frontispiece which is an excellent reproduction of Dance's portrait of Smollett.

The text of the *Essay* is reprinted with a high degree of accuracy. A somewhat hasty collation with the copy in the Yale Library revealed very few errors. For example, "same" is twice printed as "fame" (pp 52, 70), owing, no doubt, to the modern printer's unfamiliarity with eighteenth century initial "s", "expansion" appears as "expension" (p 57). Despite its display of erudition and medical terminology, the *Essay* is, even for the layman, still readable.

In his Introduction, Mr Jones has gathered together most of the references in Smollett's other writings which reveal his medical career and opinions. This material might have been better organized, and critical comment on the *Essay* itself might have been added. There is one apparent contradiction. Mr Jones writes, "he devoted himself exclusively to literature, soon after taking his medical degree in 1750" (p 32) but later suggests a considerably longer period of practice, "It seems that, after 1762, Smollett's medical practice was of less importance than his literary work" (p 36). Such a slip, however, is slight in comparison with the convenience of having brought together in the Introduction much material from a wide range of sources.

Mr Jones, in the notes, gives exact references to the medical works of contemporary and earlier authors quoted by Smollett in the *Essay*. Since the reprint was first made for the Bulletin of the Institute of the History of Medicine, this kind of annotation was the editor's most important duty. The lay reader, however, will look in vain for information about Mr Cleland, the Bath surgeon in defense of whose proposals Smollett wrote the *Essay*. He will also be unable to satisfy his curiosity about Cleland's anonymous adversary who attacked him, according to Smollett, in a letter full of "abusive low sarcasms, levelled at a lady of distinction, and, indeed, at a whole nation, on her account." If this libeller and Mr Cleland's distinguished supporter could be identified, more light might be thrown on the obscurity of Smollett's career. In any case, it seems clear that here in the *Essay* is an early example of his resentment at the vilification of the Scotch. Possibly the identification cannot be made, but it is to be hoped that Mr Jones, who has evident talents for research, will be able to discover the facts.

Edinburgh Essays on Scots Literature Edited by H J C GRIERSON
Edinburgh Oliver and Boyd, 1933 Pp 185. 5 sh

This little volume is a welcome indication of the fact that the Universities of Scotland are beginning to pay some attention to the national literature, which they have so long ignored. The apology for this neglect, which Professor Grierson makes in his Preface, may serve as an excuse for the professors (some of whom did more than was required of them), but does not justify the long-continued indifference of the Universities towards this and other subjects of national interest. "The fact is," says Professor Grierson, "that there has been little or no demand." Surely, however, it is the function of universities to be leaders in educational matters, and not merely to supply learning in accordance with a popular demand for it.

The seven lectures included in this volume cover separate authors or types of Scottish literature from the fifteenth century to the present day. H. Harvey Wood writes on Henryson, of whose fables he recently edited a useful and long-forgotten text. W. M. Mackenzie treats of Dunbar, with perhaps a little too much about Chaucer. The only other author selected for separate treatment is John Galt, by W. Kitchin. Galt certainly has his place in Scottish literature, but it will probably be necessary to re-affirm this from time to time to prevent much of his work from being forgotten. In the first of the remaining four lectures, J. D. Westwood deals with 'Scots Theological and Proverbial Literature,' a combination hardly justified by the fact that David Fergusson was both a preacher and a collector of proverbs. Each of the fields would have provided ample material for a separate lecture. 'The Eighteenth Century Revival' by W. Oliver, traces the rise of the new dialect poetry from Watson's collection of 1706, but is mainly an appreciation of Allan Ramsay, both as a collector and as an original writer, it is perhaps an accident that Mr. Oliver nowhere calls him a poet. The two concluding pieces on 'Modern Scots Poetry,' by Ian A. Gordon, and 'Modern Scots Novelists,' by A. Macdonald, are sympathetic but judicious surveys of fields in which much is being attempted and something achieved. In both of these lectures there is a commendable absence of over-enthusiasm as to what has so far been accomplished by the newer writers. On the whole these seven lectures should serve the double purpose of giving a considerable amount of sound information in a clear and interesting manner, and of awaking a desire to read more of the authors and books with which they deal.

W. A. CRAIGIE

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The Milk of Paradise By MEYER H ABRAMS Harvard Honors Theses in English No. 7 Cambridge Harvard University Press, 1934 Pp xi + 86 \$1 25

Sir Walter Scott By DOROTHY MARGARET STUART English Association Pamphlet No 89 London [and New York] Oxford University Press, 1934 Pp 18. \$0 70

Undercurrents of Influence in English Romantic Poetry By MARGARET SHERWOOD Cambridge Harvard University Press, 1934 Pp xii-365 \$3 50

Since *The Milk of Paradise* is an undergraduate honors thesis, scholars might easily make the mistake of assuming that its publication indicated the intellectual promise rather than the accomplishment of its author. It is, however, an essential document of Coleridge criticism, an interpretation of "The Ancient Mariner" which, to this reviewer at least, seems more enlightening than almost any other except that greatest monument of Coleridge studies, *The Road to Xanadu*. The fecundating influence of Mr Lowes appears through the whole essay, yet the disciple manages to make a most important addition to the master's work.

Mr Abrams has studied medical and psychological authorities upon opium, "the milk of Paradise" in "Kubla Khan," in order to trace its effects in literature. After skilfully interpreting the chief characteristics of its influence on De Quincey, Crabbe, and Francis Thompson, Mr Abrams applies the evidence thus gathered to the interpretation of "The Ancient Mariner," with most persuasive effect. If Mr Lowes is clearly right in refuting Mr J M Robertson, if the poem is too much a work of conscious art to be, like "Kubla Khan," a direct product of opium, yet it furnishes parallel after parallel to the known phenomena of opium dreams, and these can scarcely, after Mr Abrams' essay, be interpreted except as he suggests. "A framework of plot was constructed expressly to contain the pre-existent fabric of dream phenomena," he says. There is no difficulty in our recognition that the original sources of the imagery have so often been identified by Mr Lowes. "opium dreams . . . feed upon the fragmentary memories of earlier experiences." The parallels offer convincing evidence that these memories have been transmuted in "the crucible of dreams." We recognize in "The Ancient Mariner," as well as in "Kubla Khan," the strange and sinister beauty of opium.

Dorothy Margaret Stuart's lecture on Scott deals especially with his three novels of seventeenth-century England, his staginess, his debt to Horace Walpole. It does not pretend to a more permanent value than that of a sympathetic and sensitive occasional address.

Miss Sherwood's volume includes appreciative essays on the

eighteenth-century deists, Herder and his influence, Wordsworth's conception of "the unity of all" and "the imaginative will," Keats's imaginative approach to myth, the young Browning, and the adverse criticism of Browning by Santayana. The recurrent themes are the organic unity of life and its evolution toward higher spiritual forms, traced through the several writers in a manner of rather strained eulogy.

THOMAS M. RAYSON

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BRIEF MENTION

Victor Hugo During the Second Republic By ELLIOTT M. GRANT. Northampton 1935. Pp. v + 68. Smith College Studies in Modern Languages, Vol. xvii, no. 1. In an admirably documented and at the same time clear-cut and concise study, Prof. Grant sets himself to the examination of Hugo's political activities from February, 1848, to December, 1851. His main object is to lend weight to the conclusions of other scholars to the effect that Hugo's political development during this period is marked, if not by consistency, at least by sincerity, evolution, and a genuine interest in the welfare of the masses, and that he was not the unspeakable ingrate and turncoat which such bitterly partisan studies as those of Biré and Lacretelle make him out to have been. In five well-organized and solidly buttressed chapters, G traces Hugo's progress from his monarchistic liberalism of the last years of the Orléans régime, through his support of the Prince-President, to his complete disillusionment in that worthy and his conversion to radical democracy. In building up his case, G quotes liberally from the editorial and news columns not only of the Hugo paper, *l'Événement*, founded on August 1, 1848, and of other liberal journals such as *la Démocratie pacifique* and *la Réforme*, but also of the conservative and reactionary periodicals of the day, notably *le Constitutionnel* and *le Journal des Débats*. He studies Hugo's speeches and his votes on the legislation presented to the National Assembly, of which he was a member from June 4, 1848, until its dissolution under the *coup d'état*. His conclusion (p. 67) is that Hugo's record here is one of "considerable *navvété*" and "inconsistency" but not one of "gross apostasy, prevarication, or deceit." A valuable contribution is the revelation by G. of the fact that, in their attempt to prove that Hugo was consistently conservative during the first months of the Second Republic, Biré and Lacretelle sometimes—intentionally, it would seem—fail to record votes cast by him on the side of the liberals (*vide* p. 18).

G's study is, admittedly, not a whitewashing of Hugo's political career, it is merely a mitigation of the almost unpardonably biased acerbity of Biré and Lacretelle. With the best will in the world, however, one can not but feel that G has helped Hugo's case only a little. It is with something like sadness that one lays down this story of the political waverings, blunders, and short-sightedness of the great poet during the larger part of the era of the Second Republic, and when one recalls that his record in the period of the July revolution was scarcely more creditable, one is inclined to regret the fact that Hugo should have thought that a bard should don the robe of a statesman and play a rôle in the political arena.

AARON SCHAFER

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An Index to 'The Elizabethan Stage' and 'William Shakespeare: a study of facts and problems' by Sir Edmund Chambers
Compiled by BEATRICE WHITE. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, New York: Oxford University Press, 1934. Pp viii + 162. \$7.00. The price of this welcome tool is unfortunate, but everyone who can afford to buy it should do so, since it unquestionably facilitates the use of two of the great books of Elizabethan scholarship. "Modern critics are not mentioned and the Index is confined in the main to the sixteenth century."

H. S.

The Works of William Shakespeare Gathered into One Volume. New York: Printed for the Shakespeare Head Press and published by the Oxford University Press, 1934. Pp xii + 1264. \$3.00. Here is a great deal for three dollars, yet this edition leaves much to be desired. The unannotated text is merely "that prepared by A. H. Bullen for the Stratford Town Edition." The glossary (eleven pages, three columns to the page) omits many important words that meant one thing to the Elizabethans and another to the modern reader. The plays are arranged in conjectural order of composition, irrespective of the historical order of the chronicle plays and the grouping by types wisely adopted by the first of all the editors. There is no list of variant readings, another lack is brief factual introductions to the several dramas. Speech tags are spelled out and centered (e.g., "Prince John of Lancaster.") the effect is both uneconomical and a little precious. The type improves on that of some other single-volume editions, but its legibility is reduced by blacking through the paper. The bright blue and gold cloth cover is very attractive. The size of the type considered, the book while massive is not unwieldy.

H. S.

An Introduction to Tudor Drama By FREDERICK S BOAS
Oxford At the Clarendon Press, New York Oxford University
Press, 1933 Pp viii + 176 \$1 50 A serviceable outline, com-
pact, well organized, well indexed, and pleasantly illustrated
Shakespeare is not treated, the limits are Medwall and Marlowe
The results of recent research are incorporated H S

Five Pre-Shakespearean Comedies [Early Tudor Period]
Edited with an introduction by FREDERICK S BOAS. London and
New York Oxford University Press, 1934 Pp xviii + 344
+ 16 \$ 80. *Fulgens and Lucrece, The Four PP, Ralph Roister
Doister, Gammer Gurton's Needle, and Supposes*, in modernized
texts, with glossarial footnotes A welcome addition to "The
World's Classics" series, its rule against annotation having been
wisely suspended H S

CORRESPONDENCE

THE SUBJECTLESS IMPERATIVE In a recent issue of *MLN* Professor
Kemp Malone commented on my "New Plan of English Grammar," mingl-
ing praise and blame with an ever skillful hand I should like to discuss
a bit further one point he raised—the status of such expressions as *Come
here* All communications in English may be divided into two groups
a) those of complete sentence structure, and b) those which are not
complete The first type may be illustrated by *Nations war* and *Italy
fought Ethiopia*, where we have subject, verb, and if required by the
verbal meaning, complement Communications which are structurally com-
plete may be analyzed and diagrammed by means of the traditional
divisions—subject, verb, complement, modifier, connective Communications
which are not complete in their structure are less readily analyzed, and
fall into more than one group or type First, there is the communication
retaining its essentials, subject and verb, but lacking some other element
Such are *She knew him (to be) honest*, *He is taller than she (is tall)*,
While (he was) reading he fell asleep In constructions such as these the
ordinary plan is to supply the missing words and then analyze or diagram
as before Constructions lacking subject or verb or both are of a great
variety of types, from the imperative such as *Come here* (where we supply
you) and the omitted-first-person type (*Went down town today*) to the
constructions such as *Yes, Hello, Just a minute*, where it is difficult or
impossible to construct a full sentence convincingly, due to uncertainty
about what words to supply An example is *Boston return*, where we may
supply (*You give me a*) *Boston return (ticket)*, (*I want a*) *Boston
return (ticket)*, (*It is a*) *Boston return (ticket I seek)*, etc With the
particle *Hello*, no supplying of words makes convincing sense Notice also

the very common use of the non sentence in advertisements (*Butter 35c lb*) and on shop fronts (*Quick lunch*), where it is obviously impracticable to supply the missing elements to make complete sentences. It is this third group to which the ordinary sentence plan of analysis cannot be applied without difficulty, or even violence, and it is for such constructions that I have suggested the term *non-sentence*. Probably a better name might be found, but I have not been able to find it. Somewhere between *You come here* (complete sentence) and *Hello* (non-sentence) a dividing line must be drawn. While it might seem easy to include *Come here* with the sentences, this plan leads to confusion, as it is then very hard to tell just where the non-sentence does begin. On the whole I believe it preferable to use as a test the actual presence or absence of an independent subject-verb combination, thus denying to *Come here* the name of sentence. The chief reason for separating between the complete sentence and the non-sentence, apart from the fact of their difference in structure, is the fact that they fall into different classifications and require different methods of analysis. Non sentences are not to be classified as simple, complex, and compound, nor does the declarative interrogative grouping fit them. They are best grouped, according to extent, into word, phrase, and clause non-sentences, with possible combinations of these. According to intent they fall naturally into non-sentences of information, responses, salutations, imperatives, and several other types. The whole class or type needs further study and analysis. An interesting problem is presented by the so called imperative-vocative construction. Is *Mary, come here* properly to be called complete or incomplete, sentence or non-sentence? Except for the punctuation, the word *Mary* conforms to the tests and definitions for the subject of a verb. It is possible though not certain that this construction might be included with complete sentences.

JANET B. AIKEN

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THE PERSIAN QUATRAIN AGAIN Cf *MLN*, XLIX, 301-2, 562. Another variant composed during the French Parnassian period is André Lemoyne's "Pensee d'un sage" (*Fleurs et ruines* in Vol. III of Lemoyne's *Poésies*, Lemerre ed.) As the verse in this volume was written between 1884 and 1890, Lemoyne's poem is posterior to those of Manuel and Ratisbonne. It reads:

Ainsi parle un ancien poète d'Orient
 Cher enfant désiré, lorsque tu vins au monde,
 Tous riaient. Dans les cœurs la joie était profonde,
 Et toi seul tu pleurais, dans tes larmes criant.
 Vis en sorte qu'un jour, quand plus tard viendra l'heure
 Où la mort étendra son doigt sur ta demeure,
 Ton départ soit un deuil pour tous, que chacun pleure
 Lorsque toi seul en paix t'en iras souriant.

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Modern Language Notes

Volume LI

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HAS CHAUCER'S *WRETCHED ENGENDERING* BEEN FOUND?

The dedication to Professor Carleton Brown of the fiftieth volume of *PMLA* is not only a worthy recognition of his long, effective and cheerful secretaryship of the association, it is particularly satisfying (one must suppose) to the striking number of known scholars who owe the greater part of their training to him. The presence of an article by him¹ in the dedicatory issue naturally draws special attention to it, and will give it special weight. But in any case it would convince us of certain facts about *An Holy Meditation*, a poem of 180 lines ascribed to Lydgate, and open our eyes to a significant conjecture as to its author.

The first half of the article more fully establishes its chief source as the probably thirteenth-century rimed Latin *De Humana Miseria Tractatus* which Mr. Brown pointed to in 1925 in *MLN*, and convinces us that a main source of this is Innocent III's *De Contemptu Mundi*. But the second half of the article greatly startles us by pronouncing the author of the *Meditation* to be no less a person than Chaucer, and by recognizing it as the unknown work by him mentioned in the later prolog of the *Legend of Good Women* (ll. 414-5) as

Of the Wreched Engendrynge of Mankynde,
As man may in pope Innocent yfynde

If this surmise is correct, we have a literary event of some magnitude. It also comes home especially to the present writer and to Professor A. G. Kennedy, who nine years ago published *A Con-*

¹ "Chaucer's *Wreched Engendryng*," *PMLA*, L, 997-1011. The poem involved is in H. N. MacCracken's *Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, I (E. E. T. S., Ser. 2, 1911), pp. 43-8, and its Latin original in *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, XXXII, 402-5.

cordance to the Complete Works of Chaucer. If their claim to completeness is now false, it behoves them at once to set about compiling a supplement. But they feel that to do so would be to disquiet themselves in vain. After examining the style and matter of the *Meditation*, I shall show external, stronger, I think conclusive evidence that it is not Chaucer's missing work.

Let us agree on one matter, if possible, at the very first. If we doubt Lydgate's authorship,² yet should date the poem in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, and if some convert of Mr Brown's should demand Who but Chaucer, we need not feel obliged to answer. Fifteenth century literature is not alluring to dwell

² It is not important to point out the pragmatic evidence against any *prima facie* Chaucerian quality of the poem in the fact that this is first discussed (aside from Dr Bergen's hazy remarks) when the poem has been easily accessible for 25 years. To make out a good case for Lydgate's authorship naturally would greatly strengthen the case against Chaucer's, but the latter is what concerns us at present, and in any event is so strong that we may disregard the other. One would of course be predisposed to follow such authorities on late medieval English literature, and Lydgate in particular, as Messrs Brown and Bergen (pp 1008-9). But the following points are worth thinking of. While it is true that no other poem in Mr MacCracken's first volume of *The Minor Poems of Lydgate* is in couplets, as this poem is, there are four in the second volume (E E T S, 1934), pp 613-22, 675-82, 682-91, 717-22. Shirley's testimony as to authorship is usually deemed of value, whether the stated author be Chaucer or Lydgate, and it is hard to see why the fact that he bears this testimony here for Lydgate in a MS ill-written in his old age weakens its validity. We might note Miss Hammond's opinion that Lydgate was personally known to him (*MLN*, xix, 36). Aside from Shirley's statement, the two MSS show no evidence whatever either way, though both contain several times as many of Lydgate's poems as of Chaucer's, scattered all through, as well as many anonymous. See M R James, *Western MSS in Trin Coll* (Cambridge, 1900-4), II, 79, and *Catal of MSS Bequeathed by Elias Ashmole* (Oxford, 1845), col 99. In MS Trin Coll R 3 20 after a dozen or more anonymous things comes the lyric from Chaucer's *Anelida*, then the *Meditation*, then a poem of "Ocoleue," then four by Chaucer, then ten by Lydgate (all ascribed to these authors). In both MSS. there are plenty of cases of anonymous poems, and of poems by Lydgate, Chaucer or others, standing singly between things by other writers. In Ashmole 59 the poem just follows and precedes several ascribed to Lydgate, but there is no reason to think this explains Shirley's troubling to ascribe this to him. No one knows better than Mr Brown (p 1005) how dark are the ways of medieval editors, and it is hard to see what fancied antecedent history can justify an argument, for Chaucer's authorship rather than Lydgate's or an unknown man's, based on the arrangement of the MSS.

on, and its history has become so stereotyped that scholars are rather too glib with readymade superficial formulas. We may even still be told that the literary poverty then was due to the Wars of the Roses,—which lasted only from 1455 to 1471, even then only off and on, and affected chiefly the nobility and their followers rather than the more intellectual classes. But when the population of all England was several millions and that of London possibly fifty thousand, and when cultivated people (relatively few, to be sure) were more and more valuing their own tongue, and were admiring Chaucer and insisting on readable texts of his works, there must have been many people familiar with his native dialect, writing naturally in his general manner, and observant enough to have minds full of his usages and phrases. And there have always been one-poem poets, who have done creditably once, and once only. But who wrote what, and what their names were, we shall never know, in spite of all the pens that ever graduate students held.

Let us first consider how far the manner of the poem suggests Chaucer's authorship. The versification is strikingly regular, few lines (when properly spelled) cannot be pronounced as smoothly as many of Chaucer's. Further, most of these can be mended to smoothness by omitting or adding a natural but insignificant word such as Chaucer constantly uses as a filler, such lines are 4, 20, 44, 53, 58, 76, 124, 165. This means more than perhaps appears to some, for those who know Chaucer's text only after modern editors have done their best (or worst) may not be aware how many of his lines in some MSS would shock them, in poems found in but few MSS these must have been a distracting problem to his last and most skilled, judicious and informed editor. Considering that here we have but two MSS, there are very few rhythms which we could not easily accept as Chaucerian. But there are a few (for better or worse), e.g. ll 119, 131, 138

Of þee kemeþe dung, vryne, vomyt and spitting,^{2a}
 [Lysse, nyttes, flees, and suche filthy thing]
 His cruweltee ne wol no wight spare,
 þat þaughþe þy gilt be neuer so abhomyneable.

^{2a} The Latin text has the same,—“Homo Vrinam, uomitum, sputum et stercora”, it has nothing for the other two. If asked how a good imitator could write such lines as these three, I say they *did*; also that inexpert versifiers, usually law-abiding, at times still do.

Before Chaucer's manner of pronunciation was forgotten, with the increase of cultivated readers of English poetry there must have been many with ear enough to maintain in English much of the regularity they were accustomed to not only in Chaucer but in rhythmic Latin verse, in French and perhaps even in Italian. We need not forget that poor John Gower wrote more strictly regular verse than even Chaucer did, and that he lived till 1408. A rewarding question to look into would be how many poems can be found in this time not by Chaucer but in verse comparable to his. The results might cause minor reconsideration of the Chaucer canon.

Much the same is true of the rimes, in agreement with Chaucer's principles,^{2b} and markedly in contrast with those of most later fifteenth-century poets. But though consistent with his usage, should they be called (as by Mr. Brown, p. 1005) characteristically Chaucerian,—i. e., used by him more than by others? One would have to search widely before establishing any rimes as characteristically Chaucerian. In fact in the *Meditation* the commonplace character of the rimes, easy and cheap, is noteworthy, especially, among the 90 rimes, 4 identical rimes with *-cioun* as the ninth and tenth syllables in each line, and worse yet 7 with the suffix *-nesse* as the tenth and eleventh in each. Chaucer admits such, but not in such profusion in easy couplet-verse.

Vocabulary is a parlous thing to meddle with in argument. Some of the words found here but not in Chaucer need not surprise us: the verb *lenkeþe* (1. 13, for *se protrahunt*) is enough supported by his *lengthing* as a verbal noun, *accende* (35, kindle) merely renders the Latin *accendunt*. But further novelties have no such excuse.³ The incorrect and unheard-of adverb *slelely* (40, subtly) may be due to dittography, but if corrected would leave the line halting, and therefore was probably intended. *Master* as a verb (*ymaysterd*, 100) and *dyleccyoun* (144) are not in Chaucer, nor dictated by anything in the Latin. Chaucer's idiom, common

^{2b} But notice the "hermaphrodite rime" just quoted from ll. 119-20, never found in Chaucer.

³ Two matters relating to vocabulary are insignificant. Chaucer's third personal possessive pronoun is always *hur(e)* or *her(e)*, save as deliberately dialectal in *RT*, but the *Meditation* twice has *peure* (3, 11). The prefix of the past participle in Chaucer is *y-* or *i-*, but here is *e-* (15, 51, 52, 54, etc.). But these are traits of John Shirley's writing, who copied both our MSS. I have by no means exhausted the non-Chaucerian locutions.

in his day, of *do* meaning *cause to* is very oddly used, the reader is begged, "Let not þy fleshly lusts . . . do make þy soule thral" (106) Chaucer, very often indeed using *folwe*, very rarely uses *suwe* (130), and almost always for some special reason, which there is not here As to phrases, Mr Brown (pp 1007-8) points to a half-dozen or so, partly commonplace, or obvious in the circumstances, which assuredly start echoes in the modern Chaucerian's mind But any early admirer's mind would be just as full of such, as Lydgate's was, and Occleve's, and the early Scottish poets', and others' down to the sixteenth century, and who can affirm that Chaucer invented them all? And can the occasional remembering and using of such phrases fairly be called the acquiring of the technique of Chaucer? I cannot agree that successful imitation of Chaucer's style with so un-Chaucerian a subject would be any more an impossible *tour de force* (p 1008) than Chaucer himself using it What else do parodists do? But I should not call the poem a conscious piece of imitation, rather a straightforward attempt at translation and pious invention during which the phrases of the greatest of early English poets repeatedly sprang to mind

As to style in the broader sense, it is hard to know what to say Professor Brown (pp. 1011, 1003-4) prefers to regard the *Meditation* as early But it is in the 10-syllable couplet, which was used by no Englishman before Chaucer, and which on good grounds he is believed never to have used till latish, shortly before 1386, and not many times before that date Whether or not Mr Brown's view of chronology supports his view of authorship, the poem has one usage especially found in Chaucer's later style and especially in his long couplets There are two rather neat couplets (101-2, 129-30) having some of that telling use of antithetical balance in which Chaucer was the earliest English master, and which to the attuned ear is a feature of his style.⁴

For thing þat to þy flesshe semeþe ful sweete
Is bitter to þy soule, I þee byheete
Right nowe þou art, nowe stintest þou to be,
Wheþer euer þou fleest deepe ay wol suwe þee

These two couplets are what comes nearest to disposing me to

⁴ See M. A. Hill, *PMLA*, XLII, 845-61 These couplets are not noted by Mr Brown

accept Chaucer as the author, but the *De Humana Miseria* has more or less of this quite Latin trait, and has the second of these passages, though in an inferior form.⁵ Otherwise there is not a touch of Chaucer's individual flavor, not a word that lights up the page. The subject of the work hardly lends itself to vivacity, and Chaucer has his pedestrian stretches, for religion usually put him in a docile and liturgical frame of mind. There is nothing in the broader style to disprove and assuredly little to favor Chaucer's authorship. It is a trifle of a paradox that Mr. Brown, after drily remarking in 1925 that the *Meditation* is no great loss to Lydgate,^{5a} in 1935 is ready to claim it as good enough for Chaucer.

The subject of this poem is not one, it would seem, which the Chaucer we know best would find especially congenial, but this fact, since he did write a work after the fashion of Innocent's, to the needless marvelling of critics for generations, is neither here nor there. Judged sympathetically the *Meditation* has more intelligible unity than many medieval poems, perhaps more than some of Chaucer's. After the pleasant description of spring⁶ and its

Nunc es, nunc desinis, uelut effimera,
Quocumque fugeris, mors adest aspera (74-5)

^{5a} *MLN*, XL, 285

⁶ Since no one can fail to agree with Mr. Brown that the opening spring-passage is from the *De Humana Miseria*, no one need dwell on its likeness to the opening of the *OT*. But other passages just as like are easily found, besides mentioning Dr. R. Tuve's collections in *Seasons and Months* (Paris, 1933), without searching I refer to those from Boccaccio and others in *Anglia*, xxxvii, 86-7, others in Venantius Fortunatus and the Alcuin school in *Mon Germ Hist*, *Auct Antiq*, iv, 209-10, and *Poet Lat Med Aevi*, i, 270-3, in Marbodius of Rennes in *Patrol Lat*, clxxi, 1717, many (especially on spring and love) in the *Carmina Burana*, and some in K. Breul, *Cambridge Songs* (Cambridge, 1915), pp. 63-4. Since so many such opening descriptions, especially in the later centuries, lead up to thoughts or scenes of love, it may well be asked whether Chaucer in *Prol*, 1-11, ending with amorous birds, is not committing a pleasantry on his readers, and whether 1-12 about folk then longing to go on pilgrimages is not a designed anti-climax, though not without a glance at the amorous accompaniments of pilgrimages. Really, it is much as if now one should write,—

In the spring a young man's fancy lightly turns to Easter Day.

The details are inevitable, and spring poetry greatly abounds in medieval literature. In northern Europe especially, the darkness of winter, the cold, fog, rain and mud, the confinement to ill-heated and ill-lighted dwellings,

cleansing of dulled minds, the poet, stupefied or restless with study, goes outdoors, and the birds' song kindles his heart to more study, to enforced meditation on spiritual things, but alas! fleshly desire creeping in banishes spiritual feeling, till the soul bursts into the rebuke of the flesh which forms three-fourths of the poem, that it may despise itself and sin, fear hell and aspire to heaven. The poem ends, like the *Parson's Tale*, with the value of the sacrament of penance. It may be taken as a lifelike account of the inner conflicts of a sensitive and earnest man. Most of these matters are in *De Humana Misericordia*, but this has less clearly that lifelike touch, the strain of desperately holding on to spiritual thoughts amid sensuous lures, and its rather discordant last third, on the venality and corruption of the court of Rome, not satire but invective, may have been omitted in the English work as a matter of good taste, as untimely and as too bitter for the poet's feeling, or for some other reason. The English poem is better than the Latin, and so far as its subject and ordering go might have been written by Chaucer, we need not even suggest that it would be because someone asked him to do so, for he had more serious moods than moderns always credit him with.⁷ The only matter here which makes one doubtful is that half the poem seems to be original, and that Chaucer's formally religious works are without exception rather close translations or at least in substance entirely borrowed.

The upshot of the internal evidence is about this. There is no strong reason why Chaucer should not write a poem much like this, one or two short passages sound like him and would hardly be expected from another, there is not very much in the style or content which says No to his authorship. But there are a number of things which do say No with more or less emphasis. There is nothing to make authorship by a sensitive though not talented contemporary admirer seem unlikely, and nothing to stand up to strong external evidence against Chaucer's authorship. Such evidence is the violent contrast between this poem and the only information we have about Chaucer's *Wretched Engendering*.

Pope Innocent has been too roughly handled for writing, in his

the lack of green foods and the salt meat and fish, culminating in the privations of Lent, when spring came at last made many people express with sincerity their genuine joy.

⁷ See G. R. Stewart, Jr., *The Moral Chaucer*, in *Essays in Criticism*, I, 91-109 (Univ. of Calif. Press, 1929).

earlier days, as Lothario de' Conti, one of the numerous medieval works entitled *De Contemptu Mundi*.⁸ It is not as bland as the orthodoxy of forty years ago would have liked, it is not bland at all. But its matter has appealed to more than one human mood, was made over in French and German versions, and was otherwise drawn on. Its excellent medieval tendency was to draw our desires from this world to the other, its avowed purpose was to discourage pride, and in the Prologus Lothario expresses his readiness, if the bishop of Porto gives him any encouragement, to write another book, on *Dignitas Humanae Naturae*, that the humble may be exalted. He was far from being a convinced pessimist. But in stating his subject here he says "*vilitatem humanae conditionis utcunque descripsi*," and the title seems always to be "*De Contemptu Mundi sive De Miseria Conditionis Humanae*." In very truth he omits few facts of life which will discourage pride, and enlarges on them in 91 chapters. But to the odiousness of conception and gestation he devotes only the first five. Now this last is just what Chaucer tells us he wrote about. He knew this part, probably borrows from it,⁹ but he also used later parts of this first book, on poverty and mutability, and especially chapters 17-21 of the second book, on gluttony, ebriety, and luxury. Even if he knew none of the titles of the work, he certainly knew the scope of its contents, and as he says his own thing was *Of the Wretched Engendering of Mankind* we should take him at his word. We know nothing else about the contents of his book, for it is absurd to assume that the parts he used elsewhere must all have been in his version, but we are positively told he made a version of the beginning. Yet this is just what the author of the *Meditation* does not do, and he tells us (in Chaucer-like wording) that he omits it deliberately. All he says of conception and gestation is (51-6)

Consider of what mater þou art ewrought,
And howe þou art into þis worlde ebrought
Of þi conceyving ne wol I not devyse,
Ne howe þou art efedde, ne in what wyse.
I wol eschuwe it for þyne honeste,
Wherfore of þat þou getest nomore of me

⁸ *Patrol Lat*, cccvii, 701-746

⁹ *MkT*, 3197-9 from *DCM*, I, 1 but especially 2, — "*Adam fuit formatus de terra, sed virgine; tu vero procreatus de semine, sed immundo*" (a passage not usually quoted in this connection). On his use of *DCM*, Koeppel in *Archiv. f. d. Stud.*, lxxxiv, 405-18

One must confess to surprise that Mr Brown (p 1004) calls the *Meditation* "a poem which agrees so perfectly in theme and scope with the work mentioned in the Prologue of the *L G W*" Even if we should adopt the opinion that, when Chaucer says he wrote his own book

As man may in pope Innocent yfynde,

he meant not that he had translated Innocent but that his book had the same sort of matter in it, he could hardly call by the name *Wretched Engendering* this poem which refuses to discuss wretched engendering This phrase can mean only the human process which ends at birth, if Chaucer meant something else, he had plenty of English words in his head to say so I wish to be fair The *Meditation* toward the middle of its 180 lines does in two or three lines glance at the subject (and then averts its modest eyes), its source has more, and otherwise is somewhat nearer Innocent's work, and this does begin with the subject Shall we opine then that in a hazy humor Chaucer called this poem after the subject which it rejects, and defined its contents by a work to which it has almost no close resemblance, perhaps mentally muddling up his own poem with the Latin poem which to a slight degree is a middle term between them? How much of a case has this opinion, since it must support the entire burden of proof? *Wretched Engendrynge* is an impossible designation for *An Holy Meditation*.

The suggestion that Chaucer means not that his work was taken from but that it merely resembled Innocent's is Mr. Brown's (p 1003), and though in itself not impossible, has occurred to no one not holding an opinion which needs this support, and seems very unlikely While his evidence (pp 1000-2) shows dozens of lines in the *Humana Miseria* from Innocent, it shows these to be almost all omitted from the *Meditation*, all but six (ll 51, 59, 113-4, 119-20). Since the latter in its earlier and later parts is very unlike Innocent, and mostly is of a quite different mood and temper, why mention Innocent's work at all, to say nothing of implying it as the original? Further, the manner of introducing, in the later prolog of the *Legend*, the interpolation about the *Wretched Engendering* is in several ways surprising if the latter work and the *Meditation* are one and the same, adding,—to the older line (413)

He hath in prose translated Boece,—
And Of the Wreched Engendrynge of Mankynde

Why choose this point among several others possible here in the long list of Chaucer's works, unless it was specially fitting? But if the *Wretched Engendering* and the *Meditation* are one and the same it is by no means fitting for the latter is not in prose, nor is it a translation in the faithful sense in which Chaucer generally uses this word of his own works, almost half¹⁰ not being from the *De Humana Miseria* at all. With all the literary cribbing that went on in the middle ages, if a poet admits translating we had better believe him. I am still of the opinion that in the interpolated lines of the *Legend*, which contain all the information we have about the *Wretched Engendering*, Chaucer implies distinctly that it was in prose, that it was a genuine translation, and that it was from Innocent's *De Contemptu Mundi*. That it was in verse, was almost half original, and in the other half was from another work than this, and contained (at second hand) scarcely anything of Innocent's, is not absolutely impossible, but to believe this safely requires far more evidence than is in sight. These matters, like the more conclusive contradiction as to content, seem hardly to permit the belief that Chaucer's *Wretched Engendering* has been found, and in view of the special circumstances in which the belief has been announced, it is well that the contrary evidence should be stated without delay.

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DID CHAUCER WRITE AN HOLY MEDYTACION?

In pointing out the indebtedness of *An Holy Medytacion* to the Latin poem *De Humana Miseria Tractatus*,¹ and again that of the latter to pope Innocent's *De Contemptu Mundi*,² Professor Carle-

¹⁰ Some 82 ll out of 180, I accept Mr Brown's figures from *MLN*, XL, 283. On Chaucer's use of *translate*, etc, see the Chaucer concordance.

¹ "*An Holy Medytacion*—by Lydgate?" *MLN*, XL (1925), 282-5.

² Pp. 1000-2 of "Chaucer's 'Wreched Engendring,'" *PMLA*, L (1935), 996-1011. The English poem is published in H N MacCracken, *Minor Poems of Lydgate*, EETS (1911), I, 43-8, the Latin *Tractatus* is edited by M. Esposito, "A Thirteenth Century Rhythmus," *EMR*, XXXII (1917), 401-6; and the *De Contemptu Mundi* by Migne, *Patr Lat*, CCXVII, 702-46.

ton Brown has drawn an unquestionably correct line of filiation and accounted for much of the substance in the Middle-English piece. But can we follow him further and accept his attribution of it to Chaucer? ³ The present writer feels strongly the advisability of reconsidering the arguments. This done, we shall present several positive objections to admitting the *Medytacion* into the Chaucer canon.

1) The basis on which Professor Brown builds his theory is what he calls the perfect agreement in theme and scope between *An Holy Medytacion* and a work of Chaucer known to us thus far only through the poet's own brief reference in the later version of the prologue to the *Legend of Good Women*

And of the Wretched Engendrynge of Mankynde,
As man may in pope Innocent yfynde (G 414-5)

One important fact seems to have been overlooked, *viz* that the treatment of generation found both in Innocent's *De Contemptu Mundi* ⁴ and in its derivative the *Tractatus* ⁵ was almost completely left aside when the Latin poem was freely translated by our *Holy Medytacion* poet. His brief apology (noted by Dr. Brown in a different connexion) for not going into particulars on the subject must be quoted here in full:

Consider of what mater þou art ewrought,
And howe þou art into þis worlde ebrought
Of þi conceyving ne wol I not devyse,
Ne howe þou art efedde, ne in what wyse,
I wol eschuwe it for þyne honeste,
Wherfore of þat þou getest nomore of me (51-6)

Before this we have had only a description of Spring and a rebuke to lustful flesh for disturbing holy thoughts. What follows consists of reflections on death, on the joys or torments awaiting us in everlasting life, a comparison of filthy flesh with trees, considerations on God's infinite mercy, on the nobility of man, on confession and penance, etc. The subject of generation has been dismissed, and dismissed for good. Now, whatever *as* may mean in *As man may in pope Innocent yfynde*—whether translation, imitation, or

³ "Chaucer's 'Wretched Engendring,'" see n. 2. Further references to Professor Brown's work will be to this article.

⁴ *Lab. I, Cap. III-V*

⁵ *Li 37-50*

simply treatment of the same question—we must agree that generation surely was the main subject treated in the work to which Chaucer refers. It seems entirely unthinkable that, even in very distant and dim recollection, he could ever have given our poem (granting for an instant that he had written it) a title suitable only to an unused portion of its source. He could not even have been led into such a strange mistake by any negligent carrying over of the title of his model at the time *An Holy Medytacion* was written, for the Latin poem bears the comprehensive heading that suits its contents, *De Humana Miseria Tractatus*. We can safely conclude that the reference in the prologue to the *LGW.* is not to our *Medytacion*.

2) In support of his thesis Dr Brown draws our attention to the large number of rime-pairs found both in *H M* and in some unquestionably Chaucerian piece. At first sight the list on p 1006 seems indeed impressive, but should anything be inferred from such facts until a comparison with other poems of the same period proves the ratio of rime-pairs found in Chaucer to rime-pairs never found in Chaucer to be at least unusually high? For such a comparison we must of course draw much more definite lines than Dr Brown needed for his purpose. Resemblances such as *derknesse cleernesse* (*H M* 15-6) to *derknesse brightnesse* (*G* 384-5), which some will call striking and others not, must evidently be disregarded, whereas *all* rimes actually paralleled in Chaucer's works must be included, even such pairs as *shal al* (*H M* 121-2) or *bee pee* (145-6). We shall follow Dr Brown's practice of accepting homonyms as elements of identical rime-pairs⁶. On such a basis I come to the following results

	Rime-pairs found in Chaucer	Rime-pairs not found in Chaucer
<i>An Holy Medytacion</i>	60	30 ⁷
<i>Gamelyn</i> , 1-90	31	14
Prologue to <i>Confessio Amantis</i> , 1-92	31	15
<i>Confessio Amantis</i> , I, 3067-166 (beginning of the Tale of the Three Questions)	37	13 ⁸

⁶ Such as *here* (*adv*) and *heere* (*verb*) riming with *in-feere* in *H M* 173-4 and B 328-9

⁷ The 30 not matched in Chaucer are ll 3-4, 5-6, 13-4, 15-6, 19-20, 21-2, 35-6, 41-2, 49-50, 51-2, 67-8, 71-2, 73-4, 95-6, 99-100, 105-6, 107-8, 109-10,

Thus it appears that writers roughly contemporary with Chaucer and partly under his influence are apt to use not only as many but many more Chaucerian rime-pairs than did the author of our *H M*

3) The frequent occurrence in the *H M* of characteristically Chaucerian phrases such as *lat see, þou getest nomore of me*, etc, points, Dr Brown argues, to Chaucer rather than to an imitator, for

to carry through a successful imitation of Chaucer's style while translating a Latin treatise 'De Humana Miseria' would have been, one may well believe, an impossible *tour de force* (p 1008)

In the first place, as the many passages in which we find none of the typically Chaucerian phrases do not remind us of Chaucer any more than of other contemporary poets,⁹ the *H M* can hardly be said to be written in Chaucer's *style*. Secondly, the fact that our rimer 'translates' a Latin *Tractatus* does not make his use of Chaucerian phrases here anything of a *tour de force*, for this so-called translation is full

119 20, 123 4, 131-2, 135 6, 137-8, 139-40, 143-4, 147 8, 151-2, 169-70, 171-2, and 175 6. The others are the 53 noted by Dr Brown plus the following 117-8 *þee see* = A 1081-2, 121-2 *shal al* = A 1183-4, 129-30 and 145 6 *be þee* = *TC* I, 849-52, 153 4 *þee me* = A 1137-8, 177-8 *day may* = A 1189-90, and 179-80 *weende eende* = A 15 6 — I accept as identical rimes *H M* 45-6, *vn-to loo*, and *H F* 997-8, *lo therto* (not *vn to*). The only other little error in Professor Brown's table is A 1999/2000 for A 1199/1200 as parallel to *H M* 89/90.

⁸ I shall refer only to the rime pairs not found in Chaucer *Gamelyn*. 5-6, 13-4, 27-8, 41-2, 53-4, 57-8, 61-2, 71-2, 75 6, 79-80, 83-4, 85 6, 87-8, and 89-90. Prologue to *Confessio Amantis* 1-2, 9-10, 25-6, 29 30, 33 4, 39-40, 43-4, 49-50, 55-6, 65 6, 67-8, 71-2, 83-4, 87-8, and 91-2. Tale of the Three Questions 3069-70, 75-6, 83-4, 89-90, 3103-4, 5 6, 7-8, 11-2, 19-20, 21-2, 35 6, 41-2, and 63-4. Should anyone be tempted to verify the presence in Chaucer's works of some of the other rime-pairs, the best way, for rather common rimes likely to occur in *CT* is by means of the *Rime Index to the Ellesmere MS*. For others it is quicker to use the *Concordance*, taking first the less usual of the two riming words and noting the verse lines that end with it (all of them or just a few according to their number in the *Concordance* and to the probable frequency of the rime in Chaucer), then, under the other word of the rime, looking for references to lines that might rime with those noted, keeping in mind which of the poems are in stanzas. Should the *Concordance* give only specimens of the riming words, the only possible checking is of course by means of the *Rime Indexes*.

⁹ *H g* ll 35-50, largely translated from the *Tractatus*, or 103-12, 134 44 added by our rimer.

of accretions, short ones and long ones, and the Chaucerian turns noted by Professor Brown and Dr Bergen belong either to sections that have no counterpart whatsoever in the *Tractatus*,¹⁰ or to short insertions,¹¹ or to passages freely paraphrased,¹² never to any portion translated really closely.¹³

4) Finally, without using this as a positive argument, Professor Brown claims that the place occupied by *An Holy Medytacion* in R 3. 20 of Trinity College, Cambridge, lends at least some plausibility to his suggestion of Chaucerian authorship. The manuscript is in the hand of the famous scribe John Shirley

In the Trinity manuscript 'An Holy Medytacion' appears without the name of any author, but it immediately follows Chaucer's 'Compleynte of Anelida' (p 106). After the 'Medytacion' comes 'A lytel tretis made by Thomas Occleve' (The Epistle of Cupid), and then come two more of Chaucer's minor poems, 'The Balade of Fortune,' and 'Truth,' though in both cases without ascription to him. Thus 'An Holy Medytacion' stands in a group of five pieces of which the first, fourth, and fifth are known to be by Chaucer while only the third is certainly not his work (p 1005).

But the Chaucerian pieces mentioned here by Dr. Brown are only three out of the ten contained in the manuscript and numbered in order of their appearance as 48—51, 52, 53, 54—71, 72 (= 54), 73—77 and 80.¹⁴ The scattering revealed by those figures (and it is only worse in the case of the Lydgate poems)¹⁵ warns us at once

¹⁰ Ll 10-1, 33-4, 53, 55, 56, 66, 80, 86, 91, 118, 146, 154

¹¹ Ll 18, 113, 150

¹² L 29

¹³ This is, of course, what should have been expected, for in *verbatim* translation not even Chaucer would have much chance of being characteristically Chaucerian — I have left out entirely *And swoote gan to smellen every mede* (l 9), corresponding to *Per prata redolet mira suauitas* (l 7) because I do not see how any one could render that Latin line in Middle-English decasyllabic verse without calling Chaucer back to our minds. Besides, Chaucer's closest parallels to *H M* 9 are not very close: *And swote smellen floures white and rede* (*TC* I, 158, quoted by Professor Brown), *And ful of bauyme is fleting every mede* (*TC* II, 53), *And sweete smel the ground anon up yaf* (*A* 2427).

¹⁴ See M. R. James, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College*, Cambridge (Cambridge, 1901), no 600.

¹⁵ Numbered 1 to 5, 7, 11, 15-6, 20, 22-3, 26, 55 to 64, 69-70, 75, 78-9, and 82. From the length of these and the Chaucerian pieces, with 33 lines on each page, it is clear that no rearrangement of the quires of this MS could bring together the Chaucer or Lydgate poems. The scattering is Shirley's.

against assuming that Shirley had any reason for placing *An Holy Medytacion* near Chaucerian pieces. In the second place, both *Fortune* and *Truth* have, in R 3 20, their ascriptions to Chaucer in the hand of Shirley¹⁶. Of the other Chaucer poems in the manuscript only no. 77,¹⁷ which does not seem to be written in Shirley's hand, is without its correct ascription by Shirley (no 71 to *oure laureate poete of Albyon* and all other to *Chaucier*). Similarly against 28 pieces correctly ascribed to Lydgate we find (leaving our *H M* out of consideration) only one Lydgate poem without ascription¹⁸. These facts, and the well known 'gossipy' way in which Shirley gives us in this manuscript all the information he has as to where, and by whom, and in what circumstances Chaucerian and other pieces were written¹⁹ suggest as extremely probable that this well informed scribe had not heard even a rumor pointing to Chaucer (or anybody) as author of *An Holy Medytacion*. (To exhaust the manuscript question let us note here that the only other manuscript which contains the *H M*, Ashmole 59 of the Bodleian, is, like the earlier R 3 20 of Trinity College, in the hand of Shirley, who now ascribes the piece to Lydgate. Whether or not we incline to give credence to his statement²⁰ we must agree that it does not speak in favor of Chaucer.)

¹⁶ No 53, *A balade made by Chaucier of pe loue and of dame fortune*, no 54, *Balade pt Chaucier made on his deeth bedde, Flee fro pe press, etc*. There are two other poems correctly ascribed to Chaucer between Occleve's treatise (no 50) and *Fortune*. They are *Pallyaunce betwene Mars and Venus made by Geoffrey Chaucier at the comandement of duc John of Lancastre* (no 51), and *A balade translated out of frenshe by Chaucier Geoffrey, pe frenshe made Sir Oter de Grauntsomme knight Savosyen. per nys so hye counfort to my pleasaunce* (no 52).

¹⁷ The stanza of the *Troilus* beginning *A wheston is no kercyng instrument* (I, 631 ff.), it has no other heading beyond the words *Pandare to Troilus*.

¹⁸ No 79, MacCracken, *op cit*, XIII-XIV, suggests an explanation for this. Nos 5, 16, and 23, not ascribed to anybody in the portions of headings copied by James, are all ascribed to Lydgate further on in those headings. For this and other valuable information concerning the manuscript I wish to thank the most obliging Librarian of Trinity College, Mr H M Adams.

¹⁹ See in James' *Catalogue* nos 6, 8, 27, 56, 59, 60, 61, and 62. When the name of the author is unknown to Shirley he gives us what other data he has, see nos 66, 84, also 65.

²⁰ On the advanced age of the scribe when this MS was written, and

To close this section, I fear that none of the arguments offered by Dr Brown proves or even supports his thesis. I shall now present my objections against his theory. Though none of them claims to be absolutely decisive in itself, their combination may, it is hoped, be deemed sufficient in the circumstances

1) The first of those objections is the subject matter, not so much of the sections translated from the Latin—is not Chaucer the author, or at least the translator of the *Parson's Tale* and *Of the Wretched Engendrynge of Mankynde*?—but of the passages freely contributed by the English rimer. The main ones are the warnings against flesh, the descriptions of paradise and hell, and the exhortation to contrition, confession and penance²¹. Not only do these insertions reinforce the religious and didactic character of the poem—a change which in itself does not speak strongly against Chaucerian authorship—but the way in which they are introduced, some quite absurdly,²² others both illogically and with monotonous recurrence,²³ betrays almost unmistakably a previously acquired habit of falling back upon such topics at every moment, in season and out. Such a habit surely was never characteristic of Chaucer,

on the errors it contains especially with regards to the Lydgate canon, see Eleanor Hammond, *MLN*, *xix* (1904), 36, and *Angl.*, *xxvii* (1904), 386 and 397-8, Carleton Brown, *MLN*, *xl* (1925), 284-5, and MacCracken, *op cit*, pp xxxi-ii

²¹ It may be worth noting that outside of the *Parson's Tale*, where the full treatment of penitence (perhaps the mere translation of a treatise on penitence) is the assigned task, the subject never seems to come back to Chaucer's mind. Indeed, outside of the *Parson's Tale*, the very words *contrition* and *satisfaction* are used only once each, and that once in translation, *satisfaction* in *Boethius*, *contrition* in *Melibeus*.

²² So is the description of paradise, even keeping in mind that the poem is aptly called a meditation. Following the *Tractatus*, the Middle-English rimer has told us how our condition, from birth onwards, gets only worse and worse. When he comes to God's stern judgment we naturally expect as climax something about hell, but what we get *first* is a passage of 13 lines on heavenly bliss (corresponding to the brief concession *Se bene unueris non perdis premium*), and *then* the awkward link, *Also bewar nowwe on þat oper syde* (87).

²³ The warning against flesh recurs in 98-102, 105-6, 111-2, 143-4, and less definite, in 135-6. The absence of any connexion with what precedes or follows is especially striking in 111-2. The *Tractatus* has no such definite warnings, but only exhortation to flee from vice, and that only in one passage, 76-84.

it suggests rather definitely, if not a professional preacher, at least a moralizer by inclination and practice

2) My second reason for calling the piece un-Chaucerian is its poverty, both emotional and intellectual. Religion, to be sure, did not always inspire Chaucer with the deep tender love of the *Prioress' Tale* or raise him to the moral dignity of *Trouthē*, but still I find it hard to imagine him as writing, in what can be called complete independence of his model, a *verse* piece of this length, treating of God's infinite generosity in only the poorest pedestrian couplets, touching on the mystery of Redemption, and—still more significant—verging on the ever alluring question of free will (l 104) without even enough philosophical interest in these questions to bring the different topics into coherent relations²⁴. Professor Brown, I know, inclines to place the *H M* quite early in Chaucer's career, but I am afraid this cannot go far towards reconciling us with his theory. Are we asked to believe that the teachings of the Catholic church were stamped upon Chaucer's memory years before they stirred either his warm heart, his vivid imagination, or his ever alert mind? The *ABC* is rather instructive in this respect. It is generally admitted that Chaucer wrote it in his youth. Yet an occasional rearrangement of ideas²⁵ and the enormous improvement over the French model in beauty of expression all through the poem reveal as much awareness and feeling as can be disclosed in this kind of stanza to stanza translation. The *Second Nun's Prologue* also is likely to be a rather early piece of work; it has, however, an easily followed line of thought and the accent of earnestness and sincerity.

3) My next objection is the un-Chaucerian character given to certain lines by their syntax, phrases or words. Two constructions

²⁴ See notes 22 and 23

²⁵ In the first stanza, after the French poet, sinful and repentant, has thrown himself under the protection of the Virgin (ll 1-6), his ll 7-8,

Puis qu'en toy ont tous repaire
Bien me doy vers toy retraire,

seem dictated by cold, calculating reason, and are a distinct anticlimax. Chaucer seized upon their idea for the opening of his poem, the gain, logical and poetical, is enormous.—The English poem and its French source are printed on opposite pages by Furnivall, *A One Text Print of Chaucer's Minor Poems*, Chaucer Society, 1869-80, 84-99

sound un-Chaucerian the inversion in 73 (*Weel if þou hast doone*), and the use of *do* in 106 (*Let not þy fleshly lustes beestyl Vnto þe feonde do make þy soule thral*). In four cases the end of a couplet is marked by a turn of expression at least unexpected from Chaucer's pen the reinforced negation *noon oper nought* (38), the expression *in þis kynde* (44) instead of the familiar *in þis manere*, the use of *bytwene* as an adverb (32), and the verb *master* in *Lest þat þy soule ymaysterd be* (100)²⁶ In each of these cases the need of a rime will naturally seem to provide a sufficient explanation for an unusual turn. But the cases are four, and it is hard to think of Chaucer, who nearly always, even in his early works, rimes without apparent difficulty, as forced, four times in such close succession and by mere rime problems, out of his own usual and natural ways of expression.²⁷ As to the words never used in Chaucer's recognized works, we must be careful not to draw any conclusion from their mere number, striking as it certainly is, for some unquestionably Chaucerian pieces, *Fortune e g* have almost as high a ratio of words never used by Chaucer anywhere else.²⁸ The significant thing is that, in four cases, we should know quite definitely that another turn would have occurred to Chaucer a) *vnto studye holly I gan attende* (36, no variant noted by MacCracken); this verb is unknown to Chaucer, here it rimes with *accende*, obviously suggested by the Latin *accendunt*. But Chaucer's habitual verb in this sense is *entende*, which would have provided just as good a rime b) *slelely* (40, no variant noted), Chaucer's form is *slyly* c) *ymaysterd be* (100), so in Trinity College MS,

²⁶ I doubt whether Chaucer ever added a second negation to *noon oper* (no example is found among the specimens listed in the *Concordance*) *Kynde* in the sense of style, manner, does occur a few times, but *in þis kynde* never does, while the more pleasantly sounding *in þis manere* is found over 60 times. Of *bytwene* as adverb, meaning *meanwhile*, Chaucer has only the doubtful case of *TC*, II, 823 (It is just as likely to be the preposition used in a loose way, to mean Criseyde is walking arm in arm between her nieces). On *ymaysterd*, see text below.

²⁷ Also *rotunnesse* (124) and *dyleccyoun* (144), neither of which is found in Chaucer, occur at the end of couplets in *H M*. But Chaucer uses *rotten*, *delectable*, and *delectation*.

²⁸ In the 79 lines of this *Balade* we find four words not used elsewhere in Chaucer: *reddour* (l. 13), *hyene* (35), *prenostik* (54), and *intresse* (71), within the last 150 lines of *The Complaint of Mars* I note *valaunse* (145), *mystihed* (224), *enfortuned* (259), *sable* (284), and *chevise* (289).

Ashmole 59 has *bymaistred* Chaucer knows neither form of the verb, he would have phrased the whole couplet differently and very probably used the substantive *maistrie* with either *have* or *get* d) for *þy behouue* (115, no variant noted) *Behouue* is frequently used by Chaucer as verb, always impersonal, never as noun Without even changing the rest of the couplet we could find in his usual vocabulary several suitable expressions *to þy profit*, *to aduance þee*, etc.²⁹

4) Finally that very frequency of characteristically Chaucerian phrases which, according to Dr Brown, points to Chaucerian authorship, in my judgment not only fails to do so but is the clearest earmark of imitative work As typically Chaucerian I will accept all but one³⁰ of the phrases or turns listed by Professor Brown.

warsshed of hir drede (10), *pou gestest nomore of me* (56), *Al Ioye and merte þat may erekened bee* (86), *such noyse and showting of feondes blaake* (91), *let see* (118), *whyles pou hast tyme and space* (113), and *moost worpy creature þat in þis worlde is while þat it shal dure* (149-50)

Also about half of those pointed out by Dr Bergen³¹

parde (18), *certain it wolde not be* (29),³² *as I gesse* (113), and *trust pou me* (154)

To those I suggest adding

with lusty herte (11),³³ *ne wol I not devyse* (53),³⁴ several expressions in ll 63 6—*deepe whome pou ne mayst astert takeþe þee by þe hert and streyneþ þee so sore þat in þis worlde pou lyve mayst no more*³⁵—and finally *þat oure lord God ne bee not wroth with þee* (146)³⁶

²⁹ *þeccessyf in þe peyne of þeccessyf tourmentrye* (95) is omitted in this list because Ashmole 59 has instead Chaucer's familiar *passunge* The other words never used by Chaucer and left out as insignificant are *lenkeþe* (13, *lengthing* in *Astr* can be taken either as noun or as participle), *accende* (35) is dictated by *accendunt*, *lysse*, *nyttes* (120) translate the Latin, *beestyal* (105), *filthy* (123), *rotunnesse* (124), and *dyleccyoun* (144) are all cognates of words frequently used by Chaucer

³⁰ See n 13

³¹ Quoted by Dr Brown pp 1008-9

³² Cf G 845, H 151, B 1766

³³ Cf A 1513, E 1173

³⁴ Cf *TC* III, 1676, F 65, and E 2033

³⁵ Cf *Comp to his Lady* 22, F 1022, *TC* I, 606, III, 1071, IV, 1190

³⁶ Cf *ABC* 52

A few of those phrases or lines are felt as Chaucerian mainly because of qualities—terseness, color, directness, perfect rhythm—recognized as typical of the master, most of them, however, primarily because of Chaucer's repeated use of them or of very similar ones. It is as such that they interest us here. Let us pick in Chaucer's works a few passages at random, and we shall have to admit—this, of course, cannot be demonstrated—that striking phrases occurring elsewhere in his works in nearly the same form are indeed very rare. He has, to be sure, his little pets, and they are quite a number, but they are used much too judiciously to appear very often or ever to irritate us as would a recognized or overworked *cliché*. But nothing is easier than to borrow *lat see* or *whiles þou hast tyme and space*, and the imitator—or mere admirer and emulator of Chaucer—is consequently almost doomed to fall into the always gaping pitfall awaiting all but the wariest plagiarists. And that gives him away, for no other indication of unauthenticity is as decisive as an overdose of the easily imitable.³⁷

To collect our facts and surmises, I believe that our poet must have been an ecclesiastic, with a preaching habit, good intentions, an inactive brain, and not over intense emotions. But he liked Chaucer, and to his extensive and probably repeated reading of his works he owed his relative facility in writing acceptable couplets and his familiarity with many of the master's colorful and vivid phrases. He used as many as he could, I even suspect his eagerness to place them to be the best explanation for several additions to the Latin *Tractatus*.³⁸ But there is no reason to think that he consciously strove to deceive either his contemporaries or twentieth

³⁷ Two points which are likely to occur to the reader as possible arguments in favor of our view have been purposely omitted. a) We should expect that Chaucer, writing on paradise and hell, would echo Dante, and the poet of the *H M* does not. But we do not know when Chaucer first read the *Divine Comedy*. b) The antipenultimate rimes in *ion* or *ioun*, of which we find four examples in the *Medytacion* are not very common in Chaucer (see Dr. Brown, 1005, text and n. 18). Using the *Rime Index* to the *Ellesmere Manuscript*, I count 25 such rimes in *O T*, thus an average of one in every 700 lines. But it is all a question of the subject treated, for within 53 lines (from G 804 to 855) the *O Y T* has four such rimes, in its first 728 lines *H F* has four too. The number of them in the *H M* is accordingly of no significance.

³⁸ Especially ll. 63-6, and 10-1.

century critics The introduction on Spring, in which Dr Brown sees a first adumbration of the opening of the Canterbury Prologue, is, I believe, quite adequately accounted for by our view. The resemblances between A 1-11 and the description in the *Tractatus*, sufficiently explained by the vogue of such descriptions, were, however, striking enough to call inevitably the Prologue to the *C T* to the mind of a Chaucer lover (assuming our poet could have rimed without thinking of Chaucer) Hence, I believe, the insertion of ll 5-6, 10-1 and 34 into the description The bulk of it, however, is much too closely translated for reminiscences of Chaucer to have played any appreciable part in the choice of words³⁸ As to date, we must place the *H M* between 1400 (perhaps before, but not much) and the writing of the Trinity College manuscript,⁴⁰ thus in the first half of the fifteenth century Nothing of all this disagrees in the least with Shirley's ascription of the piece to Lydgate But, as Dr. Brown pointed out in his first article, most of Lydgate's short poems are in stanzas, not couplets, it is Dr. Bergen's opinion that the rhythm and wording in the *Medytacion* are not those of Lydgate, and a good deal of weight might reasonably be given to the reticence of the well informed Shirley in a manuscript where all but one of the Lydgate pieces are properly ascribed to their author But this question must be left for Lydgate specialists to investigate.

GERMAINE DEMPSTER

Chicago

³⁸ The poet follows his guide even where the latter misconstrues the *Apocalypse of Gohas*, the secondary source which suggested to him the introduction on Spring The *Apoc Gol*, ll 5 6, has *Estive medio diei tempore Frondosa recubans Jovis sub arbore* It is in the middle of a Summer day, not especially in the middle of Summer, that shade is likely to be welcome, yet our *Tractatus*, after 16 lines on the blessings of Spring, goes on *Predicti temporis me circa medium*, which the English rimer faithfully translates *Amiddes þis sesoun*

⁴⁰ John Shirley is supposed to have died in 1456 at a very advanced age

AN AFFIRMATIVE REPLY

Even when one's literary theories are contested it is gratifying to have them accorded prompt and serious consideration. Limits of time and space make it impossible for me to reply in detail to the objections raised by my two critics, who though they arrive at the same conclusion do not in all respects argue from the same point of view.¹

The text of the poem to which Shirley gave the colorless title "An Holy Medytacion" is marred by his eccentric spellings (Cf Skeat, *Oxf Ch*, I, 76), but for these he alone is responsible, as a comparison with other Chaucerian pieces copied by this scribe will show. Shirley is also accountable for the non-Chaucerian form of the possessive pronoun, *peure* (which, by the way, appears only *once* in the Trinity MS of our poem—see Tatlock, note 3), since in the same MS this form occurs again in Shirley's text of the Complaint of Mars (line 52)

Professor Tatlock, in truth, merely glances at these matters in passing but lays more stress upon the occurrence at ll 119/20 of "hermaphrodite rime," which, he says, is "never found in Chaucer." But the accent in these lines is surely *spitting thing*, and Chaucer gives us scores of present participles accented on the ultima, e g.

Men, hors, houndes, and other thing,
And al men spoken of hunting (B D 349/50)

In this case, as in our text, *thing* is a neuter plural form (as also *hors*). Consequently I am unable to understand how either line can be regarded as an instance of hermaphrodite rime. *Stelely* in line 40 is, of course, a case of dittography—Shirley meant to write *slély*. This emendation will involve no metrical difficulty if in the same line *past* is corrected to Chaucer's form, *passed*. The scansion of the line,

So slély páť negh pássed wás and góon,

may be compared with T C I. 582:

This Pándare, thát neigh mált for wó and róuthē.

Neither the phrase *do make* (l 106) nor the use of *suwe* (l 130) seems to require justification cf. *do make* in A 1905 and *do werche* (G 545). While Chaucer does not use *suwe* as frequently as *folwe*,

¹ I take this opportunity to explain that the dedicatory issue of *PMLA* took me completely by surprise. Had I been aware of the impending honor, I should have requested that my article be reserved for another occasion.

the Concordance shows 9 instances, in one of which *folwe* and *sue* occur together. There is nothing surprising in the use of *ymaysterd* (l 100), even though this does not occur in the admitted works of Chaucer. Gower uses *maistred* in the *Conf Am* (iv 3518).

Both Mr Tatlock and Mrs Dempster object that instead of *dyleccyoun* (l. 144) Chaucer elsewhere uses the form "delectation". But *dileccoun* is a fourteenth-century English word, used by Wyclif and by Hoccleve. And in the present passage—

py soule putte from his dyleccyoun—

it is the very word which fits the sense, as will be seen by referring to the definition in the *NED*

Love, affection almost always, spiritual or Christian love, or the love of God to man or of man to God

Mrs Dempster notes certain other locutions which impress her as non-Chaucerian: (1) the inverted order in "Weel if pou hast doone" (l 73), but *weel* is emphatic and the order is no more forced than "Henne over a myle" (C 687) or "She wrong do wolde to no wyght" (B D 1016), (2) the use of *bytweene* as an adverb in l 32—though she notes the apparent adverbial use in T C II 823. Moreover, she fails to observe Chaucer's fondness for using this word at the end of the line—eleven instances besides that in this poem, (3) the phrase "in þis kynde" (= in this manner), which, however, may be compared with "in so sly a kinde" (G 981) or "in swich a kinde" (T C III 334), where it is used in exactly this sense, (4) "attende" (l 36) for "entende," which with little doubt is to be charged to Shirley's account.

"The commonplace character of the rimes, easy and cheap," asserts Mr. Tatlock, "is noteworthy." Among the 90 rimes are 4 with *-cioun*, "and worse yet 7 with the suffix *-nesse*". Chaucer admits such, but not in such profusion in easy couplet-verse. As to *-cioun* rimes, I note 4 in the Wife of Bath's Prologue between D 615 and 702 (44 couplets), 4 in the Friars Tale between D 1319-1618 (150 couplets) and 4 in the Somonour's Tale between D 1925-2136 (106 couplets)—an average profusion about equal to that in our poem. As to *-nesse* rimes, 6 are found in the Pardoner's Tale, 3 in the Franklin's Tale, 3 in the Wife of Bath's Prologue, 5 in the Boke of the Duchess, and 3 in the House of Fame. As might be expected, the number of *-nesse* rimes is larger in the stanzaic pieces: 14 instances in the Third Book of Troilus alone, 5 in the Man of Law's Tale, and 3 in Truth (28 lines)—though it would not have occurred to me to describe the rimes in this piece as "easy and cheap."

Mrs Dempster, considering the ratio in our poem of Chaucerian rime-pairs to those not found in Chaucer (60/30), shows that the ratio of Chaucerian rime-pairs is slightly larger in Gamelyn (31/14) and in two selected passages in the *Confessio Amantis* (31/15 and 37/13, respectively)—though this hardly warrants her statement “that writers roughly contemporary with Chaucer and partly under his influence are apt to use not only as many but many more Chaucerian rime-pairs than did the author of our *H M*”

Finally, Mrs Dempster very surprisingly shifts the attack to the opposite flank “That very frequency of characteristically Chaucerian phrases which, according to Dr Brown, points to Chaucerian authorship, in my judgment not only fails to do so but is the clearest earmark of imitative work” I must leave the reader to judge of the evidence which she presents. It is clear that she has spread her net to catch the game either coming or going. The single note of consistency which runs throughout her paper is her firm conviction that Chaucer was not the author.

Mr. Tatlock concludes his examination of the text of our poem with these findings

The English poem so far as its subject and ordering go might have been written by Chaucer. There is no strong reason why Chaucer should not write a poem much like this, one or two short passages sound like him and would hardly be expected from another, there is not very much in the style or content which says No to his authorship.

Nevertheless, he rejects the possibility that this poem was the work listed in the Prologue of the *LGW* because the subject matter does not agree with Chaucer's designation of it. In Pope Innocent's treatise, the first five chapters are devoted “to the odiousness of conception and gestation.”

Now this last is just what Chaucer tells us he wrote about and as he only says his work was *Of the Wretched Engendering of Mankind* we should take him at his word. This phrase can mean only the human process which ends at birth, if Chaucer meant something else, he had plenty of English words in his head to say so.

Let us take Mr. Tatlock at his word. The first five chapters of *De Contemptu Mundi* are headed (1) *De miserabili humanæ conditionis ingressu*, (2) *De vilitate miseræ ipsius hominis*, (3) *Divisio conceptionis*, (4) *De conceptione infantis*, (5) *Quali cibo conceptus nutriatur in utero*. They cover altogether scarcely more than two and a half columns in the *Patrologia Latina*. If Chaucer's treatise, as Mr. Tatlock insists, was narrowly restricted to these topics, I for one would not regret the fact that no copy has survived. In my opinion, however, the word “engendering” was not used with refer-

ence merely to procreation, but Chaucer had in mind rather man's existence as conditioned by his inheritance from Adam. As he put it in the *Persones Tale*, "Of thilke Adam toke we thilke sinne original, for of him fleshly descended be we alle, and engendred of vile and corrupt matere." One must consider not only etymological definitions but also mediæval usage. And according to mediæval usage the "engendering" of man is never discussed apart from but always connected with man's wretched state consequent upon Adam's sin. For example, in the *Pricke of Conscience*, which was more widely read in the fourteenth century than any other English treatise of religious instruction, the author announces the theme of his First Book in these words:

De first party, to know and hafe in mynde
Es of þe wrechednes of mans kynde

In this First Book, which by the way draws much of its material directly from Pope Innocent's treatise, the poet dilates on the wretchedness of man's condition:

Begynnyng of mans lyf, þat first es,
Contenes mykel wrechednes

However, he does not limit himself to this, but pursues his theme through the three parts of human life, "Bygynnyng, midward, and endyng," and concludes with the repulsiveness of the human corpse which becomes food for the worms. Except for the postponement of the description of Heaven and Hell to Books VI and VII, the contents of Book I in the *Pricke of Conscience* traverse, though with more prolixity, the same ground which is covered in our poem. In fact, so well established was this sequence that even Chaucer, embarking upon the theme of man's wretched beginning, could hardly avoid the equally wretched details of his ending (which were likewise set forth in the Latin rhythmus on which our poem was based).

In the light of general mediæval usage, Mr. Tatlock's restriction of Chaucer's "Engendring" to "the human process which ends at birth" appears arbitrary and perverse. Chaucer's theme, as I see it, did not differ essentially from that of the Rhythmus, "*De miseria humana tractatus*."

Nor is it an argument against identifying this poem as Chaucer's "Wreched Engendring" that the author deliberately omits the more disgusting details which stood in his source—

I wol eschuwe it for þyne honeste
Wherfore of þat þou getest nomore of me

These details the author of the *Pricke of Conscience* gives at

length (ll 444-461, 518-27)—but he was not Chaucer! To my mind the abridgment of these details in our poem merely serves as evidence of Chaucer's good taste. After all, these details were in no way essential to the moral lesson which the poem enforces.

To sum up briefly. The poem whose text Shirley has preserved for us meets successfully the linguistic objections raised by Mr Tatlock and Mrs Dempster and, as both these critics concede, notably resembles the poems of Chaucer in phrase and metre. Indeed, Mrs. Dempster argues that it is so much like Chaucer that it must be regarded as the work of a conscious imitator. The foremost imitator of Chaucer was Lydgate, but none of his known pieces succeed as well in catching Chaucer's style and rhythm. Moreover, the monk of Bury's authorship has been rejected by a Lydgate specialist, the editor of the *Fall of Princes* and the *Troy Book*. Finally, the main substance of our poem comes, at second hand, from Pope Innocent's *De Contemptu Mundi*, and Chaucer, in listing his own "Of the Wretched Engendring of Mankind," adds "As man may in Pope Innocent y-finde."

There is, I realize, an element of disappointment in giving up one's speculations in regard to "lost" works, and if the text of "Origenes upon the Maudeleyne," for example, were unexpectedly to turn up, very possibly Chaucerians might find that it differed materially from their notion of it. But the identification of the present poem as Chaucer's "Wretched Engendryng of Mankind" would at least relieve us from painful speculations as to the sort of treatise he composed on "the human process which ends at birth."

"E pur si muove!"

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THE ARMING OF SIR THOPAS

Significant parallels for many of the details in Chaucer's burlesque, *Sir Thopas*, have been pointed out in a number of separate English metrical romances. Thus, all the herbs and spices listed in B 1950-5, in addition to others, are found in *Kyng Alsarinder*,¹ the catalogue of birds, the vision of the elf-queen (B 1956-68, and 2023-5), as well as the "sadel of rewel-boon" (B 2068) and the "dappull gray steede" (B 2074) exhibit verbal parallels to *Thomas*

¹ Ed. Henry Weber, *Metrical Romances*, Edinb., 1810, I, 278 (vv 6792 ff.)

of *Erceldoune* ² As to the plot of *Sir Thopas*, it is more difficult to reach a positive conclusion, inasmuch as the story is interrupted before the main action begins, but Professor Magoun ³ has called attention to the "virtual identity of setting, actors, and action in the Ile d'Or episode of *Libeaus Desconus*" ⁴

For one section of Chaucer's parody, however,—the arming of Sir Thopas for his encounter with the giant Olifaunt—no definite literary source has yet been suggested, although Chaucer develops this part of his story with considerable detail devoting to it no less than thirty-one lines

He dide next his white leere,
Of clooth of lake fyn and cleere,
A breech and eek a sherte,
And next his sherte an aketoun,
And over that an haubergeoun
For Percyng of his herte,
And over that a fyn hawberk,
Was al ywroght of Jewes werk,
Ful strong it was of plate,
And over that his cote armour
As whit as is a lilye flour,
In which he wol debate
His sheeld was al of gold so reed,
And therinne was a bores heed,
A charboole by his syde,
And there he swoor on ale and breed
How that the geaunt shal be deed,
Bityde what bityde!
His jambeux were of quyrboilly,
His swerdes shethe of yvory,
His helm of latoun bright,
His sadel was of rewel boon,

² Ed James A H Murray, EETS, Or Ser 61 (1875), 2 (vv 29-36, 41 and 49)

³ *PMLA*, XLII (1927), 833 ff

⁴ For others who have suggested parallels see especially E Kolbing, "Zu Chaucer's Sir Thopas," *Eng Stud*, XI, 495 ff, Caroline Strong, "Sir Thopas and Sir Guy," *MLN*, XXIII (1908), 73 ff and 102 ff Dr Carl Schmirgel describes in the Appendix to *Sir Bevis of Hamtoun*, EETS, Ex Ser LXV (1894), parallels common to a host of romances A more inclusive list of materials on this subject may be found in Professor F N Robinson's *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, Boston, 1933, p 842

His brydel as the sonne shoon,
Or as the moone light

His spere was of fyn ciprees,
That bodeth werre, and nothyng pees,
The heed ful sharpe ygrounde,
His steede was al dappull gray,
It gooth an ambil in the way
Ful softly and rounde

In londe

(B 2047-77)

Writers on medieval armor have repeatedly pointed to this passage as a source of information in regard to the actual practice of arming knights in Chaucer's time. Meyrick⁵ treats Chaucer's testimony as that of an expert on armor in the fourteenth century, Ffoulkes⁶ cites *Sir Thopas* as authority for the wearing of "jambeux" and the helmet of "latoun", and in the opinion of Barron, "Chaucer's Sir Thopas must always be cited for the defense of this age"⁷.

In spite of the serious consideration accorded by authorities on armor to Chaucer's account of the arming of Sir Thopas, Professor Manly⁸ regards the passage as "absurd from beginning to end."

This procedure [that of arming the knight] is distinctly contrary to the customs of the time, as we learn from documents that are almost contemporary and that certainly represent the uniform practice. The knight when armed for battle or tournament did not wear next his skin breeches and shirt of silk, linen, or any other thin cloth, but a thick well padded jerkin. The next items are equally absurd.⁹

The aketon was not worn by a knight under his armour but was a padded jacket with plates of metal sewed on it and was specifically the defensive armour of the common foot soldier. It was therefore an absurdity that the knight should don an aketon, a double absurdity that he should put on over it a haubergeon, a triple absurdity that over these should be worn a "fyn hawberk", and a final touch of perfection that the "cote

⁵ Sir Samuel R. Meyrick, *A Critical Inquiry into Antient Armour*, London, 1842, II, 7, 76.

⁶ Charles Ffoulkes, *Armour and Weapons*, Oxford, 1909, pp. 33, 34.

⁷ Oswald Barron, *Arms and Armour*, Encyc. Brit., eleventh ed. (1910), II, 587.

⁸ "Sir Thopas: A Satire," *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, XIII, 70.

⁹ Professor Manly here quotes B 2050-2058. See *supra* for the text.

armour," which should display the armorial bearings of the knight, was blank

As whit as is a lilye flour

Let us consider briefly the absurdities which Professor Manly perceives in Chaucer's account

1 An armed knight, he objects, did not wear breeches and shirt next his skin Yet, Strutt¹⁰ declares that a knight wore these undergarments when arraying himself for the tournament This statement he bases on "repeated authority" and cites as evidence a passage from the *Romance of Lancelot de Lac* according to which a knight after disarming himself retired to bed, but without removing either shirt or breeches

Il se couchera mais n'oste ne sa chemise
ne ses braies¹¹

2. The aketoun, according to Professor Manly, "was specifically the defensive armour of the common foot soldier. It was therefore an absurdity that the knight should don an aketon" Nevertheless, the metrical romances, which were not intentionally striving for absurdity, frequently represent their knightly heroes as wearing the aketoun, as one may perceive by referring to the text of *The Sege of Melayne*,¹² *Sir Bevis of Hamtoun*,¹³ *Richard Coer de Lion*,¹⁴ *Libeaus Desconus*,¹⁵ *Guy of Warwick*,¹⁶ *Roman de Gaydon*,¹⁷ and *Otuel and Roland* to be discussed in greater detail

¹⁰ Joseph Strutt, *A Complete View of the Dress and Habits of the People of England*, London, 1842

¹¹ *Ibid.*, II, 51

¹² Ed Sidney J Herrtage, EETS, Ex Ser xxxv (1880), p 30
per ouer he keste an acton syne (v. 917)

¹³ Ed E Kolbing, EETS, Ex Ser xlvi (1885), p 47
Hauerk ne scheld ne actoun (v 1003)

¹⁴ Ed Henry Weber, *Metrical Romances*, Edinb, 1810, II, 18
That Rychard's feet out of his styropes wente
For plate, ne for aketon (vv 373-4)

¹⁵ Ed Max Kaluza, Leipzig, 1890, p 68
To perce his aketon (v 1229)

¹⁶ Ed J Zupitza, EETS, Ex Ser xxv, xxvi, p. 84
Thorowe hawberke and haketone (v 2964)

¹⁷ Eds F Guessard and S Luce, Paris, 1862, p 196
Sor l'auqueton qui d'or fu pointurez
Vesti l'auberc qui fors fu et serrez (vv 6485-6)

presently¹⁸ It may also be found in the *Chronicle of Bertrand du Guesclin*,¹⁹ and in a lyric of the fourteenth century, "The Knight of Christ"²⁰

For our present purpose it is not necessary to decide whether the aketoun consisted entirely of buckram or leather, or whether it had plates of metal sewed to it²¹ The point is merely that the word "aketoun," which Chaucer here uses in his account of the arming of Sir Thopas, is the very word which appears in the text of the romances

3 It was a "double absurdity," according to Professor Manly, that Sir Thopas should put on a habergeoun over his aketoun, and "a triple absurdity" that over these he should wear a hauberk Here again it is easy to cite from both French and English romances examples of hauberks worn over the aketoun²² On the other hand, examples of *both* habergeoun and hauberk are much less frequent In attempting to explain the mention of both in *Sir Thopas* one must consider the development in armor which took place during Chaucer's time

Both the habergeoun and hauberk took their origin from the neck guard, which was later enlarged with a square pectoral in order to protect the breast²³ Down to the third quarter of the fourteenth century, both of these pieces of armor were made of mail, the habergeoun being especially effective for rapid movement, and in surprise attack Since they were of similar composi-

¹⁸ *Infra*

¹⁹ Meyrick, *op cit*, II, 7

L'escu li derompi, et le bon jazerant,

Mais le haucion fut fort, qui fut de bouquerant

²⁰ Carleton Brown, *Religious Lyrics of the Fourteenth Century*, Oxford, 1924, p 223

myn acotoun bat spere tre

bat stong þi swete syde (vv 18-19)

²¹ For a discussion see John Hewitt, "The Arms, Armour, and Military Usages of the Fourteenth Century," *Gent Mag*, ccc (Or Ser), 11 ff Also Meyrick, *op cit*, II, 68

²² *The Sege off Melayne*, *op cit*, p 30

þer ouer he keste an acton syne,

and it to hym he droughe

An hawbarke with a gesserante

Also *Roman de Gaydon*, *supra*

²³ Strutt, *op cit*, I, 52 ff, and 108 ff.

tion, habergeoun and hauberk could not easily be worn at the same time, and neither in the effigies nor the early fourteenth century romances are they seen or mentioned together. But with the development in plate armor introduced about 1370, although the habergeoun still continued as a small, light piece of mail, the hauberk was increased in length by flouncing it with a skirt reaching to the knees, as is seen in the effigies of the time²⁴. It was a hauberk of this new type which was used to augment the habergeoun²⁵.

This change in arming is well illustrated by comparing the texts of the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century versions of *Sir Bevis of Hamtoun*²⁶. In the Auchinleck version (second quarter of the fourteenth century) one finds the statement

Beves dyd on is actoun
Hit was warþ many a toun
An hauberk him brouȝte þat mai (979-81)

But in the fifteenth-century version in the Manchester MS we read instead

Beves dyd on an haburgun,
Was wrought in meny a good town
And an haubarke Iosyan hym brought (739-41)

Although the aketoun is not expressly mentioned in this fifteenth-century version there is no reason to suppose that it had been discarded. Indeed, it would be obviously impossible to wear a habergeoun, a piece of mail, without such a tunic underneath, which evidently corresponded to the "gipoun" worn by Chaucer's Knight.

It may be doubted, therefore, whether Chaucer's audience would have perceived in the aketoun, habergeoun and hauberk worn by Sir Thopas the triple absurdity which Professor Manly has pointed out.

On the other hand, Professor Manly appears to be right in recognizing a satirical touch in the description of the

²⁴ There is an illustration and description of the hauberk of Sir John de Creke in Charles H. Ashdown, *Armour and Weapons in the Middle Ages*, London, 1925, p. 72.

²⁵ J. G. Waller discusses the development of the hauberk in "The Hauberk of Chain Mail," *Archaeologia*, LIX (1904), 57 ff.

²⁶ Both versions are found in Kölbing's edition p. 45.

cote-armour

As whit as is a lilye flour (B 2056-7)

Instead of being blank, the coat-armor should properly have displayed Sir Thopas' armorial bearings. To be sure, Professor Robinson²⁷ in his note on this line refers to a parallel in *Launfal*²⁸

Hys armur, that was whyt as flour

Here, however, the reference is to the suit of armor as a whole, whereas Chaucer was referring specifically to the surcoat. Also, in the case of *Launfal*, the context shows that the whiteness of the armor was the result of a fairy spell. With the exception of the lily-white surcoat, however, the several items in the description of the arming of Sir Thopas are corroborated by the testimony of the metrical romances.

How closely Chaucer followed the tradition of the romances in the arming of his hero will be made clear when we compare his description with the corresponding ones in the English text of *Otuel and Roland* which has recently been edited for the Early English Text Society by Dr. M. I. O'Sullivan from the Fillingham MS in the British Museum.²⁹ Although this manuscript was written in the fifteenth century, Miss O'Sullivan shows in her Introduction that the extant text of the *Otuel and Roland* is copied from an English version which must have been in existence before the middle of the fourteenth century.³⁰ This romance contains three passages describing respectively the arming of Roland, Otuel, and Clarel.

(1) *The Arming of Roland* (vv 282-320)

On hym an haketoun thay gonne done
Ouer³¹ hys hauberk that bryzt schon,
That ryche was of mayle
And it made y-wys

²⁷ *Op cit*, p. 845

²⁸ Ed. Joseph Ritson, *Met Rom*, London, 1802, I, 202 (v 742)

²⁹ Or Ser 198

³⁰ *Ibid*, Introduction

³¹ *Ouer* is clearly used adverbially = over that. It would be impossible to take *ouer* as a preposition governing "hys hauberk." The punctuation of these lines should be altered by inserting commas after *done* and *Ouer*. There is an ellipsis here, the real meaning of the second line is "Ouer that (thay gonne done) hys hauberk that bryzt schon."

That was whylom denys prentys
 Off a trewe entayle
 Estre of langares, that was lel,
 brouzt hym an helm off steel
 fful strong to a-ssayle

The helm was grene as glas
 Tha[t] whylome auȝt galyas,
 And sythe kyng barbatyan
 hym gert in that plas
 with dorundale that good was
 That he by-fore wanne
 Duk reyner hym brouzt a schyld,
 A fayrer myȝt haue be non in feld,
 And that wel many a man telle can,
 with a lyon there-Inne raumpande
 That whylome aught a geante,
 That was a douȝty man

Tho olyuer hym brouzt a spere,
 As good as any man myȝt bere
 In feld to batayle,
 kyng, knyȝt, or any ryder
 Myȝt it ful wel were
 hys enymye to assayle
 The duk terry sette a-none
 The spores that of gold schone,
 ffor-sothe with-outte fayle

Oger hym brouzt hys stede,
 As good as any man myȝt lede,—
 hyt was wonne in hongery
 hit ne bar neuer knyȝt at nede,
 But he schulde wel spede,
 And wynne the maystery
 The sadyl was wel dere worth,—
 The beste a-bouen erthe,
 That eny man myȝt a-speye

(2) *The Arming of Otuel* (vv 357-386)

ffyrst an haketon of fyn styl,
 And an hauberk y-wrouȝt ful wel,
 She dude on that knyȝt
 May-de Rosynet de Rowenel
 An helme brouzt to syre Otuel,
 And on hys heued hyt dyȝte
 The helme was Riche for the nonys,
 Off syluer, gold, and precious stones,
 that schone ful bryȝtt

Tho belysent hym gyrde
 with Cursins hys gode swerde,
 that felon was in fyzt
 tho burde belysent hym brouzt
 A schylde,—no bettyr myzt he wrouzt,
 for-sothe with-oute fable
 hyt was so wel y-wrouzt,
 that none myzt bettyr be thouzt,
 with thre sarisins heuedys of sabyl
 In syzte of hys schylde to lede,
 thay brouzten to hym mygrades stede
 Out of the kyngys stable

Anon the stede wyst wel,
 that hys Maystyr Otuel
 schuld to Batayle
 the mayde rosenet de Rouenel,
 Thoo spores settyn hym, good & lel,
 wyth-uten ony fable
 the sarisin spronge in-to the sadyl anone,
 And preked the stede & let hym gone,
 that was of fayre entayle

(3) *The Arming of Clarel* (vv 1217-46)

An haketon they duden hem vpon,
 And an haberioun þat bryzt schon,
 þat lyzt was for to lede,²²
 And þere on a corset san fayle,—
 What man so it bare in Batayle,
 The lasse þrust hym drede

Men Brouzt hym an helm bryzt,
 þat Barnard, þe gode knyzt,
 was wont for to were
 þere-on an adderes heued aplyzt,—
 ffor-sothe it was a sely syzt,—
 In eche Batayle to bere,
 and a schyld þat was vnryde,
 Of garlok þat sayntes hyde,—
 he was a greselyche fere!
 y-paynted, it was with mahoun
 Off gold, Iubiter, and yk platoun,—
 and yche, y-mad with a spere
 fforth they fetton hym a schaft
 he þat it made coupe hys craft

²² MS reads *lete*, the emendation to *lede* not only restores the rhyme but gives the line meaning "that was easy to manage"

hyt was of a trew tre
 hys swerd, melyn, was hym be-tauzt,
 þere-with he hadde heuedes y-kauzt
 Off kynges, two or þre
 hys stede forþ was fette,
 And kyng Clarel þere on set,
 þat semely was to se
 Two of þe knyghtes also sket
 Two spores off gold duden on hys fet
 And eyther sat on hys kne

These descriptions—one of 39 lines and the others of thirty lines each,—closely correspond in length with the thirty-one lines in Sir Thopas. Moreover, the descriptions of hauberk and shield show certain points of similarity with the corresponding descriptions in Sir Thopas. Thus Roland's hauberk which "ryche was of mayle" had been made "off a trewe entayle" by a workman who was at one time apprentice to Denis, Sir Thopas wore a "fyn hawberk/ Was al ywroght of Jewes werk". Again, Roland's shield had "a lyon there-Inne raumpande", while of Sir Thopas' shield we read, "there-inne was a bores heed". In the Charlemagne romance, no mention is made of the undergarments, clearly the shirt and breeches in Sir Thopas were added for humorous effect. Except for this difference, the items when ranged in parallel columns show notable agreement.

Sir Thopas	Roland	Otuel	Clarel
Aketoun	Aketoun	Aketoun	Aketoun
Habergeoun			Habergeoun
Hauberk	Hauberk	Hauberk	Corset
Cote-armour			
Shield	Shield	Shield	Shield
Jambeux			
Sword-Sheath			
	Sword	Sword	Sword
	(dorundale)	(cursins)	(melyn)
Helmet	Helmet	Helmet	Helmet
Saddle	Saddle		
Bridle			
Spear	Spear		Spear
Steed	Steed	Steed	Steed
	Spurs	Spurs	Spurs

The "corset," which in the arming of Clarel is put on above the habergeoun, is defined in the Glossary as "corslet" and was

undoubtedly a piece of splint armor to protect Clarel from the famous spear and six swords of Otuel. It corresponds, therefore, to the hauberk. Chaucer alone mentions the lily-white cote-armour, the "jambeux" or greaves, and the bridle, the latter detail apparently being suggested by the description of the fay in *Thomas of Erceldoune* ³³

Chaucer, as one sees on comparing these descriptions, agrees with the romances in mentioning the aketoun, and also in the order in which the several arms were put on. But he makes his satire unmistakable by the significant omission of any reference to Sir Thopas' sword or spurs. "His swerdes *sheiþe*," Chaucer tells us, was "of yvory." None of the other accounts mentions the sheath, and none except Chaucer's omits mention of the sword. This, surely, was not accidental. In the omission of sword and spurs, then, we have the crowning absurdity in Chaucer's account of the arming of Sir Thopas, although, strangely enough, commentators, so far as I am aware, have not called attention to it.

Sword and spurs were not only indispensable features of a knight's equipment but were in themselves symbols of knighthood. In the mediæval ceremony of investing a knight the culminating acts were to gird him with the sword and don his spurs ³⁴. Likewise, in degrading an unworthy knight the symbolic action consisted in depriving him of sword and spurs, as was set forth in *The Booke of Honor and Armes* printed in 1590.

In the reign of King Edward IV, it appeared a knight was degraded in this sort. First after the publication of his offense, his guilt spurs were beaten from his heels, then his sword taken from him and broken ³⁵.

Whether these descriptions in *Otuel and Roland* were definitely in Chaucer's mind when he wrote his lines on the arming of Sir Thopas cannot, of course, be established, though they present closer resemblances than any other English romances now known. Moreover, such a conjecture is not in itself unreasonable. Sir Otuel was a popular figure in English Charlemagne romances, and the story is one which Chaucer must have known. There was an earlier

³³ *Op cit*, v 63

³⁴ See the description in *Kyng Alsaunder*, vv 810-821, ed Weber, *op cit*, I, 39

³⁵ Charles de Lacy Lacy, *The History of the Spur*, London (n d), p 4

version of this romance preserved in the Auchinleck MS³⁶ which, as Sir George Ellis observed, is written, "with considerable spirit and animation"³⁷ His opinion of the version in the Fillingham MS, which has been cited above, is distinctly less favorable "The style of this is much more languid and feeble"³⁸ And if Chaucer was himself acquainted with this text of the Otuel romance, there can be no doubt that his opinion would have coincided with that of Sir George Ellis

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SIR THOPAS AND DAVID AND GOLIATH

"Sir Thopas drow abak ful faste,
This geaunt at him stones caste
Out of a fel staf slinge,
But faire escapeth child Thopas,
And al it was thurgh goddes gras,
And thurgh his fair beringe"

Whatever amused reminiscences were in Chaucer's mind of Guy of Warwick's combats with his giants or of Libeaus Desconus and his giant,¹ there can be little doubt that the poet had also in mind for *Thopas* the world's most famous story of a giant, sling-shot, and a heroic youth In the Man of Law's Tale (934-38) Chaucer referred in all seriousness to Goliath, "unmesurable of lengthe," to David, "so yong and of armure so desolat," supported only by "goddes grace," but in *Thopas* he burlesques, with rich good humor, not only the central incident of the Biblical story, but several other details from it He may have used only the Vulgate version, but the naive additions introduced in such Middle English versions of the story as that found in the *Cursor Mundi* (7439-7596)² or in

³⁶ *Otuel*, ed Hertridge, EETS, Ex Ser xxxix, 1882

³⁷ *Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances*, 1805, II, 313

³⁸ *Ibid*

¹ For Chaucer's general indebtedness to *Guy of Warwick* see Caroline Strong, *Mod Lang Notes*, xxiii, (1908), 73 ff, 103 ff He was especially indebted to the account of Guy's fight with the gigantic Amoiaunt Cf EETSES 42, 49, 59, st 62-133 For a study of the giant combat in *Libeaus Desconus*, see Magoun, *PMLA*, xlii, 835 ff

² EETS LIX, 428 ff

the Wycliffite Versions of the Bible (1 Kings, ch. xvii),³ probably quickened his perception of the latent possibilities of the story for the purposes of burlesque.

The decisive feature, of course, is the sling-shot. Giants in general have little to differentiate them one from the other, and the process of slaying them offers few variations, but David and his sling-shot are unique. The Vulgate says he took in hand his staff and his sling and a few stones, and armed only with these apparently feeble weapons, and his faith in God, he struck down his terrible foe. Combining the sling with the staff gave greater force to the missile, and the known fact produced in Middle English the term *staf-slyng*, which is first recorded, as the New English Dictionary points out, in *Richard Coeur de Lion* (l. 5226) in the Auchinleck manuscript, where Chaucer may once have read it.⁴ In subsequent English accounts of the fight of David and Goliath, such as Lydgate's and Rolland's,⁵ the term *staf-sling* is recurrent, but whatever was Chaucer's own source for the compound word, it is certain that he perceived to the full the jocose effect of transferring the famous "fel staf-slinge," and making the giant chase with it the well-armed "Child."⁶ The episode becomes a climax, not of heroism, but of absurdity.

The Middle English versions of the David-Goliath combat emphasize the hugeness and the horror of the giant. In the *Cursor Mundr* he is a grim creature with a three-foot head, "Betwix his eyen þre fote brade", "he walde ete vii shepe him allane", he swears "by Seint Mahound", in the Wyclif Bible we hear of his

³ Ed. by Forshall and Madden, Oxford, 1850, II, 50-52.

⁴ See my forth-coming article on Chaucer's probable use of this manuscript.

⁵ Cf. Lydgate, *Falls of Princes*, ed. Bergen, EETS oxxi (1924), Bk. II, 304. "With a stafslinge, void of plate & maile." Rolland, *Court of Venus*, c. 1550, Bk. II, 226, "Als wa he slew the Giant Golyas,—with ane stane & stafsling." It is of interest to see that the staf as well as the sling of David was represented in illuminations. Cf. the Breviary of Philippe le Bel, Pl. 31 in Martin, *Les Joyaux de l'Enluminure a la Bibl. Nationale*, Paris, 1928.

⁶ Although the comparison of Thopas's combat with that of David and Goliath must have occurred to many, it has not been discussed. I recall only the brief comment of Bennewitz, *Chaucer's Sir Thopas* (Halle diss., 1879), p. 41. "Die Situation erinnert an den Kampf zwischen David und Goliath, nur dass hier alles umgekehrt ist."

heavy armour, his "stely helm," his "maylid hawberoun—and stelyn legharneis,—his stelyn sheeld," and the great shaft of his spear Both versions emphasize, on the other hand, David's youth, and small size, his freedom from armour, his faith. In the *Cursor Mundi* he is "litel Daud," "Childe Dauy", in the Wyclif Bible Saul says to him "Thou mayest not withstood to this Philistee,—for a child thou art" In the *Cursor Mundi* David vows

Agayne 3one Ieaund þat is sa grim 7487
Wiþ Goddis grace I salle sle him

In the Wyclif Bible is retold at length David's own stoïy to Saul of how he had once strangled out of hand a lion and a bear, and in this version, as also in the *Cursor Mundi*, is the whole account of how David, having been armed, piece by piece, in Saul's helm and hauberk and sword, takes them all off As he says in the *Cursor Mundi*

I trawe in God ful of miȝt 7571
And noȝt in na wapin briȝt

In Chaucer's parody it is possible that Thopas owes in part his "scarlet rode" and his dangerous pursuit of "wilde best, Ye, bothe bukke and hare," to Chaucer's recollection of young David, who was also "rodi and fayre in siȝt," and a slayer of the wildest beasts Sir Olifaunt becomes a giant, not with a three-foot head, but with, at least by Thopas's agitated report, a giant with three heads Instead of scorning weapons the hero promises to return "Tomorwe -Whan I have myn armoure" Not by doffing, but by putting on, piece by piece, a whole panoply of armour, does the hero prepare for combat, not "by goddes gras" does he manfully slay his foe, but instead runs cheerfully away That one prototype in the combat scene for the derisively named "Child Thopas," "with sydes smalle," was "litel Daud," "Childe Dauy," (*Cursor Mundi*, 7424, 7520) can hardly be doubted.

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TWO CHAUCER NOTES

1 THE NAME OF SIR THOPAS

A detailed study of the Middle-English romances in their relation to Chaucer leads to two conclusions first, that Chaucer's familiarity with them is to be seen in many of his tales besides the *Rime of Sir Thopas*, and secondly, that it is futile to attempt to trace the *Thopas*, or any of its passages except the interrupted last stanza, to any single source. The most convincing comparisons in this direction have been those with the *Guy of Warwick* and the *Libeaus Desconus*¹. Yet even these studies do not pretend to offer definite and unquestioned sources. An equally imposing array of parallels, with respect to both phrasing and situation, can be brought together from the English *Partonope of Blois*².

But no clear-cut statement has yet been made concerning Chaucer's reason for choosing Thopas as the name for his hero. As to the currency of the name, Skeat cites but one instance. "The name *Topyas* occurs in *Richard Coer de Lion*, ed. Weber, II 11, as that of a sister of King Richard I, but no such name is known to history"³. In a series of articles which attempt to prove too much,

¹ F. P. Magoun, *PMLA*, XLII (1927), 833-44, Caroline Strong, *MLN*, XXIII (1908), 73 ff., 102 ff.

² Ed. Bodtker, *EETS ES*, CIX, 1912. The *Partonope*, unlike the *Guy* and the *Libeaus*, is not mentioned in Chaucer's list of romances (*Thopas* 897-900). Chaucer's references to Ypomedon and Parthonope (*Anelida* 58, *Troilus* v 1502-3) prove only his familiarity with a Latin summary of Statius, rather than with the Middle-English romances bearing those names. I believe a strong case can be made, however, for the view that the Middle-English *Partonope* was written before 1400 and was known to Chaucer, as against the theory of Miss Hibbard (*Mediaeval Romance in England*, p. 203) that the romance was "translated" under Chaucer's influence.

³ Oxford ed., IV 183. Skeat meant, of course, that no sister to Richard, whose name was Topyas, is known to history. The children of Henry II are listed in the romance (ed. Brunner, p. 90, lines 201-04) as follows:

Rychard hyzte þe fyrste, jwis,
Off whom þis romaunce jmakid is,
Jhon þat oþer forsoþe was,
Þe brydde hys sustyr Topyas

That Chaucer knew this romance has been suggested (cf. Robinson, p. 843); the unhistorical use of the name *Topyas* might well have helped to impress it on Chaucer's mind.

Lange⁴ cites two other occurrences of the name *Topas* which may have been known to Chaucer. The first is to be found in certain versions of the old romance of *Floris and Blancheflur* as the name of the heroine's mother, the second in the related *Filocolo*⁵ of Boccaccio, which was "almost certainly known to Chaucer"⁶. All these occurrences, it is to be observed, are names for women of high social rank. Chaucer's use of the name, then, would appear to be a part of his general desire to make his hero "deliberately effeminate"⁷. That the word still has feminine connotations may be seen from Loughhead's *Dictionary of Given Names* (1934), where it finds no counterpart among masculine names but provides *Topaza* as a current feminine name (p. 353).

A word as to Chaucer's spelling, as opposed to the *Topyas* of *Richard Coer de Lion*. Of the eight *NED* illustrations of the word *topaz* before Caxton, the three forms in *ias* (*topias*, *topeus*, *topyes*) are from Northern texts, the other five (*tupace*, *topaces*, *topasie*, *topaze*, *thopas*) are Southern or Midland, the last-named indicating Lydgate's deference to his master Chaucer. Thus, if the *ias* form is Northern, it is hardly to be expected that Chaucer should have employed it⁸. For "trusteth wel," he was "a Southren man". As for the *th*, note the regular Chaucerian spellings *Thelophus*, *Thesiphone*, *Thobie*, *Tholosan*, *Thymothee*, etc., this use of *th* for *t* still survives in *Thames* and *Thomas*.

⁴ Hugo Lange, "Chaucers Sir Thopas, 'Ritter Honiggold,'" *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, xxxvii, 1299 ff, 1669 ff, 1827 ff. Ross, in "A Possible Significance of the Name *Thopas*," *MLN*, xlv, 172, cites some interesting *topaz* descriptions from lapidaries but unfortunately goes too far in linking them with Chaucer's intention of writing a "satire on the Flemings". See W. W. Lawrence, *PMLA*, l, 81-91.

⁵ "una nobilissima giovane romana, nata della gente Giulia, e Giulia *Topazia* nominata," *Opere volgari di Giovanni Boccaccio*, Firenze 1829, vol. vii, i, 1, p. 13.

⁶ Robinson, *Chaucer's Complete Works*, p. 826.

⁷ See Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 844, note to line 836. With the "white leere" of line 857, compare the description of Melior in the shorter version of *Partonope* (ed. Bodtke, p. 482, line 39): "As lelye leef sche hadde the lyre."

⁸ On the northern (Lincolnshire) interpolations in *Richard Coer de Lion* (of which the form *Topyas* may be one), see Loomis, *JEGP*, xv (1916), 455-66.

2. UNLUCKY DAYS IN THE CHAUCER TRADITION

The latest editor of Chaucer in a succinct note on *Knight's Tale* 1462 f is led to question the applicability of the two lists of unlucky days printed by Professor Manly.⁹ It is to be doubted on various grounds, I think, whether Chaucer used any written list.¹⁰ But the tradition that May 3 is "unlucky," perhaps "very unlucky," is suggested by the following statement from an Anglo-Saxon list, drawn from two eleventh-century manuscripts, of the 24 days on which it is dangerous to be bled.¹¹ *On Manus monðe, se þridda daeg is derizendlic and se seofoda aer his ende*. Yet in an actual list of the 24 unlucky days of the year headed *De diebus malis cuiusque mensis*¹² the date May 3 does not appear, instead the two unlucky days in this particular month are on *Manus se eahteþa and se nyzeþa*. This list, showing a tradition which survived well into the seventeenth century,¹³ furnishes not even the slightest agreement with either of Manly's lists.

Of May 8 and 9, the latter would seem to offer to two of the Scottish Chaucerians the same appropriateness as does May 3 to the author of *The Cuckoo and the Nightingale*.¹⁴ May 9 is associated in the concluding lines of *The Thrissil and the Rois*¹⁵ with the poet's shame and "sluggardy" in celebrating the royal marriage.

⁹ Robinson, *op cit*, p 776. For Manly's lists see his edition, *Canterbury Tales*, pp 550-51.

¹⁰ See below, pp 319-20.

¹¹ M. Forster, "Die altenglischen Verzeichnisse von Glucks- und Unglückstagen," *Studies in Philology in Honor of Frederick Klaeber*, p 267.

¹² Forster, *op cit*, p 263.

¹³ Forster (see *art cit*, p 265) traces both lists to a Latin source. This second list he takes back ultimately to a Greek text (Manly admits, p 551, that the Middle-English lists vary).

¹⁴ Robinson, p 776. "Again in *The Cuckoo and the Nightingale* (l 55, Oxf Chau, VII, 349), where there may be of course a reminiscence of Chaucer, it [May 3] is associated with a lover's ill success." Here, as in Dunbar and Douglas, the date is connected with the familiar song of the birds in praise of love, and possibly the poet's fear of being accused of "sluggardy" (line 57).

No lenger wolde I in my bedde abyde

¹⁵ *Poems of Wm Dunbar*, ed J Small, II 189. There is no evidence of any historical significance in the date, cf notes, vol III, 269 ff.

Than vp I lenyt, halfingis in affrey,
 And thuss I wret, as 3e haif hard to forrow,
 Off lusty May vpone the nynt morrow

Similarly Gavin Douglas, in his prologue to the Twelfth Book of the *Aeneid*,¹⁶ tells how he likewise fears reproach for his "slug-gardy"

And with this word, in chalmer quhair I lay,
 The nynt morow of fresche temperat May,
 On fut I sprent into my bayr sark
 Les Phebus suld me losanger attaynt

But it is a far cry from such apprehension to the definite disastrous outcome of a dismal or Egyptian day. Nor are the references in Chaucer's *Hous of Fame* to December 10 and in Dunbar's *Dance of the Sevin Deidly Synnis* to February 15 to be considered as to unlucky days.¹⁷ The Anglo-Saxon lists offer no help for the May 6 of the Franklin's Tale or the June 8 of the Merchant's Tale.

That the choice of Tuesday, the day of Mars, for the tournament in the Knight's Tale (line 2491) is based on an established tradition is indicated by the following passage from the English romance *Partonope of Blois*.¹⁸

Betwene these kynges wythowten fayle
 Ys sette a day of Batayle,
 Wyche ordinaunce, wythowten naye,
 Shulde be holde apon a twysdaye,
 Wyche yn olde tyme, I wolde nozt lye,
 The day of Batayle dothe synefyne

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¹⁶ Ed J Small, iv 88, lines 19-21, 34.

¹⁷ Robinson, *op cit*, pp 332 f, lines 63, 111, *Poems of Wm Dunbar*, II 117

¹⁸ Bodtker, p 99, lines 3067-72. Weingartner, *Die Me Fassungen der Partonopeussage und ihr Verhältniss zum Af Orig*, Breslau, 1888, p 18, notes that the English romance is at this point closely translated from the French (ed Crapelet, I. 81, 2349 ff) and observes "Diese Deutung des *mardi* [of the French text] als Schlachttag (*dies martis*), welche den gelehrten Dichter verrät, hat der englische Uebersetzer hinübergenommen, indem er *tuesday* als Tag des Kriegsgottes *Zu, Trus* deutete."

THREE NOTES ON THE KNIGHT'S TALE

1 "Under the sonne" (line 1697)

Professor Tatlock's interpretation of this phrase (*MLN*, xxxvii, 377), in which he urges a clear distinction between the phrases "under the sun" and "all under the sun," is called into question by the occurrence, hitherto unnoticed in this connection, of the phrase in the fifteenth-century¹ ballad "Robin and Gandeleyne" (Child's number 115)

Gandeleyne lokyd hym est and lokyd west,
And sowt vnder the sunne

The meaning of the phrase would seem to be explained by the lines in the preceding stanza

Gandeleyne lokyd hym est and west,
By euery syde

Thus "under the sun" would mean "in every direction," an interpretation which Professor Robinson considers "less probable"² But doesn't Tatlock's interpretation read into Chaucer, rather too ingeniously, a thought which we might devoutly wish the poet's artistic mind to have entertained but which may have been far from his actual thoughts? At all events, it is clear that the above lines from "Robin and Gandeleyne" and those quoted by Professor C. Alphonso Smith (*MLN*, xxxvii, 121) from American versions of *Fair Anne*

(of She looked east, she looked west,
She looked all under the sun)

offer close variants of the same repetition formula belonging to a relatively early time in ballad history Nor is it impossible that the American versions show a form as early as that of "Robin and Gandeleyne"

¹ Although "the manuscript is put at about 1450," it has all the earmarks of a much earlier ballad Gummere (*The Popular Ballad*, p 67) calls it "very old" It might well have been known to Chaucer.

² *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, p 777 Tatlock's interpretation is accepted also by Manly, *The Canterbury Tales*, note to Knight's Tale, line 1697.

2 The thridde nyght in May (lines 1462 f.)

In the romance of "The King of Tars," which was popular in England before Chaucer's time, the Christian king and the Saracens join battle on May 3

Batayle thei sette vppon a day,
With inne the thridde day of May,
No lengor nolde thei leende ³

The battle brings in its wake complete disaster for the Christians, thirty thousand of whom (according to the Auchinleck version) are slain

The Sarazins that tyme, saunz fayle,
Slowe vr cristene in batayle,
That reuthe hit was to se ⁴

But, in spite of grievous and continued hardships, the romance comes to a happy ending (for the Christians) in the ultimate conversion of the Saracens. In the same way the Knight's Tale, in the marriage of Emily, and the Nun's Priest's Tale, in the escape of Chauntecleer, pass through "wo and wrecchednesse" to a happy ending. Herein, perhaps, lies some of the significance of the choice of St. Helen's day by the author of the romance. In Chaucer or under his influence (twice in the *Canterbury Tales*, once in the *Troilus*, and again in *The Cuckoo and the Nightingale*), May 3 brings immediate and whelming misfortune to mortals whose pleasures are of the flesh and whose pursuits are war and love. But the use of the same date in "The King of Tars" ⁵ suggests that it existed as a romance convention quite independently of Chaucer and would tend to discredit the theory that Chaucer may have introduced the date for personal reasons ⁶. That Chaucer knew not one, but many, romances like "The King of Tars" is obvious from even a cursory study of *Sir Thopas*. Hence,

³ Ed. Krause, *Æt* XI, 37. I quote from the Vernon MS version, lines 145-7. The Auchinleck version recognizes in May 3 the date of the Invention of the Cross: "Of seynt Eline, the thridde in May." The usual romance line would be the vague "So it befell upon a day," or simply "A day of battle then was set."

⁴ Vernon MS, lines 205-7.

⁵ Cited by Robinson, p. 842, as offering parallels for the Rime of Sir Thopas. See Vernon MS version, lines 13-14, 42, 130, 188, 247, 448, 729, etc.

⁶ Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 776.

if the use of May 3 was a romance convention, it seems unnecessary to assume with Professor Manly that Chaucer drew upon any written list of unlucky days, or that when Chaucer wrote "in May, the thridde nyght" he meant the evening of May 2.⁷

3 The Knight's Tale, lines 2601 ff

The alliterative description of the tournament in the *Knight's Tale* (actually lines 2601-16), which has often been compared with Chaucer's alliterative treatment of the battle of Actium (*LGW* 635-49), is likened by the poet's latest editor to the combat in *Yvain and Gawain*.⁸ But much the closest parallel, verbally and alliteratively, if not metrically, has not yet, I think, been pointed out. It occurs in the account of the climactic battle between Ipomadon and Lyolyne in the romance *Ipomadon A*,⁹ which there is reason to believe Chaucer may well have been familiar with.¹⁰ There are numerous lines in *Ipomadon A* which bear striking verbal resemblances to lines in Chaucer, especially in other portions of the *Knight's Tale*¹¹ and in the *Prioress's Tale* (which just precedes the *Thopas* in Group B²), but it will suffice to give the following passage (*Ipom A* 7989-95) for comparison with the *Knight's Tale* 2605-10.

Blode oute of there browes braste,
So harde on helmes they hewed,
They shevyrd shaftes & sondurde shyldes,
The helmes, that they on hedde weldes,
As flowres in feld they strewed,
So freshely they faught at that tyde,
The blod ranne downe on euery syde

⁷ On Professor Manly's interpretation of *to-nyght* as "the night just past" see G. P. Faust, *MLN*, XLVII, 365.

⁸ Robinson, *op cit*, p. 783.

⁹ Ed. Kolbing, pp. 220-231.

¹⁰ Robinson, p. 842, includes the *Lyfe of Ipomydon* (*Ipomadon B*, in couplets) in a list of romances offering analogues for passages in the *Sir Thopas*. But *Ipomadon A*, in tail-rime, here referred to, also offers parallels and is much closer structurally than is the *Lyfe*. The popularity of *Ipomadon* is attested by the reference to it, in somewhat the manner of the romance references in *Sir Thopas* (B 2088-90), in line 6726 of the romance *Richard Coeur de Lyon*, which also appears in Robinson's list.

¹¹ Some parallels are noted by Kolbing (e.g., notes to lines 578, 596, 934, 2467, 2493, 3009, 3652, etc.). See further Koeppe, Kaluza, and Kittredge (*ES* XIII, 482 ff., XIV, 371 ff., 386 ff.).

Another possible source for the tournament passage is, curiously enough, the English romance *Partonope of Blois*, the hero of which is twice linked by Chaucer with *Ipomadon*¹² The following lines, not paralleled in Boccaccio's *Teseide*, appear in the (again climactic) account of the end of the Three Days' Tournament, a theme which the *Partonope* has in common with the *Ipomadon*, and seem too close to the *Knight's Tale* 2600-37 to be accidental:¹³

- | | | |
|-------|---|--------------|
| 11128 | The mynstralles pipen and sownen the claryon | (KnT 2600) |
| | Fro the hors into the felde is he throwe downe | |
| | In gone the speres sadly vnder the arme, | (2602) |
| | Many oone go to grounde and yite cache no harme, | |
| 11132 | The good hors men now fiersly they ride, | (2604 rime) |
| | Through hauberke gothe the spere into the syde, | (2603) |
| | Oute with swerdes aboute helmes rounde, | |
| | He that smytten from the hors lyeth on the grounde | (2616) |
| 11136 | Out gothe the mases, stirop, and the gesarne, | (2608) |
| | { Some is broke the shuldre-bone, and some the arme } | |
| | { Some is broken the thyne and lieth gronyng sore, } | (cf 2614-17) |
| | { Some hath lusted fresshly and may no more } | |
| 11142 | And for wery of foughten some are I-take | (2617 rime) |
| | And magre her hede ben ladde to the stake | (2618) |
| | Ye wote wele of alle thing moste be an ende, | (2636) |
| | The Day is nye ydo, the sonne doth faste wende | (2637) |

Long ago Wulker expressed the belief¹⁴ that the English *Partonope* was known to Gower. The verbal parallelism noted above, in addition to that of the *Knight's Tale* with *Ipomadon A*, would suggest that the English *Partonope* may have been circulating before 1400, and that Chaucer's *Knight's Tale* is not merely a "free adaptation of the *Teseide*"¹⁵ but owes some of its lines to borrowings from English romances. It might seem reasonable to assume, in the absence of further evidence, that Chaucer's tale is a com-

¹² *Anelida* 58 f, *Troilus* v 1502 ff. In both instances Chaucer bases his account apparently on a summary of Statius, which moreover connects it with Capaneus (cf *Knight's Tale* 932). See Root, *Troilus*, p. 388, note.

¹³ Ed. Bodtker (EETS ES, cix, 1912), pp. 446 f, lines 11128-45. Cf. lines 10544-54.

¹⁴ *Anglia*, xii, 607 ff. Cf. Hibbard, *Mediaeval Romance in England*, p. 202. "Wulker's suggestion that Gower knew the English version of *Partonope* was disputed on chronological grounds by Kölbing. In the absence of any other evidence than that of the manuscripts, there seems no reason to suppose the English version antedated the fifteenth century."

¹⁵ Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 770.

posite from the pen of a Great Borrower rather than that the *Partonope* (if not the *Ipomadon*¹) shows "Chaucerian influence in [its] phraseology" (Hibbard, p. 203)¹⁶ Such an assumption involves the belief that the *Partonope* could have existed in English during Chaucer's lifetime¹⁷ An alternative lies in the possibility that this portion of the *Partonope* in the British Museum MS (beginning with line 10476?) is a late interpolation written under Chaucerian influence But it is to be observed that between them the lines from the *Ipomadon* and the *Partonope* would account in large measure for Chaucer's alliterative passage

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MORE ON CHAUCER'S PARDONER'S PROLOGUE (VI[C],
377-390)

Chaucer's Pardoner displays his expert salesmanship by urging all "wights" who have *not* committed "synne horrible" and all women who have *not* made their husbands "cokewold" to come offer to his relics Two analogues to this trick have been pointed out, one of which is in an adventure of the mediaeval German priest Amis¹ and the other is a fifteenth century exemplum² The following remarks will serve to show that the device was not only popular in anti-clerical literature, after Chaucer's time, but that it

¹⁶ There are other parallels Cf., e.g., the statement of the romance poet that the French *Parténopeus* was "ful vnkowthe and lytel knowe" (line 2337) with LGW 420 f. and "Anone owte gothe the grete gunne" (line 2946) with LGW 637.

¹⁷ Kolbing's argument (*E St* XIV, 435) does not seem too convincing "die reime beider englischen versionen [des *Partonope*] deutlich auf das 15. jahrhundert als abfassungszeit hinweisen"

¹ *Der Pfaffe Amis von dem Stricker*, in Hans Lambel, *Erzahlungen und Schwänke* (Deutsche Classiker des Mittelalters, XII), Leipzig, 1872, pp. 34 ff. This parallel was pointed out by W. B. Sedgwick, "Chaucer's Pardoner's Prologue," *MLR* XIX (1924), 336 f. For an interesting woodcut of Amis at his preaching see Karl Heiland, *Der Pfaffe Amis von dem Stricker* (Seltenheiten aus Süddeutschen Bibliotheken, I), Munich, 1912, p. 9, this is from a Strassburg print of 1481 or 1482.

² E. H. Weatherly, "A Note on Chaucer's Pardoner's Prologue," *MLN*, L (1935), 310 f.

is to be found in the writings of one of Chaucer's contemporaries and that contemporary a man whose works many would be happy to think that Chaucer had read

First we must note that Amis's trick was added to the repertory of the infinitely more widely known Tyl Eulenspiegel,³ and finally, along with other stories of that engaging rascal, found its way to the very England from which Pfaffe Amis was reported to have come. The English version, which is found in a print of William Copland of about 1528, is worthy of note

Tyl, finding it increasingly difficult to get money without labour, dressed himself in a priest's gown and procured a human skull, which he had bound with silver bands. By arrangement with a parson he exhibited it as a relic and declared that offerings to it would return a great pardon. The head, so he told the congregation, spoke to him

And whan the men and the women should come offer then saide Howleglas to the women All those yt haue made their husbandes cuckoldes should sit still and come not to offer, for the hed bad him that I should not receaue the offring, & then he came down out of the pulpet, & when he was come down, then came the poore men & their wiues & offered to the head. And ther was not on woman but she offered becaute that he had saide so and some of them offered twise or thrise, because the would be sene, and when they wer gon ther presed fresh, and thus receiued he their offering both of the good and of ye yl, so that he had gotte a great some of mony by that sayde practise.⁴

³ For a discussion to which I am indebted for a number of references see Eduard Kadlec, *Untersuchungen zum Volksbuch von Ulenspiegel* (Prager Deutsche Studien, xxvi), Prague, 1916, pp 36 f. I cite a few of many editions which contain woodcuts of Tyl in the pulpit *Ein kurtz weylig lesen von Tyl Ulenspiegel*, Strassburg, 1515 (Leipzig, Inselverlag, 1911), fol xlii(v) ff (a modern edition of this version is by Hermann Knust (Neudrucke deutscher Litteraturwerke des xvi und xvii Jahrhunderts, 55, 56), Halle, 1885), *Noctuae Speculum* (Frankfort, 1567), fol 60(v) ff, E. W. Brecht, *Leonaert Bramers Zeichnungen zum Tyl Ulenspiegel* (Leipzig, 1924), plate 31, opp p 46. Hans Sachs liked the story well enough to tell it twice *Samtliche Fabeln und Schwanke*, ed. E. Goetze and C. Drescher (Halle), II (1894), 485 ff ("Ewlenspiegel mit seim hailtûmb"), IV (1903), 66 ff ("Des Ewlenspigels hailtûmb").

⁴ *Here beginneth a merye jest of a man that was called Howleglas*, ed. Frederic Ouvry, London, 1867, pp 30 ff. The incident was taken over into *Scoggins Jests* (1613), cf F. W. D. Brie, *Eulenspiegel in England* (Palaestra, xxvii), Berlin, 1903, pp 141 f, cf p 90.

Giovanni Sercambi, whose *Novelle* has been suggested as a possible source for the frame of the *Canterbury Tales*,⁵ has one of his characters use the trick twice in a single tale.⁶ The title of the story "De Ipocriti et Fraudatores" gives but a poor inkling of its unseemly contents. Fratre Chilandrino, a sorry rogue, goes to Mossano, hoping there to gain rich offerings from the faithful at that locality's largely attended market, and there he makes his headquarters at the inn of Giovannetto da Barca. He goes to the market and soon gathers an audience.

Frate Chilandrino, che sapea l'arti della birba, dopo il predicare disse, che si facesse bene alla badia di Vallombrosa. Ma ben dicea. Se fusse alcuno omo che avesse ucciso alcuno suo compare, non faccia limosina. Et simile, se neuna donna avesse morto o compare o comare, non faccia limosina, perchè l'abate non la riterrà. Ditto queste parole, ognuno fe' offerta in quantità. (P. 128)

Among other offerings he receives a face cloth and bath towel. That night Chilandrino entertains two young ladies of easy virtue at the inn. The host's wife, Narda, conceals herself in the bedroom, and while she feels, we may say justly, that none of Chilandrino's conduct that night is distinguished by piety, it seems to her that the crowning indignity to his calling comes when he gives the face cloth and towel to his naughty guests. Next day she upbraids him, and declares that he need not expect to receive another offering from her. He wagers a dinner that she will give as the others do:

Venuta la domenica, sonata la campana per la predica, le genti venute tante, che tutto'l mercato copriano, lo frate predica, et ultimamente, venendo alla limosina, disse che [li] omini stessero disseparsi dalle donne, e così fu. E messo uno tappeto in terra, disse. A chi vuol fare limosina alla badia di Vallombrosa si dica quello che altre volte di disse. E più dico, che qualunqua donna avesse fatto fallo al suo marito, che non dia limosina, però che 'l santo abate non l'accettere'. Le donne, come sentinno tal parola, chi non avea dinari si levava la benda di capo et in sul tappeto la gittava. Narda, che vede a furia le femmine dare offerte, dice fra sè medesima. Se io offerisco perdo la cena. E deliberato pure l'offerire, se misse mano alla borsa e trassene uno denaro e quasi fu la deretana et offerse. (P. 131)

⁵ H. B. Hinckley, *Notes on Chaucer*, Northampton, Mass., 1907, pp. 2 f., K. Young, *Kittredge Anniversary Papers*, pp. 406 ff.

⁶ *Novelle Inedite di Giovanni Sercambi*, ed. R. Renier, Turin, 1889, pp. 128 ff.

The prohibition of offerings to those who have committed murder, specifically that of a "gossip," as well as of adulteresses reminds us of the Pardoner's "synne horrible" (l. 379), but more evidence than this must be forthcoming before we can have any real assurance that Chaucer had read Sercambi.⁷

The tradition used by Sercambi is followed by Heinrich Bebel, three of whose anecdotes, first published in 1508, read as follows

63 *De eodem [De quodam sacerdote]*

Idem cum semel ex sacco suo vellet depromere reliquias, quibus rusticos decipiebat, nihil invenit nisi fenum rustici enim priori nocte reliquias clam ablatis ioci gratia fenum imposuerunt Ille extracto feno mox ad veisutum ingenium versus dixit illud esse, super quo die natali in praesaepio requievisset Salvator noster infans, et illius esse efficaciae, ut nec adulter nec adultera accedere auderet Unde et si multis mendacium visum fuerit, ne tamen quisquam in suspicionem veniret adulteri, turmatim mulieres et viri accesserunt fenum oblationibus venerantes

64 *De eodem*

Idem deposuit cum hospita pro lautissimo prandio, quod et ea ipsa suum altare accederet, et obtinuit Nam hospite maluit soluere prandium quam esse in suspicione adulteri, cuius ille insimulavit omnes, qui eius reliquias non venerarentur

65 *De stationario quodam*

Alter ex his, quos nostri stationarios vocant, cum pro furatis reliquis carbonibus inveniret, eductis illis dixit eos esse, quibus sanctus Laurentius esset combustus

Tanta enim est nequitia illorum hominum, ut nihil non audeant ementiri.⁸

The popularity of Bebel's collection served to give these stories considerable notoriety which the rising tide of the Reformation and the consequent desire to believe any harm of the older religious order did nothing to hinder.⁹ An amplified version, though prob-

⁷ The date of the *Novelle* is usually placed near 1374, in which year the plague struck Lucca, but Letterio di Francia (*Novellistica* [Storia dei Generi Letterari Italiani], Milan, 1924, I, 226) suggests dates as late as 1385 and 1387 for individual tales

⁸ *Heinrich Bebel's Facetien*, I, 63, 64, 65, ed Gustav Bebermeyer (Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, CCLXXVI), Leipzig, 1931, pp 27 f For a German translation, enriched with numerous notes, to some of which I am indebted, see Albert Wesselski, *Heinrich Bebel's Schwanke*, Munich, 1907, I, 31 f and 144 ff We observe in No 65 the probable influence of Boccaccio (cf note 11 below)

⁹ See the notes in Wesselski's translation and also the following, par-

ably not from Bebel, is found in Henri Estienne's curious and conglomerate *Apologue pour Hérodote*¹⁰ which I give here in R C's English translation of 1607, *A World of Wonders*

To this knauery we may adde the imposture formerly mentioned, practised by those hucksters who made the world beleue, that the bones of the first malefactor they met withall (for want of better) were the miraculous bones of such or such a Saint, which they call reliques And because there is a notable example of this kind of cousinage, witnessed euen by Popelings themselues (of which as yet no mention hath bene made) I will here insert it But forasmuch as I haue heard it told otherwise then *Boccace* hath recorded it (albeit the difference be in the circumstance and not in the substance) I will relate it both wayes, leauing the Reader to his choice And first I will tell it as I heard it A pedler of Popish wares hauing pawned his reliques in a tauerne, and being not able to redeeme them, bethought himselfe of this deuice He tooke vp a coale in the presence of his hostesse, of whom he had borrowed the money, wrapping it vp in a faire linnen cloth Whereat she began to mocke and make merry Why hostesse (quoth he) what is the matter? do you indeed make a mocke at my coale? I will make you kisse it for all this before it be night Whereupon she would needs wager with him, that he could not make her kisse it Well then (quoth he) let the wager be for so much as I owe you, vpon condition that if I winne you shall deliuer me my reliques againe The bargaine being agreed vpon, this gentle Frier (whose wit was not gone of wool-gathering) went to the Church, where he told the people that he would not shew them the reliques he was wont to shew them, but one farre more precious and therewith vnfoldng his faire cloth, he shewed them his coale, saying, My good friends, do you marke this coale? I tell you it is one of those coales, vpon which the glorious martyr *S Laurence* was broyled, and it hath a certaine secret property, for no maide that hath lost her virginittie, nor any houswife that hath broken the bond of matrimony, may come neare to kisse it for if they do, they wil be in great danger He had no sooner spoken the words, but there was great thronging about him, she thinking her selfe happiest which could first come to kisse it euey silly soule, both maid and matron desiring to shew openly that their consciences did not accuse them secretly His hostesse on the one side well perceiuing that if she kissed it her wager was lost, and knowing on the other side, that if she did not, she should be suspected to haue playd her husband a slippery touch, & should not be beleueed though she made neuer such report of the wager which she had

ticularly the second *Les Comptes du Monde Adventureux*, ed F Frank, Paris, 1878, I, 57 ff, esp 60, *Wendunmuth von Hans Wilhelm Kirchhof*, ed H Osterley (Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, xcvi ff), Tübingen 1869, I, 539 f and v, 70 (notes)

¹⁰ Ed P Ristelhuber, Paris, 1879, II, 408 ff

layd, went after all the rest, & kissed this fooles bable By this deuce this iolly Frier redeemed his relikes without disbursing one penny, and increased moreouer the number of them, by adding this vnto the old *Menot* the *Franciscan*, whose testimony we need not to suspect (considering he was made of the same mould, a Frier of the same fry) toucheth this story but by the way, yet he agreeth with me in this circumstance, that the relikes were left in the tauerne his words are these *Fol 41 col 4* *Dic de illis qui reliquias suas in taberna perdidierunt, & stipitem inuentum in sudario, loco reliquiarum suarum, dixerunt esse quo beatus Laurentius combustus fuerat*¹¹

It is evident, as Mr Weatherley suggests, that we are dealing with an old and well established tradition, one which could not only be referred to more or less casually, as by Chaucer and in Mr Weatherley's exemplum, but which also found its way into the simple story of the skull and the series of rather elaborate tales in which a hostess is one of the central figures It is, of course, impossible to say just where Chaucer found the story

Finally it may be of interest to note the slight alterations which were made in the story by John Heywood, when he incorporated so much of Chaucer's Pardoner in his own *Pardoner and Friars*

But one thyng ye women all I warant you
Yf any wyght/ be in this place now
That hathe done syn/ so horryble that she
Dare nat for shame/ therof shryuen be
Or any woman/ be she yonge or olde
That hathe made her husbande cockolde
Such folke shall haue/ no power nor no grace
To offer to my relykes/ in this place
And who so fyndyth/ her selfe out of suche blame
Com hyther to me on crystes holy name¹²

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¹¹ Pp 349 f He goes on to give a summary of Boccaccio's tenth story of the sixth day, which concerns St Laurence's coals, among other relics, but is without reference to the preacher's trick Boccaccio's version appears in Martin Montanus's *Garten Gesellschaft*, c 104, edited with valuable notes by J Bolte (Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, cccvii, Tübingen, 1899), pp 404 ff and 628 For the quotation from Menot see *Sermons Choisis de Michel Menot* (1508-1518), ed Joseph Neve, Paris, 1924, p 259

¹² *A mery play betwene the pardoner and the frere/ the curate and neybour Pratte*, 1533, sig A⁴ (ll. 173 ff).

SOME NOTES ON HERALDRY AND CHAUCER

In the scientific and pseudo-scientific treatises on heraldry published in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century are some interesting references to Chaucer. I list here a few which have hitherto escaped notice.

I.

In John Guillim's *A Display of Heraldrie Manifesting a more easie accesse to the knowledge thereof then hath beene hitherto published by any, through the benefit of METHOD wheremto it is now reduced by the industry of Joh Guillim Pursuuant of Armes* London. Printed by William Hall for Raphe Mab 1611 occur two allusions to Chaucer and his family¹

1 At Sect v, ch 2 (p 243) is a description of Chaucer's arms "He beareth parted *per Pale, Argent* and *Gules, a Bend Counter-changed* This Coat pertained to the famous and learned Poet Geoffrey Chaucer Esquire, whom *Leiland* and others suppose to haue beene borne at *Woodstooke* in *Oxfordshire* but some gather by his words in the *Tastament of Loue*, that he was borne in the City of *London*, though his education and aboade were in *Oxford* and *Woodstock*, in the eighth yeere of King *Richard* the second This Prince of *English Poets* was *Comptroler* of the *Customs* house in *London*, as *Thomas Speght* in his *Additions to the Works of Chaucer*, noteth and to this most learned of *Poets*, the most learned of *Antiquaries*² applieth those verses

—*Hic ille est, cuius de gurgite Sacro, &c*
Lo this is he, from whose abundant streame drinne,
Our Poets drinke their fits, and draw their fancies fine
And being now to high Parnassus top aspired,
He laughs to see the Rout below with clymning tired"

2 At Sect iv, Ch 6 (p 202) is a description of the armour of "*Sir Payne Roet Knight*, who had a daughter married to the famous *English Poet Sir Geoffrey Chaucer* "

There are also in the *Display* two allusions to Chaucer's work, and both of them throw some light on Chaucer's text. The passages follow.

3 Lib 1, Ch 4 (p 15) under the heading "Potent Counter potent" "This sort of *furre* or *doubling*, was (as *Leigh* noteth) of some old

¹ I quote a 1611 copy (first edition) in the Folger Shakespeare Library. It is inscribed on the title-page "Liber Henrici Colman."

² William Camden, quoted by Speght (1598), p. ciii.

Heralds called *varry cuppy* and *varry tassa*, which (saith hee) is asmuch to say, as a *Furre* of *cupps*, but himself calleth it *Meire*, for so he rechnerh it well blazoned, and very ancient, and a *Spanish* coate, But I hold it better blazoned, *Potent Counterpotent*, for the resemblance it hath of the heads of *Crowches* which *Chaucer* calleth *Potents*, *Quia potentiam tribuunt infirmis*, as appereth in his description of *old age*, in the *Romcant of the Rose*

*So eld she was that she ne went
Afoote, but it were by potent*"³

4 Sect VI, Ch 5 (p 266) opposite a marginal "Sir Geoffrey Chaucer" gives this note on *Mantle*

"Of this kind of *Habt* the famous Sr *Ieffrey Chaucer* maketh mention in the *Knights Tale*, where treating of the aduentures of *Palemon* and *Arcite* for the loue of *Emely* the *Dukes* daughter of *Athens*, he describeth the *habits* and *ornaments* of the *Kings* that accompanied them to the lists of *Combate* where of *Demetrius* King of *India*, he saith, that he

*Came riding like the God of Armes Mars,
His Coat-armour was of Cloth of Thrace,
Couched with Pearle white round and great,
His Saddle was of burnisht gold new y beate
A mantle on his shoulders hanging
Beat full of Rubies red as fire sparkling*⁴

Where I collect, that this *Mantle* here mentioned was worne for the purposes formerly spoken,⁵ and that in the hanging thereof from the shoulders of *Demetrius* it did cast it selfe into many plaits (as naturally all garments of large size do) which forme of *plaiting* in the Art of *painting*, is termed *drapery*"

II

Gerard Legh also refers to Chaucer in his *Accedence of Armoine*. At folio 202, verso, occurs this passage

He beareth Azure, a Pegasus Argent, Called the horse of honour whose condicion Sorares y^e xxiii Emperour of Assiria honored so muche for his

³ Francis Nower's ed of 1660, p 24, uses Speght's 1602 text exactly

"So old she was that she ne went

A foot, but it were by potent"

⁴ Speght's text has been 'modernized,' especially in the following

"His Sadle was of brent gold new ybet

Brette full of rubies, red as fire sparkling"

(Cf 1602 ed fol 6, verso)

⁵ Worn by commanders in field to indicate their rank and to protect their armor

swifte course, As he Iudged him not framed, of the grosse masse of comen horses And therefore S Geffreye Chaucer built vnto him (after of his owne nature and condicio, a house caled Fame, a place mete for the horse of honour) whose original the poets fayne, was when valiant Perseus the souldier of the goddes Pallas, in dangerous fight atchiued by helpe of her glittering shielde, the battaile against Medusa,

III.

John Bossewell, *Workes of Armorie deuided into three bookes, entituled, the Concordes of Armorie, the Armorie of Honor, and of Coates and Creastes*, cites Chaucer's work

1 Fol 46^r "But if yee will haue Loue, or Cupide excellently sette forth, euen in his colours, as he is fayned of the Poetes, then reade M G Chaucer, especially his booke entituled, The Romante of the Rose"

2 At fol 90^r "Chaucer sayeth that habite, maketh no mōcke, ne wearing of gylte Spurres, maketh a knyghte"

IV

Another treatise which quotes Chaucer is John Selden's *Titles of Honor*, London, 1614

1 P 292 Regarding *Vavasour*, Selden says

"Yet *Chaucer* describing his *Frankleyn*, whom hee makes a better Hous keeper, then in hast are mongst the best to be now found, thus mentions the Name

At Sessions there was he Lord and Sire,
Full oft time he was Knight of the Shire
o Poygnard An o Anlace, and p Gipsere all of Silke
p Pouch Hing at his girdle, white as Morow milke
A Sherife had he ben, and a Countour
Was no where soch a worthy Vauesour"

2 P 341 Regarding *Esquires*

"And that attendance, on their Knights at Table, well agrees with *Chaucers* supposition of his Squire, that

Curteis he was, lowly and seruisable,
And kerfte before his fader at the Table

His Father was the Knight"

3 *Ibid*

"And old * Jeffrey

* Gerard Legh, *Accedence of Armorie*, London, 1562

* John Bossewell, *Workes of Armorie*, London, 1572

"As, for to spare in houshold thy dispençe,
 * Marchants tale A true seruant doth more diligençe,

[quotes six more lines]

V

The last of the group is Johanne Gibbono's *Introductio ad Latinam Blasoniam*⁸

P 16 "And indeed in the Life of *Chaucer* (prefix to his Works) I find his Arms (which are *party per pale Arg Gules, a bend counter-changed*) thus blazoned in Latine, Arma de argento & rubro colore partita per longitudinem scuti cum benda ex transverso eisdem coloribus, sed transmutatis depicta."

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OLD ENGLISH *PRIUSA* 'TABANUS BOVINUS'

The history of the Germanic words for "gadfly, *Tabanus bovinus*" does no great honor to the philological acumen of medieval scholars and less yet to the critical powers of their present-day followers. True, the words are philological *crucies* of the first rank: old school methods are quite helpless to account for such variants as Old English *prusa*, *brusa*, English *breeze*, *breeze-fly*, Old High-German *premo*, *bremo*, German *Brimse*. When dealt with, however, by the only possible scientific method in philology, which considers the history of every word as an investigation by itself, unrelated to any other investigation, and, taking the documents in the case, as we have them, studies their history impartially, without bias or preconceived notion, the gadfly-words, so to speak, lose their stings and reveal themselves for what they are: rather pleasing ghosts.

There are two sources for gadfly-lore which were accessible to medieval naturalist-philologists: a classical source and a Biblical-patristic source. The latter, with which we are not concerned for the history of the Germanic gadfly-words, is in Hosea IV, 16: the former, on which our history depends, is in Virgil, *Georgics*, III, 146-156.

⁸ Johanne Gibbono, *Introductio ad Latinam Blasoniam*, London, 1682.

est lucos Silari circa ilicibusque virentem
 plurimus Alburnum volitans, cui nomen asilo
 Romanum est, oestrum Grai vertere vocantes,
 asper, acerba sonans, quo tota exterrita silvis
 diffugiunt armenta furit mugitibus aether
 concussus silvaeque et sicci ripa Tanagri
 hoc quondam monstro horribilis exercuit iras
 Inachiae Iuno pestem meditata iuvencae
 hunc quoque (nam medius fervoribus acrior instat)
 arcebis gravido pecori, armentaque pasces
 sole recens orto aut noctem ducentibus astris

The gadfly, traditionally created by the jealous Juno to torment Io, in heifer-form pregnant by Jupiter, is represented by Virgil as a pest to all cattle, but particularly to cows in calf. It is the same classical tradition which Theodoret (Migne, Pat. Gr., LXXXI, 1576) has in his note to Hosea, iv, 16, when he says that cows may be driven insane by gadflies, so that they will run wild and leap to death from a precipice. St. Jerome, however, in his comments on the same passage, so neatly brings the two sources together, that we cannot refrain from quoting in full, a portion of his observations:

(Migne, Pat. Lat., xxv, 896 ff., Hosea, iv, 16) *sicut vacca lascivrens declinavit Israel*. Pro lasciviente vacca, Septuaginta transtulerunt *παραιρπῶσα*, quae oestro asyloque percussa sit, quem vulgo *tabanum* vocant. De quo et Virgilius in tertio *Georgicorum* libro refert

. cui nomen asilo,
 Romanum est oestrum Grai vertere vocantes,
 Asper acerba sonans quo tota exterrita silvis
 Diffugiunt armenta furit mugitibus aether
 Concussus, silvaeque et sicci ripa Tanagri

Quia ergo insanivit Israel, et percussus fornicationis spiritu, incredibili furore bacchatus est, ideo non multo post tempore, sed dum propheto, dum spiritus hos regit artus, *pascet eos Dominus quasi agnum in latitudine*. Quia metaphoram a vacca lasciviente, sive oestro ceperat, servat in reliquis, ut captivitatem in Assyrios, et in latissimam Medorum terram dispersionem populi Israel quasi in campo latissimo et in spatiosa terra gregis et agnorum pasturam vocet. Super haereticis prona intelligentia est. Sicut enim vacca percussa asilo, percussi sunt haeretici ardentibus diaboli sagittis, et legis notitiam reliquerunt ideo pascentur in lata et spatiosa via, quae ducit ad mortem, et patientia Domini bonique pastoris eos nutriet ad interitum.

Here it is evident that St. Jerome is referring to the behavior of the *lascivious heifer*, the result of the gadfly's sting, as Israel's spirit of fornication is likened to it by him.

Theodore of Mopsuestia, who lived a generation after St Jerome, carries the interpretation of Hosea iv, 16 a step farther, since he understands *παροιστρῶσαν* wholly figuratively "like a heifer *in heat*, urged to lustful behavior, so Israel, by unchastened desire, has turned to idolatry" (Migne, *Pat Gr*, Tom LXVI, 152) From this interpretation has grown the modern usage of *oestrum* to signify the period of heat in cows and other domestic animals. We shall deal with certain additional lexical by-products of this development, elsewhere for the present, we are concerned only with the names of the insect in the Germanic languages.

The Virgilian locus *cui nomen asilo* etc., is explained by Servius

Nigidius de animalibus asilus est musca varia, tabanus, bubus maxime nocens hic apud Graecos *prūs* μύψ vocabatur, postea a magnitudine incommodi, oestrum appellarunt et hoc est quod ait *oestrum Grai vertere vocantes*, non de Latino in Graecum, sed de Graeco in suam linguam quae prior fuit (Ed Thilo and Hagen, III, 1, p 289)

We doubt not that the reader who recalls the Old English *pruusa* is aware of the fact that the trail is growing warm. Quite so a clever student who was not a very good Latinist misinterpreted the second sentence of the foregoing comment to mean "this insect was called *prūs myops* by the Greeks, etc." Thence came the gloss as we have it in the eighth century edited by Hessels *tabanus pruusa*, in which *pruusa* is nothing but the *prūs* of Servius's comment! The same gloss, with a dialectic variation in spelling, appears in the Corpus Glossary as *asilo briosa* and *tabanus briosa*. Thus a ghost-word established itself in Old English, surviving in modern English as *breeze*-(fly).

In modern German, the gadfly is *Bremse* whereas, as we have noted, the word is *premo*, *bremo* in Old High-German—in the oldest sources, the Virgilian glosses, and only once, in a late document (SS iv, 225) *prumissa*. We must begin with the Virgilian glosses, *asglo premo*, *asilo brfmp* (*bremo*), *asilo bremo* (SS, II, 637, 39, 702, 54, 726, 33), all to the lemma *asilo* in Georgics III, 147. Here we discover one of the odd chances or mischances which make history. A variant text of Servius, on Georgics III, 148, *oestrum Grai vertere* has the same explanation drawn from Nigidius on the gadfly, but slightly differently worded.

Quomodo *Grai vertere*, cum omnia quae latina sunt, a graeca ratione descendant? solvit quaestionem Graeci cum *myopem primo* dixerint,

displeunt nomen, quia proprium non erat oestrum dixerunt, hoc est quia furiam oestrum vocant

Here, the wording is such as to make a misinterpretation inevitable "although the Greeks called the myops 'primo,' the name was displeasing, because it was not suitable they called it *oestrum*, that is, because they call fury *oestrum* . " Thence a gloss *asilo primo*, from which developed the Old High-German *asilo premo*, with the ghost-word *premo* a candidate for enrollment as German!

Now to go back to the Old English *pruusa*. We must not think of medieval schools as places in which intellectual regimentation was the inviolable rule The very history of the Germanic gadfly-words has left a clear trail of spirited seminar debates, as has also the record of the Old English doublet *pruusa briosa* The spelling *briosa* of the Corpus glossary is plain evidence of the emergence in England of the dialectic split seen in the continental *premo bremo* Moreover the Leyden manuscript which has *pruusa* has kept the record of a philologist who exercised his prerogative to emend the text before him We quote Hessels' note.

MS *pruusa*, but *p* corrected into *b* The *u* is marked for erasure by a small fine dot underneath, and above it is written *mu* in small fine writing, and hence *brumisa*

Hessels prints *brumisa*, which Lindsay quotes in a note to *briosa* of the Corpus glossary, which is closer to *pruusa* than it is to *brumisa* We have no doubt that the person responsible, directly or indirectly, for Old High German *primissa* (SS iv, 225), simply anticipated by a few centuries the conclusions of Hessels regarding the meaning of the notes to *pruusa* in the Leyden glossary What we do not feel sure of, however, is that the philologist who originally corrected *pruusa* in favor of a different reading, made his intent perfectly clear.

It is certain that the aforementioned emendation called for the change of *p* to *b* and the deletion of *u* The philologist, we strongly suspect, was not English but German And, since Old High-German *brema* survived in Middle High-German as *breme* and in German as *Breme*, while *bream* "a kind of fleeing vermin that stingeth cattell" is, under date of 1589, cited as English by the Oxford Dictionary—if both German *Breme* and English *bream* are not borrowed from Dutch *brem*—it is hard to escape the con-

clusion that he was trying to change *prusa* into anything but *brun* or *breme*. For those who feel the need of a theory to explain every detail, we suggest that perhaps the philologist was not wholly to blame: the necessary mark of deletion over the final *-sa* of *prusa* may have been inserted by him in his original emendatory note, only to be omitted by a later copyist. That the note was misunderstood is shown not only by Old High-German *primissa*, German *Biemse*, but also by Middle Dutch *Bremse*, Old Norse *brims* and an English citation of 1579, *brimse*, given by the Oxford Dictionary.

Only by a philological method founded on the study of documents, is it possible thus to demonstrate the identity of source for both English *breeze* and German *Bremse*, ghost words.

PHILLIPS BARRY

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A NOTE ON GAUTIER DE COINCY

In the verses which form the introduction to *La Nativité Notre Dame*¹ the poet, after announcing his intention of singing "En l'onneur Dieu et en memoire De la haute dame de gloire," tells us

6	S'i lairai toute vanite Et trestoute oiseuse parole Car li pensers mainte ame afole Et torne a pardurable mort Ma conscience me remort De ce que tant i ai musé, S'i ai trop de mon tens usé, De quoi por sot je me tesmoing
---	---

A little later he says

27	Mais se pooie tant ouvrer Que je peusse recouvrer Le tens que j'ai mis en escrire Et en trover trufes et dire, Tant qu'en la dame de concorde Puisse trover misericorde,
----	---

¹ Edited by R. Reinsch and ascribed to Gautier de Coincy, *ASNS*, LXVII (1882), 73 ff.

J'aroie fait plus grant gaaigne
Que s'estoie quens de Champagne

Here, then, if the *Nativité* be indeed the work of the author of *Les Miracles de la sainte Vierge*, is a hitherto neglected bit of information of the highest interest for Gautier de Coincy's biography. It would indicate that before consecrating himself to the type of literature for which we know him, Gautier occupied himself actively with literature of a worldly nature. But is this in accord with the facts we have concerning Gautier? He entered monastic life, we know, at the age of fifteen or sixteen² and from all indications took his vocation seriously. Of course, he may, as a young monk, have been interested in profane works to a degree unwarranted by his calling and which he was later to find blameworthy, but, even so, it is hardly admissible that he actually engaged in the composition of secular poetry as the author of the *Nativité* reproaches himself for having done in the passages cited above. These latter, in fact, have the character of being the words of a *ménestrel* who had turned, like Helinand,³ to religion and was repenting the frivolity of his former estate rather than those of one who had been under monastic rule from the age of sixteen or younger. We are, therefore, impelled towards the conclusion that Gautier did not write the *Nativité*.

This conclusion finds support in the circumstance that the language of the *Nativité* and that of the works definitely known to be Gautier's are not identical.⁴ Ott, who accepted the attribution of

² "MCXCIII Galterus de Coinssiaco monachus factus est tempore Bertranni abbatis, et erat quindecim vel sexdecim annorum" (*Chronicon S. Medardi Suessionensis*). See A. Ducrot Granderye, *Études sur les "Miracles Nostre Dame" de Gautier de Coincy* (*Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae*, B, xxv² Helsinki, 1932), p. 140, n. 4.

³ Cf. also Denis Piramus in *La Vie sainte Edmund le roi* (ed. H. Kjellman, Göteborg, 1935), vss. 1-24.

⁴ See A. C. Ott, *Gautier de Coincy's Christenleben* (Erlangen, 1922), pp. lxxix (lee > ie), cxxxiii (epenthetic e in future and conditional forms), cxxxvi (analogical e in ending of first person present indicative of first conjugation verbs), cxxxviii, also W. D. Trautman in *The University of Chicago Abstracts of Theses, humanistic series*, I, 342, n. 2. A more thorough-going study of Gautier's language must, of course, await the appearance of a satisfactory edition of the *Miracles*. Ott had nearly completed at the time of his death in 1934 an edition based on four manuscripts, there is some possibility that this will be published eventually by

the *Nativité* to Gautier, would explain this fact on the ground that the poet, having been transplanted from one dialectal domain to another, still retained at the time of writing the so-called *Jugendwerken* linguistic traits from his mother dialect which were to become attenuated in his new environment and are not, consequently, so manifest in his later works⁵ There is no reason to believe, however, that Gautier was not a native of the Soissons region in which his literary activity took place. Ott's theory is based on the false assumption that Soissons belonged to the Francien domain and that the Picardisms which can be ascertained in the *Vie de sainte Cristine* and in the *Miracles* were foreign to the region. An unpublished investigation by Professor W. D. Trautman shows conclusively that the language of Soissons in the thirteenth century was Picard rather than Francien; charts and cartularies of the region show the same Picard characteristics found in Gautier's writings.

If Gautier did not write the *Nativité*, he exerted, nevertheless, considerable influence upon its author. Thus are to be accounted for the stylistic similarities which have been alleged, notably by Reinsch (*loc. cit.*), in favor of the attribution to Gautier. Of course, given his subject matter, it is but natural that the author should have made Gautier his model.⁶

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E. Lommatzsch. The writer of the present article has in project a critical edition involving collation of all the manuscripts, not a provisional edition as announced in *Ro*, LXI (1935), 127. A recent publication (E. Boman, *Deux Miracles de Gautier de Coincy*, Paris, 1935) treats Gautier's language, but the treatment is based upon only 1300 verses of the *Miracles*.

⁵ *Christinnenleben*, p. cxxxviii, see also Långfors, *Ro*, L (1924), 118.

⁶ The author of the *Nativité* was not alone in his imitation of Gautier. See J. Morawski, "Mélanges de littérature pieuse," *Ro*, LXI (1935), 173 and 316, also Ducrot-Granderye, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

REVIEWS

Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart Von Professor FRIEDRICH VOGT und Professor MAX KOCH Fünfte Auflage, neubearbeitet und erweitert von Dr WILLI KOCH Zweiter Band Leipzig Bibliographisches Institut, 1934 xi + 460 pp

A Panorama of German Literature from 1871-1931 By FÉLIX BERTAUX, translated with Bibliographies by John J Troun-
stine New York Whittlesey House (McGraw-Hill Book
Co) vi + 332 pp

Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung. Von Dr HANS ROHL Leip-
zig Teubner Achte Auflage, viii + 382 pp

Von deutscher Dichtung Ein Führer durch die Geschichte der
deutschen Literatur Von WILHELM VOGELPOHL Leipzig
Teubner, 1932 viii + 196 pp

Geschichte der deutschen Literatur Von Professor TH C VAN
STOCKUM und Professor J VAN DAM Erster Band Von
den Anfängen bis zum achtzehnten Jahrhundert Groningen
J B Wolters, 1934. xii + 315 pp

An der Neuauflage des Vogt und Koch, die man wohl trotz Bedenken willkommen heißen wird, da wir an Gesamtdarstellungen dieses Umfangs Mangel leiden, ist das Erfreulichste die vorzug-
liche Ausstattung mit 2 T farbigen Bildwiedergaben und die
knappe aber ausreichende Bibliographie (in der, wie immer, die
ausländischen Beiträge sehr spärlich angegeben werden, z B fehlt
Thomas Goethe, während die fragwürdige Biographie von Barthel
registriert wird) Bei der Überarbeitung, die manches verbessert
und dem Stande der Forschung nahegebracht hat, konnte natür-
lich die Gesamtanlage nicht angetastet werden, und so steht denn
noch Gotthelf im "Realismus" neben Keller, Rosegger und den
Münchnern (1), Fontane neben Jordan, Freytag und der Gräfin
Hahn-Hahn, Hebbel neben Bismarck und C. F Meyer Dafür
kann schließlich der gerühmte "nationale" Standpunkt Max
Kochs und sein Kampf gegen "alle zersetzenden Einflüsse und
Stromungen im deutschen Schrifttum," dem wir wohl das völlige
Versagen einer wissenschaftlichen Betrachtungsweise Heine und
sogar Grabbe gegenüber verdanken, nicht entschädigen. Da der
Bearbeiter Willi Koch im dritten, noch ausstehenden Bande freie
Hand hat, darf man die Darstellung der Zeit von 1880 bis heute
mit Spannung erwarten.

Über diesen Zeitraum liegt nun das auch ins Englische übersetzte Buch von Bertaux vor. Der Titel ist gut gewählt, denn wir bekommen in der Tat keine organisch aufgebaute Geschichtsentwicklung, sondern eine panoramische Schau. Der erste Teil gibt die allgemeinen Zustände zur Zeit der naturalistischen Revolution und prägt den praktischen Ausdruck Illusionismus für gewisse Zeiterscheinungen, gegen die der Naturalismus ankämpft. Während gerade diese Übersicht gut gelungen ist, überraschen manche Fehlurteile wie die Unterschätzung besonders Kellers ("minor artist") und das Nichtvorhandensein Raabes, die Charakterisierung Storms als traumerischen Erzählers mit Übersehen des Problems der Vererbung in Verknüpfung mit seinen eigenen Familienerlebnissen. Dagegen wird Conradi sonderbar überschätzt, Bolsche zu stark auf "konsequenten Naturalismus" festgelegt, Polenz nicht erwähnt.

Der zweite Teil ist in der Hauptsache eine Sammlung von—sehr guten—Essays über Hauptmann, Liliencron, Dehmel, Rilke, George, die Manns, Wassermann. Nur der frühe Schnitzler wird behandelt, Hofmannsthal durch die Brille des Georgekreises gesehen ohne Erfassung seiner konsequenten und früh angelegten Entwicklung. Im dritten Teil lösen sich die Hohenzüge des Panoramas völlig in eine unübersehbare Menge von Einzelpunkten auf, die für die ungeheure Belesenheit des Verfassers sprechen, aber doch kein richtiges Gesamtbild der späteren Bewegungen vermitteln. Man hat den Eindruck, daß dieser Abschnitt aus Notizen und Besprechungen zusammengearbeitet ist, anregend, nie ganz falsch, aber doch ohne klarenden inneren Zusammenhang.

Die Tatsache, daß hier ein Nichtdeutscher die deutsche Literatur von außen mit frischer Unvoreingenommenheit sieht, ist an sich schon ein Wert, indessen traut man bei Bertaux' Eingehen auf z. T. sogar dem Eingeweihten unbekannte Schriftsteller kaum seinen Augen, wenn man findet, daß Namen wie die Ricarda Huchs, Paul Ernsts, Handel-Mazettis, Kolbenheyers, Stehrs, Schafers, Ina Seidels, Agnes Miegels, Wilhelm von Scholz' völlig fehlen, ganz zu geschweigen von Winkler, Wiechert, Kneip, Johst, Lersch oder gar Claudius, Fallada und anderer. Wir im Auslande wissen nur zu gut, welche Schwierigkeiten Stehr oder Kolbenhever dem Fremdsprachigen bieten, aber daß ein Gelehrter, der wie Bertaux ein Verständnis für deutschen Irrationalismus zeigt, diese ganze Gruppe übersehen haben sollte (nicht einzelne Dichter!) kann nicht anders als schwere Unterlassungssunde genannt werden und gibt den nationalsozialistischen Vorwürfen einen willkommenen Angriffspunkt.

Die Bibliographie der englischen Ausgabe ist eine sehr erwünschte Beigabe.

Die Rohlsche Literaturgeschichte, von den kurzgefaßten Leitfäden wohl der zuverlässigste, liegt in achter Auflage vor und hat

durch Zusätze manche Verbesserung erfahren Schubart, Fichte und Hegel sind aufgenommen, Stifter ist besonders auch mit den späteren Werken berücksichtigt worden, das Kapitel über neuere Dichtung ist völlig umgearbeitet und erweitert worden, und ein Schlußkapitel berichtet über Literaturgeschichtsschreibung und Prinzipien der Forschung Zusammen mit Korff-Lindens Aufriß, diesen durch breitere Darstellung und eine Fülle von Material ergänzend, hat sich der Rohl als Leitfaden für Studenten auch hierzulande bewährt Dagegen kam Vogelpohl, der das ganze Gewicht auf die Zeit seit Friedrich dem Großen (ca 140 gegen 50 Seiten) legt, wohl höchstens für Collegegebrauch in Betracht, wo er wegen seiner sehr einfachen Sprache nicht unwillkommen sein sollte

Theoretischer, mit Angabe von Quellen, Streitfragen, methodologischen Erwägungen, geht die holländische Literaturgeschichte van Stockums und van Dams zu Werke, die, weil sie für Ausländer und Universitätsgebrauch verfaßt ist, bewußt auf besondere Lesbarkeit verzichtet, dafür ständig definierend und diskutierend den Stoff vor dem Leser ausbreitet und ihn auf den gegenwärtigen Stand der Forschung bezieht So entsteht ein ausgezeichnetes Handbuch und Repetitorium, bei dem das von den Verfassern selbst beklagte Fehlen der Literaturangaben allerdings ein arges Hindernis ist und dem Benutzer das Nachprüfen der Quellen erschwert Hoffentlich wird der zweite Band das Versäumte nachholen, obwohl es nicht ganz ersichtlich ist, warum seine Wege "gebahnter" sein sollen, falls damit nicht ein Aufgeben des diskursiven Verfahrens gemeint ist, was ein bedauerlicher Verlust wäre, da es sich für diesen Band so fruchtbar erwiesen hat Schon die Barockperiode ist leider bereits stärker darstellend gehalten worden

ERNST FEISE

Athelston A Middle English Romance, edited by A. McI. TROUNCE.
New York Oxford University Press, 1933 Publications of
the Philological Society, xi

The editor of this work provides a good text (line 446, however, reads *me mowe*), a glossary, and accounts of the analogs Many difficult passages are well explained, notably those in the ordeal-scenes

The introduction is mainly devoted to arguing that the romance was composed in Norfolk The editor's success in establishing 1390 as a later limit of composition lends probability to this, though he fails to prove 1370 the earlier limit

Then he seeks to prove that the poem originated in none of the localities mentioned in it He eliminates Canterbury because he

believes the work pure fiction, Alryke being unrelated to Thomas, and Athelston to Henry II, and the quarrel between them being "paralleled a hundred times in actual life", even the interdict was not Thomas's, but Stephen Langton's. But although he will not tolerate such identifications, he finds it convenient to believe that the "immediate model" of Alryke was a determined Norfolk bishop.

To discredit London as the place of composition, he rejects Miss Hibbard's comparison with the legend of Emma, he believes the ordeal-scenes taken from a German chronicle—this though the two British versions agree in some twenty major points against the German, and with it in about ten. He derives some of the missing twenty from hints in French versions of the Constance-legend, but only the accusation of poisoning is plausibly explained thus, although the nine plowshares, found in the Emma-legend but referred by him to Scandinavian sources, may have been of French origin (cf. Migne, *Patrologia Lat.* 87 963).

Finally, on linguistic grounds, he ascribes the first English version to a Norfolk poet, and the dialectal forms and proper names inconsistent with this to revisers in the north and south-east. One of these, then, must have worked with a will, for in at least ten passages, the rhymes or assonances fall on southern place-names. Furthermore, whereas the references to London and the Dover road are accurate, that to St Edmund, on which Trounce relies far too heavily, seems incorrect. Why not one English poet, who wrote in or near London, himself spoke a mixed dialect (cf. Chambers and Daunt's *London English*, 118), and had been trained in the native school of rhyming, with its preference for northern forms? and then probably a copy of his work made near Bury St Edmunds?

The editor neglects the messengers, strangely prominent throughout, and except for a sneer, takes no notice of suggestions concerning the origin of the most painful scene. His work is valuable mainly for his close study of obscure lines, conventional expressions, and details of the sworn brotherhood and the ordeal.

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BRIEF MENTION

Les poésies lyriques du troubadour Arnaut de Mareuil. Par R. C. JOHNSTON. Publiées avec une introduction, des notes et un glossaire. Paris: Droz, 1935. Pp. xxv + 180. In this edition, a Strasbourg doctor's thesis, there is presented a poet who deserves being known. Jeanroy (*Poésies lyriques*, II, 147) characterizes

his ideas as elegant banalities but records his popularity with contemporaries and points to Petrarch's esteem. Johnston does not even mention that reputation but emphasizes the banalities. These he builds into a "chronological" *roman d'amour* according to which the twenty-five authentic *canzos* are arranged. Arnaut had fresher ideas of VI, 18-19, wherein (like Ronsard!) he warns that he has something to contribute the advancement of his lady. Similarly, xxv, 39-40. This proud affirmation may justify *gurens*, I, 28. The translations are done with thoroughness. II, 15, rather 'Let Good Manners find' where the subjunctive parallels *vulhatz*, IV, 47, rather 'mais je n'ose pas', VI, 59, *n* should refer to the nearest noun, i e, to *joz*, having attained thereto he asks pardon for any bold request, IX, 11, rather 'much more appropriately', XII, 36, rather 'I have nothing of my heart but its custody' (not 'ownership'), XIII, 16, *deslunaria* is singular, XIV, 25, rather 'in a (i e, any) court', XXV, 48, *brais* seems third sing. The full critical notes are commendable. Why, however, were all the manuscripts not consulted? *F*, *d*, and *K* have always proved accessible. The designation *A*² is obscure. Mahn's transcriptions are subject to caution. It is regrettable that the Chabaneau texts are followed for the *vidas*. The present reviewer, with Professor Boutière (Dijon), expects to show their frequent untrustworthiness. p. XII, all mss read *de la* (not *sa*) persona, why question *lo*? it is in half the mss and makes sense. There are errors in the *varia lectio* in *A*, checked against the first poem. v. 6 *mi t*] *m'o*, v. 7 *que*] *qu'ieu*, v. 8 *m* occurs in *A* also, v. 14 *tant*] *quar*, v. 31 *non*] *no m*, v. 41 *Bella gara*] *Mon Bel Esgart*. One misses Chabaneau's *Onomastique* and Erdmannsdorfer's *Reimwörterbuch*. They could have been used profitably.

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Samtliche Lieder des Trobadors Giraut de Bornelh. Von A. KOLSEN mit Übersetzung, Kommentar und Glossar kritisch herausgegeben. Zweiter Band. Halle: Niemeyer, 1935. Pp. viii + 291. The second volume comes twenty-five years after the first. The editor wished to profit by reviews of the earlier volume, but the long delay was really for financial reasons. This product of mature scholarship is most welcome. Kolsen has taken full advantage of preceding research. Hence often a self-correction in text or translation (e.g., pp. 17, 52, 127), frequently a reply to criticism (e.g., pp. 25, 35, 77, 117), too often a citation of opinion without further commitment (e.g., pp. 14, 39, 105). The 132 page commentary, the 138 page glossary constitute a veritable mine, with parallel passages from troubadours in profusion, with references to transla-

tions or adaptations in other languages, and even to musical settings (p 95) of the lyrics. The textual treatment of the *vida* is scarcely irreproachable. There may be difference of opinion concerning the use of five manuscripts as a base, but some resultant readings are scarcely acceptable. *Borneyl* is only in *Sg* and *rescomtat* in *E Sg*. Errors abound in the *vana lecho* l 1 *Guraut*] *Giraut R Sg*, l 2 *uescomte* is not in *R*, *home* is missing from both *E R*, l 4 *tiobayres*] *trobayres Sg*, *negu*] *negun E R*, l 5 *maystres*] *maytres Sg*, l 9 *mainneia*] *mainneia A B*, l 12. Read *Et anc no uolc auer molher n o R*, l 13. *el donaua A B*. For the first *razo* in *Sg* this reviewer's copy reads fol 91, not 60. Other differences are l 6 *de* is apparently not missing, l 10 *quel h fazia de lez*] *q h f*, *ella*] *ela*, l 43 *lunatz*] *lunatz P* 24. K properly attracts attention to the necessity of not taking the definition of *pretz* for granted. p 74, note 115 *odd A de Mareuil xvi*, 29-32, p 76, note 25 *add* Daude de Pradas, v, 9, p 93 is Villon's poem a "Nachdichtung" of Giraut's? Misprints are few cf p 12, note 18 *d'Alvernhe*] *d'Alveruhe*, p 53, note 57, 58 *von*] *vo*.

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Die altenglische Version des Halitgar'schen Bussbuches, ed JOSEF RAITH. Hamburg: Henri Grand, 1933. Pp. xl + 85. RM 14. This Penitential, long attributed to Archbishop Egbert of York (*fl. circa* 750), is now known to be an English version of a Penitential of Bishop Halitgar of Cambrai (*fl. circa* 825). It has hitherto not been available in a separate edition, and the present volume (the 13th of Hecht's *Bibliothek*) will prove useful to students of church law as well as to Anglicists. The editor has done a careful job. The price of the book, unluckily, is so high as to put it beyond the reach of most of the readers for whom it is designed.

K. M.

Lexical Evidence from Folk Epigraphy in Western North America, by ALLEN WALKER READ. Paris: Privately Printed, 1935. Pp. 83. This pamphlet bears the sub-title, "a glossarial study of the low element in the English vocabulary." It consists of two essays "The Nature of Obscenity" (pp. 9-16) and "Folk Epigraphy" (pp. 17-24), a "Bibliographical Note" (pp. 25-9), and a "Glossary of Stigmatized Words" (pp. 30-83). The author gathered his material "in the course of an extensive sightseeing trip throughout the western United States and Canada in the summer of 1928" (p. 17). The inscriptions collected are treated

with due scientific respect, and the glossarial articles are as exhaustive as the author could make them, limiting himself as he does to the inscriptions which he personally copied. A valuable feature of the glossary is the systematic "collation" of each entry with the corresponding entry in a number of standard dictionaries, this collation reveals the extent to which even a supposedly complete work like the *NED* has been subjected to expurgation. K. M

The Problem of Loki, by JAN DE VRIES. FF Communications No. 110. Helsinki 1933. Pp 306. This important monograph is divided into 13 chapters. The first three of these are introductory. The next three study Loki in his relations with Othin, Thor and the Brisingamen story. The seventh considers the character of Loki in ON mythology. The eighth and ninth study Loki in his relation to fire, and in his character of enemy to the gods. In the tenth, general conclusions are reached about the character of Loki. In the eleventh the folklore bearing on Loki is examined. The twelfth discusses Loki as a religious phenomenon. The final chapter traces the development of the conception of Loki. The volume is concluded with a list of proper names. The author finds "the central point" in the personality of Loki to be "his double character of a culture-hero and a trickster" (p. 297), and explains "nearly all the traditions about Loki as the natural results of this original conception" (ib). The discussion is able, learned and judicious, and brings conviction. K. M

La Saga de Grettur, traduite de l'Islandais avec une introduction et des notes par FERNAND MOSSÉ. Paris: Aubier, 1933. Pp lxxv + 271. This admirable translation, with its no less admirable explanatory material, gives to the French reading public an opportunity to become acquainted with one of the most interesting of the Icelandic family sagas. K. M.

Die Einheitlichkeit des Ormmulum, by H. C. MATTHES. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1933. Pp xvi + 277. RM. 17.50. The author in this *Habilitationsschrift* undertakes to show that the *Ormmulum* is a Life of Christ, to explain how Orrmin wrote it, and to determine the chief sources which Orrmin used. He succeeds in all these undertakings, and establishes convincingly the unity of the work. The monograph is an unusually worthy example of German philological scholarship. K. M.

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SPENSER AND WILLIAM TURNER

The charm of the *Shepherds' Calendar* comes, at least in part, from its idiosyncratic blending of various pastoral traditions. Spenser's shepherds are poets, priests, and shepherds, alternately or simultaneously or indistinguishably. Primarily, however, they are priests, for the *Shepherds' Calendar* was written, as modern scholars¹ rightly insist,

To teach the ruder shepheard how to feede his sheepe,
And from the falsers fraud his folded flocke to keepe

Inevitably the "falsers" in these pastorals are called wolves or foxes: the allegory is predetermined, transparent, and rich with Biblical and post-Biblical associations that need no annotation. But the proper and basic interpretation of these time-honored symbols is not the whole interpretation, for they can and do acquire local and temporal meanings that must be read in the light of particular rather than general knowledge. Everyone agrees that Spenser's wolves and foxes are false prophets, men who lead the people away from the true religion, but the commentators either neglect or try to decide too hastily exactly which false prophets Spenser had in mind. The most satisfactory method of determining Spenser's meaning is to find out the current usage in the works of his contemporaries and immediate predecessors.

The crucial passage, and potentially the most enlightening, occurs in the September eclogue, where Diggon Davie, after de-

¹ The two indispensable studies are E. A. Greenlaw, "*The Shepherds' Calendar*," *PMLA*, xxvi (1911), 419-451, and F. M. Padelford, "Spenser and the Puritan Propaganda," *MP*, xi (1913-1914), 85-106. J. J. Higginson, in *Spenser's Shepherds' Calendar* (New York, 1912), pp. 126-8, is more dogmatic than illuminating. His remarks on the works of William Turner cited below show acquaintance only with the titles.

scribing the sins of the shepherds, goes on to speak of the sheep, they too are in bad case, and he proceeds

For many han into mischiefs fall,
And bene of rauenous Wolues yrent,
All for they nould be buxome and bent

Hobbinoll

Fye on thee Diggon, and all thy foule leasing,
Well is knowne that sith the Saxon king,
Neuer was Woolfe seene many nor some,
Nor in all Kent, nor in Christendome
But the fewer Woolues (the soth to sayne,
The more bene the Foxes that here remaine

Diggon

Yes, but they gang in more secrete wise,
And with sheepes clothing doen hem disguise,
They walke not widely as they were wont
For feare of raungers, and the great hunt
But priuely prolling two and froe,
Enaunter they mought be inly knowe

E K annotates these lines as follows

Buxome and bent) meeke and obedient

Saxon king) K. Edgare, that reigned here in Brytanye in the yeaere of our Lorde Which king caused all the Wolues, whereof then was store in thys countrye, by a proper policie to be destroyed So as neuer since that time, there haue ben Wolues here founde vnlesse they were brought from other countryes And therefore Hobbenoll rebuketh him of vntruth, for saying there be Wolues in England

Nor in Christendome) The saying seemeth to be strange and vnreasonable but indeede it was wont to be an olde prouerbe and comen phrase The original whereof was, for that most part of England in the reigne of king Ethelbert was christened, Kent onely except, which remainned long after in mysbeliefe and vnchristened, So that Kent was counted no part of Christendome Great hunt) Executing of lawes and iustice

It needs no riddling Oedipus to determine the general purport of this passage Professor Greenlaw explains it admirably

Hobbinol protests that Diggon speaks too plainly He continues that Wolues have not been known in England for many years, which of course means that the Catholics have been long deprived of power, though E. K. hastens to cover the reference by one of his charmingly innocent notes

about the conditions in England as respects wild beasts. Even Hobbinsol, however, recognizes that 'the fewer Woolues (the soth to sayne) The more bene the Foxes,' an idea that Diggon immediately takes up with his words about the sheep's clothing that disguises the enemies of the faith. Moreover, these enemies are not to be put to rout by the 'great Bandogs', the needfull thing is for

' heedy shepheards to discerne their face
For all their craft is in their countenaunce,
They bene so graue and full of mayntenaunce'

The warning is further impressed by the fable the Catholics, if not watched, will yet regain control.²

This is manifestly sound, but it omits consideration of the difference between wolves and foxes. Professor Padelford suggests that Spenser "likens the Papists to wolves, and the High Church party to foxes."³ This can not be far from the truth, yet a clearer definition is desirable and possible, by the method suggested above.

Over a hundred years ago, the Rev. Henry J. Todd in his great Variorum edition of Spenser referred to a series of books that had come out shortly before Spenser's time "in which Rome is particularly called the Fox."⁴ The first book in the series, by William Turner, later Dean of Wells, is called *The hunting and finding out of the Romish fox*,⁵ published in 1543, it was a sharp condemnation of the condition of the church in England, with special reference to the activities of Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester. Though the fox represents at different times the Pope, and Gardiner, and the Catholic church, and Catholic beliefs, little effective use is made of the symbolism. In a few months this was reinforced by a scurrilous blast from John Bale, *Yet a course at the Romish fox*.⁶ Then Gardiner answered Turner in a book that seems to have disappeared, whereupon Turner replied, in 1545, in the approved fashion of quotation and replication, *seriatim*. This book, called *The rescuing of the Romish fox, the second course of the hunter at the Romish fox*,⁷ has a semblance of dialogue form, for Gardiner's words are attributed to the "rescuer," Turner's to

² *Op cit*, p. 434

³ *Op cit*, p. 104

⁴ *The Works of Edmund Spenser in eight volumes*, I, 90, note on *S C*, May, 219, see also note on May, 309

⁵ *S T C*, 24353

⁶ *S. T. C*, 1309

⁷ *S T C*, 24355, note that the colophon does not read "Winchester," *i e*, the place, but "have at Winchester," *i e*, Stephen Gardiner

the "hunter," but it has no true dramatic quality. All these works were printed abroad (except Gardiner's, presumably), and the first of the series was reprinted at London, probably about 1545.⁸ Then there was an intermission. The next book, also by Turner, was published in 1554 at Emden by Egidius van der Erve, who ran a press for English Protestants during Mary's reign.⁹ This work was called *The hunting of the Romish wolf*, and was reprinted during the first decade of Elizabeth's reign with a new preface and a new title *The hunting of the fox and the wolf*.¹⁰ Here in this last book of the series Turner found his true vein. The argument follows along the same lines as in the earlier works, modified of course by the events of Mary's reign, but instead of being presented as a straightforward religious tract, it is written as a dialogue and a lively one, between a Hunter, a Foster, and a Dean. It is quite dramatic and shows a consciousness of the vitality inherent in the basic symbolism. The fine engraved plate in the first edition, still preserved in the Bodleian copy, and reproduced here, shows how the imagination of a contemporary artist was fired by Turner's 'hunting'.

Here we have grist for our mill. After some opening conversation between the Hunter and the Foster, who are both on their way to London, the Hunter says

In euery sytting or session [of the House of Convocation] comonly there are complaintes of the multitude and ouerflowing number of shepe. But I maruel y^t ther hath ben of late yeres no cōplaint of the exceding and vnsufferable number of Wolues. *Foster* I do dwell in a great Forest, where as, if there were any Wolues in Englande they shoulde be most comonly. But I neuer sawe any Wolues in my Forest, nether haue I heard tel of any. *Hunter* I haue sene a Wolfe within these fewe yeres in the Tower, I haue sene many in diuers Cathedrall Churches

⁸ *S T C*, 24354, see also F. S. Isaac, *Printing Types*, (II), London, 1932, under *Jugge*.

⁹ *S T C*, 24356, see Frank Isaac, "Egidius van der Erve and his Protestant books," *Library*, IV, XII (1932-33), 336-52. The Bodleian copy contains a fine engraved plate reproduced herein.

¹⁰ *S T C*, 24357, William Herbert in his edition of Joseph Ames's *Typographical Antiquities*, III, 1576, suggests 1561 as the date of publication and John Knox (very tentatively) as the author of the new preface. The place of publication remains uncertain, the cut on the last page is in the manner of Holbein, the cut on the title-page—inspired by the engraved plate in the earlier edition—also seems foreign.

of Englande. But there are no where mo thē are in the Cōuocation house, in the parliament tyme ¹¹

After further discussion the Foster finally catches on to the Hunter's meaning and acknowledges the truth of the description. In complete accord on religion, they proceed on their way until they overtake a Dean, whom they decide to "hunt." They ask him about wolves and he replies:

In my daies I haue sene no Wolfe in Englande, that I wote of, nether haue I heard of any man yt hath sene any. Wherfore I beleue that there is none in Englande, at the least in yt parte of Englande that I dwell in. *Hunter*. Sir I haue heard tell of moie murder of shepe of late, then euer I heard of, in my daies before, wherfore whē as we haue no mo foxes then we had wont to haue, and haue mo hunters of the Fox thē euer we had before, I can not thinke but that we haue some wolues in the lande, which kīl the shepe. *Dean*. How should we haue wolues in this lande when they nether brede here, nether are brought into the lande? ¹²

Then follows an extraordinary discussion of spontaneous generation, finally the Hunter says:

A Foxe and a Wolfe, are very like in diuers thinges, thinke ye it not possible, but yt an olde Foxe mai go forth of kinde, into a Wolfe? ¹³

This possibility is also discussed at some length, and the Hunter at last brings in evidence:

The moste parte of all the honest men that are in England, will beare witnes, that about v yeares ago, there was an olde foxe caried into the Tower of London, where as, he hath continued vntill these fewe monethes, and that the same is a very right Wolfe, nowe, and goeth abrode and is sene of all men, and if that ye go to London I am sure that ye shall se him. *Dean*. Perchaunce ye meane of my lorde of Winchester, whom certaine railers haue called a Romishe foxe? ¹⁴

It is unnecessary to quote further to illustrate Turner's usage of 'fox' and 'wolf.' The particular wolf who is hunted in this tract is the Bishop of Winchester, the very man who had previously been attacked as the fox. But as Gardiner is the principal wolf, so the distinction between all wolves and all foxes is defined by the application of the terms to him. Thus to Turner a fox is a person who seems to be or pretends to be a member of the Church of

¹¹ A4r-A5v, this and subsequent quotations are taken from the Emden edition

¹² A6-A6v

¹³ B1

¹⁴ B1v.

England, though at heart he has Romish beliefs, while a wolf is a Romanist in both belief and outward profession. Edwardian foxes become Marian wolves, and, as we now know, Marian wolves similarly become Elizabethan foxes.¹⁵

It seems certain to me that Turner's use of "fox" and "wolf" is unimpeachable as a criterion for interpreting Spenser (and E. K.). Both men belong to the same tradition, though Spenser even in his radical youth was never as thorough-going in his reforming zeal as Turner. Both were Pembroke men, and in fact Turner was an influential member of the earlier group that gave Pembroke the strongly Protestant cast it retained for so long. It is thus thoroughly reasonable to use Turner's dialogue to interpret Spenser's September eclogue. Similarly E. K.'s excursion into natural history has the same function as Turner's; its very irrelevance helps to emphasize the religious attitudes it pretends to conceal. And the discussion of the ease of the fox-wolf transformation is particularly useful in introducing the tale of Roffy and Lowder that follows immediately afterwards.

The resemblance is so startling that it is at least highly probable

¹⁵ Equating foxes with High Church Anglicans and wolves with Roman Catholics is not quite the same as this distinction, and it easily becomes misleading because Protestants varied greatly in their definitions of essentially Protestant and Romanist practice. Turner's summary shows how thoroughgoing a reformer he was:

" . . . al they that in their preachinges saye that it is vnlawful for bisshopes or prestes to haue wiues, that it is not lawfull to eate fleshe in Lent by the lawe of God, that a prest ought to haue a shauen crowne, a syde gowne, an Albe and vestiment vpon him when he ministreth the Lordes Supper, that a bishop is higher then a preste or elder by ye lawe of God, that there ought to be Images, Aulters, Crosses, Candels, Censures, Holye water, Holy breade, Palmes singinge of Latine in the Church, where the people vnderstandeth no Latine, that Saintes ought to be called vpō, that we can help the dead with our prayers, yt there is no bread and wine in the supper, after the prest haue said these v wordes, *Hoc est corpus meum*, that no man ought to be a minister, except he be subdeacon, and deacon before, and therewith haue receiued benet and collet, and that no man ought to be admitted vnto the order of a subdeacon, deacon, or els an elder or preste, except he vowe chastite before preache and say those thinges, which God neuer comaunded them to say" (C8-C8v). Again "to set vp candels, to lift vp their handes to bread and wine, to pray to saintes, to pray for the dead to heare the piping of the organes, & preche not the word of God, nether exhorte ye people to worship God in spirite and truthe" (D4). Spenser certainly never went as far as this.

that E. K. had Turner's passage clearly in mind when he was writing, but to describe it also as a source of Spenser's lines is doubtful, in any very exact sense. There is a good deal in Turner's works that can be paralleled in the *Shepherds' Calendar* and in the ecclesiastical satire of *Mother Hubbard's Tale*, and I think that Spenser had read Turner and that the apparent reminiscences are actual reminiscences, but that is a small matter. What is important is that Spenser found here and in other Reformers of the transition period a way of thinking, a way of using symbols that was congenial to him and of vital significance in his work. Turner began with the Biblical identification of wolves and foxes with false prophets, this led him into the field of his major preoccupation—preaching. Wolves and foxes are those who preach false doctrine or do not preach at all or inhibit others from preaching. And from this it is but a short step to identify the animals with particular sects and particular people. But one identification does not cancel the other. Therefore the reader who tries to limit the fox to the Pope or to the Bishop of Winchester or to the High Church party fails to do justice to the author, who found no difficulty in shifting from one to the other or having several in mind simultaneously. As with Turner, so with Spenser. The reader of Spenser must be as supple in following as the author is in leading—ready to spot a personal attack and equally ready to swim in an undefined medium that connotes only a general attitude of mind.¹⁶

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HERDER'S RUSSIAN UTOPIA

On his first visit to Riga in 1769 Johann Gottfried Herder, philosopher, historian, poet, aesthete, critic, and educator, was yet stirred with an aspiration to become the ruler of Livonia. Disillusioned at his own country and century, allegedly of hirelings and copyists,¹ Herder, forever longing and projecting,² decided to

¹⁶ My opportunity for making this study came through my tenure of a Sterling Fellowship.

¹ Herder, *Suphan* xxiv, 11. Berlin, 1877.

² Kuhnemann, Eugen, *Herders Leben*. München, 1895.

summon all his forces of body and spirit toward the fruition of a free and prosperous Russia

The dream of a Slavonic Renaissance was in the air. Pre-eminently German, the movement was inaugurated by Professor Ludwig von Schlüger, who during his stay at the court of the great Catherine was first to foresee and announce in historical and philological writing the unlimited resources of the country and its inhabitants.³ In his enthusiastic footsteps followed at once others Gebhardt, Engel, Adelung.⁴

The pervading principle, that the reform of the Slavs, imperative, radical and all-embracing, should come from without, is accepted by Herder as his own thesis in the *Journal meiner Reise im Jahr 1769*.⁵ An alien, he has been selected by Providence itself to lead Livonia, this most foreign of Russia's possessions, out of chaos into light and glory

What avenue of fulfillment! Now the cradle of license, poverty, and crime, a literary and moral desert, Livonia will rise, a thrice glorious Greece, to productivity, honor, freedom, unlimited intellectual grasp. What an opportunity for the giant country, sleeping as yet a dream of music! What an undertaking for a man "of intellect and imagination, heart and sensibility!"⁶—Herder! Can he still waver? Still postpone the duty which history, science, heredity make compulsive?

The need presses. The Russians, generous, hospitable and peaceful, are withal lazy, imitative, pleasure-seeking, superficial,⁷ and, worse still, slaves to tradition, to upbringing, to one another, and to themselves. Immediately these abuses should be eradicated. From local and purely social reform⁸ the battle-cry of freedom will spread to nations, continents. . . it will consume humanity. A new race is in the coming. Prometheus is rustling his eager wings. . .

But alas, another of Herder's grandiose schemes was doomed at its very inception. Blessed with all the riches of soil and intellect, the Russian paradise is to remain a chimera, its freedom an Utopia. It will continue its existence of chained arrogant tyrants

³ Schierenberg, Rolf, *Der politische Herder*, 64, 65. Graz, 1932.

⁴ *Ibid*

⁵ Herder, iv, 345-461, 363, 365, xiv, 277.

⁶ *Ibid*

⁷ *Ibid*

⁸ *Ibid*.

and tyrannical cowards The lack,—an essentially organic one with Herder, to whom language and character are forever one,⁹ is at once factual and philological the non-existence in Russian speech and thought of a term for *citizen* “Die Ehre will, dass man sich von Mitburgern unterscheide, schone, grosse, ausserordentliche Handlungen thue ein Russe kann nicht diese Triebfeder haben, denn er hat keine Mitburger er hat fur Burger kein Wort in seiner Sprache”¹⁰

From both the idiomatic and the ideographical viewpoint Herder's assertion is most vulnerable It is true that any precise postulation of the date at which the Russian for *citizen*—*grazhdanin* first appears in literary texts and is adopted in common usage is made hazardous by the fact that from the outset the term is made to cover two more or less divergent conceptions city-dweller and freeman However, a process of crystallization in which the term *grazhdanin* begins to denote city-inhabitant, that of *grazhdanin*—a responsible member of the community, adumbrates the activity of Herder by at least a half-millennium. As attested by Professor I. I Sresnevsky in his voluminous *Materialy dlia slovaria drevne-russkago iazyka po pis mennym pamiatnikam* (*Materials for a Dictionary of the Ancient Russian Language, according to Written Monuments*), published by the Imperial Academy of Sciences 1890-1912, the following data have been collected on this word (1, 577):

1 “Grazhanin,” meaning the resident of a city, has been found in *Zhitie Aleksera, cheloveka Bozhnua* (*The Life of Aleksei, the God's Man*), contained in the *Zlatosotroi*, a MS of the twelfth century.

2 “Grazhdanin,” meaning a citizen, was used in *Kniga Pro-roka Jeremia* (*The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah*), copied in the fifteenth century from the *Upyr's Likhov*, dated 1047

Whatever the subsequent mutation in meaning of the two names, it is exactly during the days that Herder's Russian Utopia struck the bulwark of idiomatic shortage that the country's literary and political life became markedly citizen-conscious The great Peter

⁹ Ergang, Robert, *Herder and the foundations of German Nationalism*, 146-149 New York, 1931

¹⁰ Herder, iv, 419.

had led the way. The outworn and cumbersome ecclesiastic alphabet of boyar days yields under his ukase to a civic speller, a civic accounting system, and a civic printing press. The policy gains in articulation and consciousness under Catherine the reprint of the *Grazhdanka* has for its professed purpose the education of the Russian citizen. This, as visualized by Diderot and wholeheartedly endorsed by the Empress, is an aim lofty enough to justify all means of attainment, the sole guarantee of inner and outer security.

So inherently ingrown in the schemes of Catherine became the ideal of a blessedly enlightened freeman, that the painter Levitzki, undoubtedly the most talented and farsighted portraitist of his day,¹² depicts the Czarina burning the symbolic poppy of her own rest before the altar of the communal welfare, and wearing in recognition thereof not a monarch's, but a citizen's crown.

Parallel in direction, if diversified in accent and emphasis, is the tone of the Pleiade of court poets and dramatists surrounding the throne. Lomonosov, Tretiakovsky, Sumarokov, Cherskov, Nikolev, Chvostov, and Derzhavin.

If Lomonosov (1711-1785) the self-appointed and thriving¹³ singer of courtly odes, welcoming with equal vehemence the ascension, succession, and demise of sovereigns, replaces frequently the term *Grazhdane* in his essentially archaic diction by the mythological *Rossy*, *Syny Rossuskie*, and *Rossiane*,¹⁴ the absolutistic *Poddannye*,¹⁵ and the perhaps most current *Zhitei* and *Obyvatei*,¹⁶ if the poet is infinitely more concerned with Russia's frontiers than with its spirit, he bows nevertheless before the city as a luminous symbol of everlasting wisdom and progress, an eternal triumph of man over nature's chaos. The epithets necessary, peaceful, joyous, great, holy, blessed, heavenly, godly, splendid, brilliant, are only a few of the galaxy, with which Lomonosov invariably lauds the achievement of Peter in imparting to the Russians the glories of denizenry.¹⁷

¹² Diagilev, C. P., *Russkaya Zhivopis v XVIII veke* I, 30

¹³ I, 47; 87, 103, 106, 121, 123, 142, 144, 146 St Petersburg, 1794

¹⁴ *Ibid*, II, 55, 225, 229, 213, 258, 260, 234, 249, 250

¹⁵ *Ibid*

¹⁶ *Ibid*

¹⁷ *Ibid*, II, 249, 250, 69, 170, 171, 205, I, 142, 144, 133, 146, 150-59, 160-190, 197, 207, 270-274

This czar treasured in an equal measure the bodily and the spiritual wellbeing of the citizen entrusted to his charge, and his very name spells to Lomonosov gratitude and blessedness

"Tam . . . gradonachalnik i grazhdane vspominaiut trudy Petrovy,"¹⁸ or "Drugie prolivali krov svoich grazhdan, Pietr-nikogda"¹⁹ Only once a similarly far-reaching accomplishment is credited to the first of the Romanoffs, Michael "on sobiraet rastochennykh grazhdan"²⁰

Not so much the privileges as the duties of the Russians, particularly in regard to family and state, are laid down in the tragedies of Lomonosov's contemporary, Michael Cheraskov. These obligations are conceived as immutable superior laws. "Oh, put grazhdan nebesnykh" (Oh, the heavenly road of citizens), reads the opening line of the "Venezianskaia Monachinia" (The Sister of Venice), and an analogous sentiment is clothed in a nearly similar wording in the same author's "Martenia and Thalestra"²²

An unflinching regard for peace, justice, and tolerance, is, according to Sumarokov, the distinguishing characteristic of an educated son of his country. No concern is more paramount than familiarity with and respect for the law, no statute more to be revered than the civic code. The dramatist coins a new word. *grazhdanstvo*—the citizenry. "Narusha pravy vse zakonov i grazhdanstva" (Having trespassed the laws of citizenry),²³ and insists over and over again. "Neschastliv tot cheloviek, kto grazhdanskikh prav ne znaet" (Unhappy is the man, who is unfamiliar with the civil code)²⁴ Again "Voennye ludi govoriat o voine, grazhdanskoe o zakonach" (Just as the warrior speaks of war, so the citizen discusses the law).²⁵

Such an idyll of sincere brotherly love, the reward of emancipation in matters of self-government, is painted with glowing sympathy in the dramas of the period. Pavel Potiomkin opens his "Torzhestvo druzhby" (The triumph of friendship) with a scene of a *dolce far niente* in some blessed state. "Grazhdanie mirnye priatnost sna vkushaiut" (The peaceful citizens enjoy the delights of dreams)²⁶ and Pietr Plavlschikov lauds in his tragedy "Druz-

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 204, 260, 208

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ 3, 107, Derzhavin, 149

²² *Ibid.*

²³ 52 (1757), 10 (1750), 129

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ 3 (1773), 107 (1750), 52

hestvo" (Friendship) the mutual esteem of one's rights as man's highest good ²⁷

Even a note of irony makes its appearance, when with Sumarokov the civic law is made to distinguish a box on the ear from a slap in the face ²⁸

The purely national model of a freeman, in contrast to the civic and judiciary, is presented by Nikolev, Chvostov, and partly Plavilshchikov. If the bonds of the ruler and his subjects are indissoluble in times of peace, they grow still more holy in war "Spieshi, gosudar, na pomosch grazhdan svoich!" ²⁹ Scenes of devastation and annihilation bring into bolder relief the oneness of monarch and subjects ³⁰

No less general, if curiously paradoxical, is the eminently Western motive of complaint against this very foreign importation of clothes, manners, speech, and, again typically for the period, prosody. Already Lomonosov had defended the idiom of Russian citizens against foreign invasion ³¹. The poet finds it by far superior to the German dialects and praises its uniformity and its wide appeal. Both Nikolai Nikolev and Dmitriy Chvostov, the first with his comedy "Samolubivyi Stichtovorietz," ³² the second with "Russkiy Parizhanietz," ³³ point to the danger of imitation grafted on ignorance of native tendencies. To this condemnation of Russian idolatry of imported idioms Sumarokov adds his voice, ³⁴ and defends in his letters to Shuvalov his autonomy of Russian freeman and poet ³⁵

Perhaps the largest single contribution to the growth of the conception of citizenry in Russia is that of Krylov (1768-1844), whose fables form a "fountain of sparkling, splashing, drowning criticism" ³⁶ of Slavic life at large, and its apathy and passiveness

²⁷ *Ibid*

²⁸ *Ibid*

²⁹ Plavilshchikov, *Druzhba*, 107, Cheraskov, *Plamena*, 12, Sumarokov, *Dmitriy Samozvanset*, 54 (1771), Tretiakovsky, *Deidamia* (1750)

³⁰ *Ibid*

³¹ Lomonosov, I, 7, 139, 153, 52 *Pisma Lomonosova i Sumarokova k I I Shuvalovu*, St. Petersburg, 1862

³² *Ibid*

³⁴ *Ibid*

³³ *Ibid*

³⁵ *Ibid*

³⁶ Jarintzov, N, *Russian Poets and Poems*, 7 New York, 1917, Krylov, I, 13, 15, 16, 19, II, 2, 3, 5, 6, 9, 13, 14, 16, 19, III, 1, 7, 9, 12 St Petersburg, 1895

in internal policies in particular.³⁷ The ills of class prejudice, ignorance, venality, avarice, selfishness, pretense, and false friendship are exposed in an endless variety of settings, while in more than one instance the tragic denouement is brought about by the ills of foreign polish coupled with indifference to one's own law "Grazhdanskich prav bars ne ponimaet" ³⁸

With the important history of Karamsin the stress is transferred once more to the legislative aspects of *denizenry*. Incidentally, the author of the voluminous "*Istoria Gosudarstva Rossiyskovo*" considers the word *grazhdanin* sufficiently inherent in the Russian tongue to illustrate with it the scenes of the country's earliest history,³⁹ while in the numerous notes drawn from the *Lietopisi*, the word *Grazhane* or *Gorozhane* is more frequently found.⁴⁰ As paramount themes stand out the *grazhdankyn ustav*,⁴¹ *grazhdanskoe obschestvo*,⁴² *grazhdanskaya istoria*,⁴³ and, still more importantly, the new *Grazhdanstvennost*, the quality of being a citizen.⁴⁴ "Novgorod nasadil nam pervyia semena grazhdanstvennosti" (Novgorod imparted to us the first seeds of citizenry).

Still other discoveries attest the comparatively wide circulation of the term *citizen* prior to and at the time of Herder's activity. A title of a work by Samuel Pufendorf, translated into Russian and published in St. Petersburg in 1726, reads *O dolzhnosti cheloveka i grazhdanina* (*Concerning the duty of Man and Citizen*). Moreover, the term *Grazhdanin* is included in a dictionary published in Moscow as early as 1771, only four years after the voicing of Herder's first complaint. Its common use before that date could be inferred from the fact that the rank of *pochetnyi grazhdanin* (honorary citizen) was introduced in Moscow in 1785.⁴⁵ The year 1783 saw a reprint of the Pufendorf work, and a recommendation for its use in the school curriculum.⁴⁶

It may be noticed in this connection that in the reactionary reign of Paul I, with Herder at work on his *Kalligone*, a censorship regulation issued in 1797 proscribed the use of the word

³⁷ *Ibid*³⁸ *Ibid*³⁹ Karamsin, VI, 6, 7, 13, XIII, 385 392, I, 315, 452, 463, 484, 238, X, 4, 15, 39, 48, 82, 119, 127, VI, 286, 324, 342 350, I, 411, 443, 484, VII, 359, 361, II, 303, 345, 348, 368, IV, 364, 371, 372, VI, 44⁴⁰ *Ibid*⁴¹ *Ibid*⁴² *Ibid*⁴³ *Ibid*⁴⁴ *Ibid*⁴⁵ Diagilev, I, 30, Leitzki*, *Sobesednik*, VI, 18⁴⁶ *Ibid*

grazhdane (plural of *grazhdanin*), recommending the safer substitution of *zhiteh* and *obyvateh*, city residents

As to the concept of freeman, it is incarnate from the very first in the principles of the Russian Commonwealth⁴⁷ The citizens formed the nucleus of the great Novgorod Republic, the first self-governing body of modern Europe "Schon sehr fruh wird Gross-Novgorod der Mittelpunkt historischen Lebens im nordlichen Russland nach der bekannten Erzählung der *Jahrbilder* stand Novgorod an der Spitze des Bundnisses der Stamme, welche die Warager herbeiriefen neuere Forscher fuhren nicht selten die Anfänge Novgorods in fruhere Perioden hinab"⁴⁸

Helped and shielded by geographical inaccessibility, fostered by unceasing and violent internal feuds, the "free city" of Novgorod, followed later by that of Pskov,⁴⁹ presents a highly organized and complex unit of self-administration⁵⁰ The center of authority is vested in the *Vietche*, the prototype of the modern *Duma*, a regime more absolute than that of the prince⁵¹ It controls all matters of magnitude elects the heads of local government, makes and dissolves treaties,⁵² finally, it has charge of all criminal jurisdiction⁵³ Little by little this democratic type of government absorbs the autonomy of the monarch, "in spite of the fact that it possessed a prince"⁵⁴ If anything, the political and individual rights of the free citizen were upheld still more sacredly in Pskov⁵⁵ Suffice it but to call to mind the great heroes of Russian legend—not princes, nor even warriors, but "free citizens" Sadko and Buslaiev!⁵⁶

Undoubtedly, Herder's misapprehensions may be led directly back to his "Sturm and Drang" with its surplus of enthusiasm and lack of reasoning At least in part they result from the obvious unfamiliarity with the speech and the thought of the country which he dreams to reform From Herder's own stand-

⁴⁷ Alexinsky, Gregor, *Modern Russia*, 197. London

⁴⁸ Bestujew-Rjumin, *Geschichte Russlands*, 230 Mitau, 1874

⁴⁹ Kluchevsky, V O, *A History of Russia*, I, 325-327 London, 1911

⁵⁰ Platonov, S, *Histoire de la Russie Des origines à 1918*, 26, 78, 81 Paris, 1929

⁵¹ *Ibid*

⁵⁴ *Ibid*

⁵² *Ibid*.

⁵⁵ Bestujew-Rjumin, 274-287

⁵³ Kluchevsky, 325, 327, 355

⁵⁶ *Ibid*

point, as expounded in the *Journal*,⁵⁷ an offense of the most weighty, to us perhaps a blessing in disguise!⁵⁸

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GRILLPARZER'S RELATION TO CLASSICAL IDEALISM

Literary Criticism rather early recognized the fact that Grillparzer followed Schiller's model in his earliest dramatic attempts and plans, as in *Lucretia Creunwell*, *Seelengrosze*, *Robert von der Normandie*, and that from about 1809 on, besides that of Shakespeare and the Romanticists, he yielded more to the influence of Goethe, as e g., in his *Faustplan*, *Irenens Wiederkkehr* and the dramatic sketch *Spartakus*. As to Grillparzer's mature works, Goethe's influence is especially seen in the characters of Sappho and Hero and in the Greek setting of *Sappho*, *Das goldene Vlies*, and *Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen*, a Goethean desire for classical simplicity and harmony is attributed to the recurring inspiration from *Iphigene*.

This more or less exterior influence, however, is not the subject at hand. Our question is rather what was Grillparzer's inner response to classical idealism, and what influence had this response as such on the composition of his dramas?

Blanka von Kastilien most closely follows the example of Schiller's *Don Karlos*. The classic-idealistic antithesis of despotism and political freedom, of moral heteronomy and autonomy is still noticeable in the theme of Grillparzer's drama. Especially the impudent passion of Maria de Padilla, the cold rationalism of Rodrigo de Padilla's intrigue and the brutality of King Pedro reflect the dependence on the classical model. The antipole, however, is no longer moral antonomy in the classic-idealistic meaning of the word. Fedriko's conception of duty toward the king is not based on an insight into the moral value of allegiance, but on

⁵⁷ Hapgood, I F., *The Epic Songs of Russia*, 357, 39, 201. New York, 1886.

⁵⁸ Herder, IV, 422-430, Andress, J., *Johann Gottfried Herder as an Educator*, 188-189. New York, 1916. Haym, R., *Herder nach seinem Leben und seinen Werken*, I, 53. Kuhnemann, 10.

tradition, it is heteronomous and amoral, if not immoral, according to classical standards, and his relation to Blanka is, in spite of all Schillerean influence, just as much determined by a conventional respect for the empty form of a marriage which hardly ever existed in fact. The logic of this situation requires a non-Schillerean solution, but only death is allowed to join those who naturally belong together. This uncertainty with respect to moral decisions, proves that Grillparzer tries to break away from classical idealism, that he begins to doubt absolute moral postulates and their realization, that, on the other hand, he is still dependent on those postulates, that he does not dare yet to substitute for them a solution which would do better justice to the life situation of his drama.

This doubt grows to skepticism in Grillparzer's *Die Ahnfrau*, a play which suggests not only the often made comparison with Schiller's *Bräut von Messina*, but also with Goethe's *Iphigenie*. Schiller submits his characters to fate, in order to show how the moral freedom of man is able to maintain itself against the strongest pressure of necessity, and Goethe's Orestes is lifted through the sisterly love of Iphigenie to the idealism of humanity. The difference in Grillparzer's treatment is not sufficiently explained by a reference to the fate-dramas of the late Romanticists. It is at least as important to state that the idealistic moral postulate manifests itself in his drama. The Ahnfrau herself impersonates the conflict between idealistic and vitalistic will, a conflict which is clearly expressed in Gunther's words

Haszt sie die vergangne Sunde,
Liebt sie die vergangne Glut

It is significant for Grillparzer's own dilemma that Jaromir is longing for a life of innocence and goodness and that he hopes to find the realization of this ideal through his love for Berta. This ideal intention, however, has, contrary to all idealistic belief in a moral world order, a depraving effect, it is responsible for Jaromir's fatal love for his sister. He is completely blinded by his passion after he has discovered that Berta is his sister, and thus the irresistibility of his desire is an extreme expression of Grillparzer's doubt in the possibility of idealistic conduct, it reveals the sensualistic basis of idealistic striving, it evidences a disillusion comparable only to that expressed in Grabbe's *Herzog Theodor von Gothland* or in Buchner's *Danton's Tod*. Besides that, Grillparzer develops—

again in clear, although hardly conscious contrast with Goethe's *Iphigénie*—the idea of rootedness in an organic environment and its opposite, eradication. This existential rootedness has an almost deterministic effect on moral conduct. Goethe's *Iphigénie*, too, suffers from the separation from her native land, but this suffering develops her character to greater purity and constancy. Grillparzer's Jaromír, however, becomes a robber in the separation from his home-environment. The fact that Jaromír was robbed as a child does not detract from the validity of this interpretation, since the idea of existential rootedness is applied in subsequent dramas in more and more conscious reaction against classical idealism in the characterization of Medea, Jason, Kunigunde (in *König Ottokars Gluck und Ende*) and of Otto von Meran (in *Ein treuer Diener seines Herrn*).

The idealistic starting point is also apparent in *Sappho*. Grillparzer's ideas, to be sure, do not differ quite as radically from Goethe's as from Schiller's ideas, because Goethe and Grillparzer represent a more organic conception of life than Schiller. Thus, Goethe's Torquato Tasso doubts, like Sappho, the value of art in comparison to that of life, but Tasso's antipode, the statesman Antonio, in turn envies the poet, and the result is but a tragic resignation to the inescapable one-sidedness of every great talent. Sappho's fate, however, cannot be interpreted as a tragic and heroic resignation to her ideal calling, but only as a disillusioned estrangement from idealism. Sappho is disappointed in life, because she realizes the isolation from concrete existence imposed on her by ideal pursuits. In the last analysis, her tragedy can only be understood as an expression of Grillparzer's development away from idealism, as reluctant yielding to his growing conviction that man cannot rise from his concrete existential basis into a free, independent realm of ideality. It is the tragedy of the idealist who believes that he is able to free himself from the elementary basis of his existence and who finds it impossible to readjust himself to the demands of reality.

At this point the most essential axioms of classical idealism are abandoned. In *Das goldene Vlies* moral freedom becomes almost illusive, if one interprets freedom in the classical sense as freedom to choose moral goods and freedom to restrict one's will by the recognition of moral principles. Medea and Jason are doomed to moral decline by the fact that they leave the sphere allotted to

them by birth and symbiosis, and that is also the tragic fate of Kunigunde in *König Ottokars Gluck und Ende* and of Otto von Meran in *Ein treuer Diener seines Herrn*

Whereas in his first dramas Grillparzer struggles with idealistic beliefs and although they are defeated, assigns them a prominent active part in the motivation of the play, in his later dramas, especially from *Das goldene Vlies* on, the positive moral will is almost completely reduced to the self-limitation in an appropriate environment and to a definite stage in life, and the negative side is represented by the transgression or absence of these limitations. Classical idealism conceived moral goodness as an active decision and badness as a passive yielding to heteronomous influences. Grillparzer arrives at the opposite view that moral goodness is mainly inactive rootedness in an environment, and that evil arises from the transgression of limitations in the concrete existential situation of man. Accordingly, reason gradually loses its highest dignity as supreme judge on moral issues, it becomes mainly an instrument of the will to live, and as such it exerts the dubious function of enabling man to transcend his organic sphere of existence and to strive for aims regardless of existential limitations, thereby menacing the originally organic structure of his environment and preparing ruin for himself and for the environment.

The transition from classical idealism to Grillparzer is a transition from an individualistic conception of man to an existential conception, i. e., man's existence is conceived as essentially symbiotic, as being together with others, as being in active and reactive communication with others. The implications of this change and their influence on the problematic structure of Grillparzer's later dramas transcend the scope of this paper which is only concerned with Grillparzer's breaking away from the classical inheritance.

This development is similar to that of Schopenhauer who inverted the classical relation of idea and will in favor of the unreflected, instinctive rootedness of man in his existential environment. Like Schopenhauer, Grillparzer arrives in and through his work at the tragic conclusion that reason severs man from his existential basis and drives him into an isolation in which he faces physical and moral catastrophe.

The relation to classical idealism as outlined in this paper should eliminate all doubt about Grillparzer's place in the literary history of the nineteenth century. Like Grabbe, he inherited the classical

belief in the existence of an ideal order and developed through a stage of disillusion to a more realistic conception of the world, but, belonging to an older generation than Grabbe, he was more imbued with idealistic views and as an Austrian more deeply rooted in an organic environment, so that his adjustment to the realistic trend of the nineteenth century was never as complete as Grabbe's. In the development of the nineteenth century he always regretted the progress of disintegration of an organic structure—In this respect for the organic structure of life Grillparzer remained in spiritual affinity with Goethe

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THE POPULAR RIÑA IN LOPE DE RUEDA

Among the factors that enabled Lope de Rueda to strike the "popular vein" successfully, none proved more effective than his knack at reproducing the popular *riña*, *pendencia*, *reyerta*, or *pelea*. In one form or another, the *riña* is prominent in almost all his plays, *comedias* as well as *pasos*, and in *El rufián cobarde* it constitutes the sole theme of the action.

Compared with the *riñas* of his predecessors, Rueda's are found to be much more varied in character and length and much more dramatic in structure and language. In some cases, as in *El rufián cobarde* and the Vallejo-Grimaldo incident in the *Eufemia*, they settle a score, have a beginning, a middle, and an end, and are finished little plays in themselves regardless of whether they appear as *pasos* or as parts of *comedias*. In other cases—for example, the Guadalupe-Mencieta, the Melchior-Ximena, and the Guomar-Julieta wrangles in the *Armelina*, the *Eufemia*, and *Los engaños*, respectively—they are repeated outbursts of ill feeling due to no particular provocation and are engaged in as a matter of course whenever the two servants meet. There are also incipient *riñas*, generally of a bantering or teasing character, whose principal dramatic purpose, like that of the *lances* in the plays of the Siglo de Oro, seems to be to start things off with rapid dialogue and action, *riñas* in monologue, like that of Ortega in the second *escena* of the *Medora*, early morning squabbles, when "todos duermen en Camora," between husband and wife in the *Armelina*.

and *Las acertunas*, and quarrels between persons of social standing, as in the eighth *escena* of *Los engaños*

That Lope de Rueda was not the first writer to take advantage of the dramatic possibilities of the *riña*—nor, it should be added, the last—is sufficiently well known. Enough antecedent *riña* literature exists to warrant the belief that scenes exhibiting popular altercations had become by Rueda's time a kind of "set piece" and that something like an art of the *riña*, similar to the *arte de reñir* in real life described by Valdés,¹ was in the process of development. The vast superiority of Rueda's *riñas* to those of his predecessors, however, is so marked and has been so little commented upon that it deserves attention if only for purposes of comparative evaluation. Incidentally, it explains in great measure how, in spite of his deep indebtedness to the Italians for the subject-matter of his regular plays, he managed to imbue them with a genuinely national Spanish spirit.

On the purely theatrical side, it might appear that Rueda could introduce nothing new into the presentation of *riñas*. His predecessors understood the value of wordy brawls as a matter of stage "business" and Torres Naharro, for one, put the *riña* to systematic use, alternating it fairly regularly with the more serious action in much the same way that the playwrights of the Siglo de Oro utilized the *gracioso* scenes. However, the variety of individuals, moods, actions, gestures, manners of speech, and kinds of horse-play in Rueda is such that the *riñas* of Torres Naharro's *rústicos* and *hortelanos* strike one today as flat, monotonous, and antiquated—quite the reverse of Rueda's, which at this late date retain almost intact their original vitality. Evidently Rueda's dramatic skill in the construction of *riñas* was a capital factor in the public favor accorded his theatrical performances and it is significant that Cervantes praises him especially for his acting in the rôles of *bobo*, *vizcaíno*, *negra*, and *rufián*, whose *riñas* are often the only justification for their appearance in the plays.

On the verbal or linguistic side, Rueda's *riñas* mark a notable advance in realistic truth of expression and artistic selection of detail. At one stroke, the language of the *riña* is raised by him from humdrum boorishness, coarse vituperation, and stilted exag-

¹ In *José (Obras completas, VIII, Madrid, 1902)*, pp. 123-4.

generation,² which are immediately recognized as factitious and unnatural, to an almost perfect illusion of reality. Whether the result of gifted improvisation or exceedingly clever artifice, his *riñas* ring true. They could have happened on any street or in any house.

An analysis of the language of Rueda's *riñas*—which, as is to be expected, is in the main of billingsgate caliber—demonstrates that, while he took over the conventionalized elements of the *riña* employed by his predecessors, he usually improved upon them in the direction of characterization, popular tone, and distinctiveness. Such commonplaces as strong epithets, maledictions, recrimination, and *refranes*, which are the sum and substance of preceding *riñas*, become vivid and genial under his touch and are as a rule invested with individuality or personality. The proverbial expressions, for instance, which are heaped up pell-mell in the Arcipreste de Talavera and Fernando de Rojas and could be used interchangeably by any of the characters, are assigned by Rueda with discriminating choice. They have frequently the improvised imagery appropriate to the particular person, the peculiarities of pronunciation, and the indefiniteness of reference which are observable in any popular brawl³ and avoid completely the appearance of having been drawn from a *refranero*—the latter fault being only too perceptible in the *Celestina*. Many of them are so thoroughly Spanish and local in sentiment and expression that they have a meaning for Spaniards

² It is a curious fact that Torres Naharro, who, according to Juan de Valdés, "wrote best on low and plebeian subjects," is uninspired in his popular *riñas* and that Fernando de Rojas, who painted low life with stark realism, becomes artificial, rhetorical, and bookish in most of his billingsgate.

³ E.g., *Lope de Rueda, Teatro*, "Clásicos castellanos," Madrid, 1924 p. 38, "podían fiar della oro sin cuento, como á una gata parida una vara de longaniza", p. 73, "yo los embiaré antes que amanezca á caçar gaviluchos á los robles de Mechualón", p. 104, "ó na forza ne va, nerrechos se pierde, honra y barbechos no caben la sacos", p. 116, "¡Afuera hay cantos, moxca de Arjona!", p. 121, "Tal te quero, Crespa y ella era tiñosa", pp. 122-3, "Ya, ya, maten aquel gaçapo, ¿para qué es nada desso, la de Alonso?", p. 166, "¿no alcanzavas con la mano un prato del vasar y querias ya tener breço en casa?" Bohl von Faber, *Teatro español anterior a Lope de Vega*, Hamburg, 1832 p. 371, "Espérole el relox de Guadalupe!", p. 410, "allá se lo haya Marta con sus pollos, que yo mas querria buena olla que mal testimuño."

alone—and often only for Spaniards of Rueda's own day—and remain singularly free from any effort at securing the universality of application that distinguishes the *refranes* of Rueda's forerunners and contemporaries.

The innovations introduced into *ruña* scenes by Rueda are numerous. Most of them found their way into the *ruñas* of later writers and more particularly into Cervantes' *entremeses*, one of which, *El juez de los divorcios*, is an admirable specimen of sustained billingsgate on the Rueda order. Whether these innovations were premeditated or not or whether or not Rueda, who had the instinct of the artist, realized that little advantage was being taken in his day of the dramatic and artistic possibilities of the *ruña*, the fact remains that he specialized in *ruñas* both as a writer and as an actor and radically modified the form in which they were presented.

Several of his practices, though seemingly unimportant, make all the difference between a fine type of *ruña* and a very ordinary type. One of them is his recollection of popular heroes and historical events,⁴ which, despite the circumstance that it is used principally as an ironical means of bringing into relief the vanity and the insignificance of the *veñidores*, has the same nationalistic values as the copious allusions to past and present Spanish glories in Lope de Vega and his fellow-writers of the Siglo de Oro. Of a similar nature is his solicitude for local color, which he secures by the mention of the specific names of persons, the use of familiar place-names, the reference to customs and manners of the times, the recalling of natural phenomena that have become popular traditions, as "el año de la langosta," and the like. The pride of family, which stands out as a strong trait among the *pueblo*, adds a typically Spanish note of invidious distinction to squabbles that are permeated with Spanish psychology.⁵ Occasionally a bit of pic-

⁴ Thus, *Teatro*, "Clásicos castellanos," p. 53, "con el serpentino de bronce que en Cartagena está desterrado por su demasiada sobervia, y que bolviesen agora á resucitar las lombardas de hierro colado con quel Cristianísimo rey don Fernando ganó a Baça, y finalmente aquel tan nombrado Galeón de Portugal . . .", p. 54, "¿Qué más podía dezir aquel valerosísimo español Diego García de Paredes?", p. 55, "El campo de onze a onze que se hizo en el Piamonte, ¿quién lo acabó sino él é yo?"

⁵ E. g., *Teatro*, "Clásicos castellanos," p. 36, "me dixo en mis barbas que era mejor alcurnea la de los Peñalosas que los Ortizes", p. 40, "Pues ¿cómo dize la señora Peñalosa que puede ella bivar con mi çapato, siendo

turesqueness, none the less appropriate because it occurs in a *riña*, lends a poetical touch of sentiment to a wrangle and, in a few words, conjures up a Spanish scene, as in "Allí junto a la higuera breval, adonde, si se os acuerda, os di un beso," in *Las acertunas*.

The significance of such innovations lies in their natural, unforced, artistic realism—a species of realism almost entirely wanting in Rueda's predecessors. The humbleness of the vehicle, namely, the *riña*, not only does not detract from the excellence of Rueda's achievement, but rather heightens it, at the same time strengthening his position as a discerning painter of the people in its most characteristic poses. Were it not for his *riñas* and similar pieces of popular realism, it is possible that some of his more ambitious dramatic efforts might have figured among the neglected plays to which Cañete directed attention in his *Teatro español del siglo XVI*.

Of a presumably lower order of realism from the artistic standpoint—though not necessarily so in the *riña*—are Rueda's favorite comic devices, malapropism (including "spoonerism") and the periphrastic or metaphorical epithet.

A hint of malapropism is to be found in Torres Naharro,⁶ but it is only a hint. Rueda's handling of it is so varied, picturesque, and ubiquitous that the credit for its introduction into Spanish literature, at least, would seem rightfully to belong to him. Certainly, nobody before him had extracted from it so many different kinds of comic effect. Words are mutilated with gay abandon.⁷

todos hijos de Adrián y Estevan?", p. 104, "Paréscete á boz que dava yo bon xemplo y cuenta de mi linage?", p. 126, "Ausadas, Mencieta, si tu no me lo pagares, no me tengas por hija de Antón Ramírez Ruiz, Alvarez, Alonso de Pisano, Ureña de Pimentel." Ochoa, *Tesoro del teatro español*, I, Paris, 1838, p. 158, "y que su gervilla valia mas que todo mi linage", "¿paréscete bien de blasonar de quien vale mas que tu linage. ?", p. 184, "ya saber Dios y tora lo mundo que sar yo la sabrina na reina Berbasino, cuñados de la marques de Cucurucu, por an mar y por an tierras."

⁶ Cf. Bohl von Faber, *op cit*, p. 214, martilojo (= martirologio), p. 234, gallo relleno (= Galieno or Galeno), ave roe (= Averoës), ave cena (= Avicena), méficos (= médicos).

⁷ E.g., *Teatro*, "Clásicos castellanos," p. 36, soportativo; p. 37, máscara, p. 102, fazer cudolete, p. 187, infuntos, p. 239, obispeso. Bohl von Faber, *op cit*, p. 350, afeitar el vocabro, p. 358, la flor de la cucucena; "Yo, señor, queremos muntipricar á mundos", p. 361, "Ha visto qué pantasia tiene la cara de sin gorguenza?", p. 362, saraguelo, sabuelo, p. 363, carralasolendas, p. 460, respleuto, p. 464, hijo prólogo, hijo pócrito.

Whole scenes are a hodge-podge of jumbled pronunciation, number, gender, and grammatical construction.⁸ Common words are given a coarse or ludicrous twist.⁹ Old, familiar names appear in a comically new form.¹⁰ Logic, as in Cervantes' *vizcaíno* speech, is reversed.¹¹ "Irish bulls" are now and then perpetrated.¹² In short, Rueda systematically practises every known type of linguistic mistake for comic effect and anticipates the better known malapropism and "spoonerism" of Cervantes, Smollett, Sheridan, and Dickens, the first of whom derives directly from him in this respect and the others indirectly, through Cervantes.

The periphrastic or metaphorical epithet that appears so abundantly in Rueda has some affinity in its structure for the periphrasis of the seventeenth century *précieus* in France. Consisting of phrases made up largely of picturesque metaphors employed substantively (*e g.*, *cantón dencrucyada*, *cucaracha de sótanos*), it has the vivid, artistic value of most metaphor. In the manner of the cartoon, it sketches with swift, economical strokes the physical defects and moral foibles of the victim and carries with it an insinuation of ironical criticism that can not be secured by the ordinary vituperative epithet (*villano*, *bobarón*, *modorón*, *hi de puta*, *don ladrón*, *lacerado*, *bestial*, *bellaco*, *desvergonzado*) forming the stock-in-trade of Juan del Encina, Torres Naharro, Fernando de Rojas, and the other predecessors of Rueda. In addition, it allows the author considerable opportunity for the exercise of

⁸ *E g.*, the *negra* episodes in the seventh *escena* of the *Eufemia* and the third *escena* of *Los engaños*.

⁹ *E g.*, *Teatro*, "Clásicos castellanos," p 105, *cagañeroz*, p 106, *dueña destabro* Bohl von Faber, *op cit*, p 299, un poquito de trementinos de la que llaman de teta (de puta, in the "Clásicos castellanos" edition of the play).

¹⁰ *E g.*, *Teatro*, "Clásicos castellanos," p 40, siendo todos hijos de Adrián y Estevan, p 102, mi señor Pollos, p 103, señor Nicolás de Tramentinos Bohl von Faber, *op cit*, p 369, Santa Bárbulas.

¹¹ *E g.*, *Teatro*, "Clásicos castellanos," p. 105, "A otro guesso con aqueesse perro, que yo ya la tengo rosegadoz", p 107, "Por ciertos que me pesas como si no fueras mi fijo"; "Amarga se vea la madre que le parios."

¹² *E. g.*, *Teatro*, "Clásicos castellanos," p 43, "si de ocho días que tiene la semana se echa los nueve hecha cuba", p 94, "Pues ¿aqueesso es carta? Yo por papel lo tenía (a slight, but interesting, anticipation of M Jourdain's discovery of prose). Ochoa, *op cit*, p 187, "mala landre me mate despues de muerta."

imagination and ingenuity and becomes for him as dramatic a mode of expression as the epigram. Apparently conscious of the advantages of the periphrastic epithet, Rueda reduces the use of the common vituperative epithet to a minimum and replaces it with the highly-colored, concentrated, individualized expression due to his own invention.¹⁸

From the number of *riñas* in Lope de Rueda and the systematized language in which they are carried on, it is clear that they constitute an important, and not merely a casual, element of his dramaturgy. Their naturalness and spontaneity are to a great extent responsible for the general air of naturalness and spontaneity that emanates from his plays. The perfection with which they reproduce the popular *riñas* of actual life entitles Rueda to a front rank among the many Spanish literary practitioners of the *riña* and billingsgate. The distinction is no mean one.

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THE SOURCES OF *LA FUERZA DEL NATURAL*

La fuerza del natural, a *comedia de figurón*, is one of the more attractive plays of Moreto.¹ In an earlier study,² I had occasion to

¹⁸ Other examples besides those mentioned above and found scattered through his plays are *aguja de ensartar matalafes*, *gesto de renacuajo*, *señora desposada por los pesebres*, *ese cucharón de comer gachas*, *molde de bodoques*, *señora chupa de palmito*, *cara de mula*, *pailón de coser* (cocer) *meloxa*, *paramento de bodegón*, *aparejo de caçar abejorucos*, *cara de carbón de brezo*, *cara de esparto por remojar*.

¹ First published in the *Escogidas*, Parte xv, Melchor Sánchez, Madrid, 1661. Here it is attributed to Moreto (without collaborators) in the table of contents, but the concluding lines are

Y de Cancer y Moreto
fin aquí las plumas dan
probando que en todo sobra
la fuerza del natural

In the *Segunda parte* (Benito Macé, Valencia, 1676) it is ascribed to Moreto alone

Y de Moreto los lauros
fin aquí a su pluma dan
probando que en todo sobra
la fuerza del natural

Of the many *sueñas* found in the Biblioteca Nacional, some follow the

show that Mesonero Romanos ignored the matter of chronology when he roundly stated (*BAE*, XLVII, XXVIII) that this work was an imitation of Leyva Ramírez' *Cuando no se aguarda y príncipe tonto*.³ On the contrary there is every reason to believe that Moreto was creditor in this case, not borrower. Nor can I agree that Monroy's "*Mudanzas de la fortuna y firmezas del amor*"⁴ es de asunto parecido al de *La fuerza del natural* de Moreto y Cáncer."⁵ I have read Monroy's play and can not see the similarity indicated. On the other hand, Amescua's *Examinarse de rey* (*Más vale fingir que amar*) and Lope's *La dama boba* offer definite parallels to the work under consideration.⁶

Moreto is in my opinion indebted to Amescua for the thesis

Escogidas, some the *Segunda parte*, in the matter of authorship. In a MS of the Biblioteca Nacional, which is merely the rôle of the character Julio made for one Francisco Correa in 1668, it is attributed to "Mattos y Cáncer" according to Paz y Melia (*Catalogo*, 1899, 206). The names of "Mattos y Cáncer" are not today found on this manuscript, perhaps an entire page has been lost. Nevertheless, in the third act internal evidence points to the pen of Matos or to some one of similar dramatic methods. See my work *The Dramatic Art of Moreto* (Smith College Studies in Modern Languages, XIII, Oct., 1931-July, 1932, Northampton, Mass., 132-133). I have, since making that study, had the opportunity of examining all editions and MSS of the Nacional. All references in these pages are to the *BAE*, XXXIX.

² See *The Dramatic Art of Moreto*, 172-173.

³ First published in the *Escogidas*, Parte XL, Julián de Paredes, Madrid, 1675.

⁴ First published in Parte XLI of *Comedias de varios autores*, Valencia, apparently without year or publisher. See La Barrera y Leirado, *Catálogo del teatro antiguo español*, Madrid, 1860, 263. It was written before 1649, since Monroy died in that year. If Cáncer collaborated with Moreto in *La fuerza del natural*, then this play must be placed before 1655, the year of Cáncer's death.

⁵ See Hurtado y Palencia, *Hist de la lit esp*, Madrid, 1921, 705. I do not know the original source of this statement.

⁶ With the second title, Amescua's play was printed in a *suelta* without year or place. I have used in this study a photostat of the manuscript which is to be found in the Biblioteca Nacional (No 14953) at Madrid. It is entitled *Examinarse de rey*. I should like to express here my thanks to Prof C. E. Anibal who was so kind as to lend me this photostat. Lope's *La dama boba* was first printed in Parte IX, 1617. I have used Prof Schevill's edition, *The Dramatic Art of Lope de Vega together with "La dama boba"*, Univ of Cal Press, Berkeley, 1918.

"blood will tell" as well as for the general situation.⁷ In both plays when the curtain goes up the two brothers are quarreling, a scene which is interrupted first by the arrival of a comic character and then by that of their father. The latter has come to announce the arrival of their lord (in Moreto's, the Duke of Ferrara and in Amescua's, the King of Naples) who has ostensibly come on a hunt to his country estate. When, however, a few moments later the ruler arrives, we learn that he is come to carry away the son who has been reared in the obscurity of this country village without any knowledge of his kingly heritage.

At this point the stories diverge. In Moreto's play, the father is told that the stupid Julio is his son whereas the "discreet" Carlos is the offspring of the peasant who has reared them, in Amescua's, the ruler finds that the identity of his son Carlos has been confused with that of his illegitimate brother's child (likewise named Carlos) who has been reared in the same home. In both plays the ruler takes the two boys to court where they meet their cousin and become rivals for her hand. From this point on in the story, Amescua concerns himself chiefly with certain psychological tests by which the king and his niece Margarita seek to discover the identity of the true son whereas Moreto fills the remaining two acts of his comedy with the various academic exercises by which the father hopes to sharpen the wits of his stupid son. In both works, it is the peasant who has reared the boy that at the end brings material proofs to corroborate the psychological. Just what these are is not made clear in Amescua's play,⁸ but in Moreto's the laborer's wife confesses on her deathbed that she had deceived her husband as to the identity of the two boys and that it is the courtly Carlos (not the boorish Julio) who is son to the Duke. In both plays the prince marries his princess, and the minor characters are paired off at the will of the author.

If the plays are similar in general outline of plot, they differ

⁷ The situation in Amescua's play, as well as the *pruebas* to which the royal father subjects the two boys in order to determine which is his son, recalls Galdos' *El abuelo*, though the democratic dénouement of the modern play would of course have been impossible in the seventeenth century.

⁸ In the photostat which I have used, the last two pages are lacking. This statement is, therefore, based on the résumé of plot which Señor Cotarelo gives. See his *Mira de Amescua y su teatro*, Tip. de la "Revista de Archivos," Madrid, 1931, 85-86. For a more detailed résumé of Moreto's than is here given, see *The Dramatic Art of Moreto*, 172-173.

widely in other regards Moreto owes nothing to his predecessor in matters of characterization.⁹ In Amescua's comedy, the real son is frank and sincere in his love, intelligent and just in the exercise of his princely duties whereas his rival, when put to the same tests, proves hypocritical and false, ambitious and tyrannical. In Moreto's work, Carlos is a model of intelligence and "discretion," Julio a comic bumpkin incapable of learning even the most rudimentary demands of polite society

Moreto, in making this character contrast one of *necedad* versus *discreción*, may have been influenced by Amescua's *gracioso* Transplanted to the palace along with his masters, Domingo hates the court and longs for the gossip atmosphere of his *aldea*. However, for this contrast of characters, as well as for the scene wherein the dancing master seeks to instruct Julio in the social graces, Moreto is, I doubt not, indebted to Lope's *La dama boba*.¹⁰ One may wonder, though, if *El tonto de la aldea*, mentioned in Lope's first *Peregrino* list, but now lost, may not have been a companion piece to *La dama boba*, and, as such, have furnished a nearer literary parallel than either play mentioned

If Moreto owes a verbal debt to either Lope or Amescua, I have not noted it. It is perhaps worthwhile to point out a phrase found in *La fuerza del natural* which may have had its origin in *Examinarse de rey*, though it could just as easily be due to coincidence. In Amescua's work one reads (III, 124)

e aprendido de Carlos
a hacer que las florecillas
canten el nombre de Porzia,
que es *la dama peregrina*

In Moreto's (I, 208) the term is applied not to the rival, but to the heroine herself,

a quien por su beldad rara
la llaman *la peregrina*

Moreto's play has in its turn served as source not only for Leyva Ramírez' play but also for Bretón de los Herreros' *El príncipe y el villano*

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⁹ The laborer who has reared the boys is in both plays upright and loyal, but it was the usual type to be found in the plays of the epoch

¹⁰ Cf the spirit of *La fuerza del natural*, II, 218-219 and *La dama boba*, II, 188-189

FURTHER INFLUENCES OF AUSIAS MARCH ON GUTIERRE DE CETINA

Words and imagery in the poems of Ausias March are known to form the basis of content for thirty-nine of the sonnets, a madrigal, and parts of two *canciones* of Gutierre de Cetina ¹

In addition, students of the Spanish poet cannot fail to see that evidences of his absorption in the work of his fellow-countryman of Valencia pervade many of his other poetic compositions. Such evidences in the longer poems are in the main not consecutive enough, or not sufficiently precise to warrant a drawing up of parallels, but the sonnets, limited by the nature of the form to crystallizations of single leading conceptions, offer opportunity for "rapprochements" more convincing.

Examination shows that when Cetina imitated the Italians (in approximately equal measure as the Catalan), he drew much more extensively on their wording and rhyme-schemes than on those of March, a process partially demanded, or at least strongly suggested by similarity of Italian and Castilian poetic forms of the Renaissance. Very few of the thirty-nine cases of borrowing by Cetina from March betray any approach to complete translation, and in some of them close attention is needed to appreciate the connection that exists. The very pervasiveness of the presence of March with Cetina must therefore be constantly remembered if it appears that some of the comparisons following hold by somewhat slender threads.

The first stanza of the *cant*, *Retinga'm Deu en mon trist pensament*,

Retinga'm Deu en mon trist pensament,
puix que no'm tol go per que pas tristor,
en ella sent una tan gran dolgor
per si e com altre delit ne sent
Sens grat seré si jamés la'm despull
e solament assaig d'ella eixir,
tant gran delit me sent d'ella venir
que no desig res fora mi, ne vull ²

¹ See A. M. Withers, *Sources of the Poetry of Gutierre de Cetina*, Publications of the University of Pennsylvania Series in Romanic Languages and Literatures, Philadelphia, 1923.

² Citations from Ausias March are taken from *Les Obres del Valeros*

presents exactly the same idea as Cetina's

Temía hasta aquí de entristecerme,
 Cansada ya el alma de un luengo llanto,
 Erame hasta aquí visión de espanto
 Ver un pesar y no saber valerme
Mas ahora que vos holgais de verme
Triste, ningún placer procuro tanto,
 Hora me es enojoso el dulce canto
 Y alegre aquel que ya solía ofenderme
 Dama, pues de mi bien sois tan esquiva,
 Descanso me será cualquier tormento
 Que de tan alta causa se deriva,
 Pero tengo temor que, de contento,
 El rostro, cuando en más tristeza viva,
 Muestre al revés señal de lo que siento *

with just enough similarity of wording to remove the reality of this source from doubt

Ausias March dwells often and at length on the three kinds of love the purely fleshly, that in which body and soul accord, and the spiritual or celestial. One is not greatly interested in these days, of course, in the particular subtleties to which discussion of such distinction leads, but the matter did not find Cetina indifferent.

Señora, si es amor, como se entiende,
 Deseo de gozar la cosa amada,
 De do viene que esta alma enamorada
 En el gozo mayor su fuego enciende,
 Si tanto dura amor cuanto contiene
 Al desear la cosa deseada,
 Pues la causa de Amor es ya acabada,
 Como dura el efecto y se defiende
 No es amor tal amor, mas desconcierto,
 No es el favor el fin de esta porfia,
 Aunque muestra ser fin de los amores
Amor nace del alma, el alma es cierto
Que en parte es voluntad, y así la mía
Desea la voluntad; no los favores

Cavaller y elegantissim poeta Ausias March (etc.), Barcelona, Biblioteca Clásica Catalana, 1908-1909

* *Obras de Gutierre de Cetina*, ed J Hazañas y la Rúa, Sevilla, 1895, two volumes. The sonnets are placed here alphabetically according to the opening lines

The Spanish poet chose some of his wording apparently from
Sens lo desig de cosa deshonestà, stanza 3

No cessará lo meu egual talent
Pux mou de part que no's cansa ne's farta,
car l'esperit tot lo finit aparta,
no es en cors lo seu contentament,
De vos deman la voluntat guanyada,
cella qui es en l'arma infimida,
la part d'amor que pot esser partida,
en lo meu cor no hi es molt esforcada

Compare also with Cetina's second quatrain Stanza 3, lines 6-8, of
Ja tots mos cants me plau metr' en oblit

car fermetat en ell no pot haver,
puix no es pus que destemprat voler
e dura tant com la passio'l guia

Similar professions of zeal for the more elevated passions of love, the "good desire," form the matter of the following sonnet, in which the poet accomplishes a "tour de force" in rhyme peculiar to this sonnet alone of his repertoire

Oh noche, para mí muy claro día,
Que enriqueciste tanto el buen deseo,
Que en siempre desear lo que deseo
Faltar será imposible en algún día'
Y tú, que tu presencia es siempre día,
No tomes por ofensa mi deseo,
Que sólo por loarte lo deseo
Y con esto acabar mi postrer día
Y pues tal ha de ser mi pensamiento
En este desear, que la esperanza
Al vano imaginar quite su oficio,
Siendo tan puro y limpio el pensamiento,
No niegues este bien, que otra esperanza
Más del vivir no quiero en este oficio

That not more similarities of wording are apparent in the following of March, may well be explained by the exigencies of rhyme which the Spanish poet set for himself

Estramps i, Fantasiant amor a mí descobre
los grans secrets qu'als pus subtils amaga,
e mon jorn clar als homens es mit fosca
e visch d'aço que persones no tasten

Tant en amor l'esperit meu contempla
 que par del tot fora del cos se aparte,
 car mos desigs no son trobats en home,
 sino en tal que la cain punt no'l torbe

The sonnet seems to have been suggested by the third verse of the Catalan "Jorn clar" is here more a mental concept than a period of time, the idea which Cetina's "claro día" approaches. For both poets, however, it is an identical question of the inspiration of high desires, insuring clarity of mind and spiritual exaltation.

Two more sources for Cetina's sonnets, to be added to one already discovered there,⁴ are found in March, *Cert es de mi que no me'n cal fer compte*, in which the lover admits the force of the earthly elements in love, whose occasional victories in the inner conflict lie heavy on his soul. The second stanza,

Tant com en mi es y fou soportable
 de contrastar e vendre la batalla
 yo he complit dins mi sentint baralla,
 tal que no'm fou un altre comparable
Yo desig tant com lo cor me soporta
 e per aquest desig a mi hayre,
 puix la que am ab grat e desgrat mire
 torbat me sent, costum passat no'm porta
 Yo am e'm dolch conexent mi que ame,
 d'ella'm delit, e més com la desame

supplied part of the metaphorical language for Cetina's

Contra el influjo del contrario cielo,
 Que a nuestra voluntad cegar porfia
 Ha andado trabajando el alma mía
 Por defendella de amoroso velo
 Y no bastando aquel divino celo
 Con que me ha desviado y me desvía,
Pudo en el cuerpo más su fantasía,
 Como en cosa compuesta acá en el suelo
 No debe el alma ser reprehendida,
 Pues libre sin lesión ninguna queda
 Y sola la mortal parte ofendida.
 Ni basta aquella que nos vuelve en rueda
 Por ser elementada nuestra vida
 Que contra el cielo defendella pueda

⁴ *The Sources of the Poetry of Gutierre de Cetina*, p. 79

and the twelfth stanza

Yo creguí ferm que sentu no poguera
 en mi amôr ne'n la persona amada,
 ne per la carn l'hagués tant desijada
 no imaginant qu'en ser amat venguera
 Un gest mostrant dona ficta honesta
 e sentiment practicant d'amor acte
 sens recelar ha fet en mi fals tracte
 prenint me'l cor, e part alguna resta
 La que roman té ocupada yra,
 e quan se mou tot quant so a si'm tira.

contains the necessary similarity of words and idea to stand as the source for Cetina's

Yo, Señora, pensaba, antes creía,
 Mas ¡ay! que no sabía lo que pensaba,
 Que era amado el que amaba y no entendía
 Que el hado a mi porfía contrastaba
 El Amor me engañaba y me decía
 Que la fe que os tenía se pagaba;
 Pero si ciego andaba y no la vía
 La justa opinión mía se engañaba
 Ya el temor me muestra el desengaño,
 Si el gusto del engaño consintiera
 Que apartarme pudiera de mi daño
 Mas el mayor engaño, ¡ay suerte fiera!
 Es que aunque claro viera que era engaño,
 Por un bien tan extraño el mal quisiera

Cetina has three sonnets describing the physical effects upon the lover of love's first assault, or of any unexpected apparition of the lady to her lover's sight. The idea is common enough in petrarchan poetry, but the sonnet

Cuando del grave golpe es ofendido
 El cuerpo, de improviso lastimado,
 O por nuevo accidente es asaltado
 Por caso de que no fué prevenido,
La sangre corre luego al desvalido
Corazon, como a miembro señalado,
Y de allí va a parar do el golpe ha dado,
 De do nace el quedar descolorido
 Hizo en mi pecho Amor mortal herida,
 Corrió luego la sangre allí alterada
 Y separóse de do estaba el daño
De allí quedó con la color perdida:

Al rostro el corazón se la ha usurpado
Para favorecer su mal extraño

certainly derives from March, *Tot entenent amador mi entenga*,⁵
stanza 28

Lla donchs lo foch d'amor bé no s'amaga
e los meus ulls publich lo manifesten,
e les dolors mon sanch al cor arresten,
acorrent lla hon es donada plaga
Los meus desigs de punt en punt cambie
e la dolor no es en un lloch certa,
ma cara es de su color incerta,
cerch lochs secrets e los publichs desvie
Llanç me'n lo lit, dolor me'n gita fora,
cuyt esclatar mentre mon ull no plora

Finally Cetina amplifies March, *Per molt amor mi vida es en dubte*, stanza 1,

Per molt amar mi vida es en dubte,
mas no cregau que de la mort me tema,
a poch a poch ma esperança es scma
e 'm vol fugir, mas no 'u fa en orrubte
Haja mal grat de sa compassio,
puix no'm serveix a mon affany guarir,
lo detardar no veda lo venir
e creix desig e dobla 'm passio

for his sonnet,

Huyendo va la trabajosa vida
Del cansado vivir que no la quere,
Y el alma, de contenta en ver que muere
De sus males, no acierta a dar salida
La esperanza cansada, embebecida,
Tras un bien que será más mal si fuere,
Viendo que falta ya fuerza en que espere,
A los pies del dolor queda rendida
Poco puede tardar el bien que espero
Si el curso natural se ha detenido,
Acabará el dolor tantos enojos
Ya siento yo la muerte, y si no muero,
Es que quere el dolor, que me ha vencido,
Poco a poco gozar de los despojos

⁵ Cetina selected another stanza of this poem for a much closer reproduction. See *The Sources of the Poetry of Gutierre de Cetina*, p. 67

The foregoing evidences of Cetina's reading in March for materials utilized in seven of his sonnets (without exhausting the subject) extend the known total of his indebtedness to this source, as far as the sonnets are concerned, to forty-six, taken from thirty-four *cants* of the Catalan

We cannot but wonder where another such case of wholesale adaptation of a poet's work could be found. Certainly the borrowing of material for more than a third of his entire sonnet repertory (counting also his Italian sources) by a poet of the justified renown of Gutierre de Cetina, is a striking phenomenon in the world of letters.

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HARTZENBUSCH Y LEMMING, *EL ECO DE MADRID*

Existe en la biblioteca del Colegio de Charleston, radicado en Charleston, Carolina del Sur, un ejemplar de *El eco de Madrid* por Hartzenbusch y Lemming¹. Hasta la fecha no tengo conocimiento de que exista otro ejemplar en los Estados Unidos, y ni siquiera aparece en los manuales de bibliografía española.

El libro nos presenta un nuevo aspecto de la actividad literaria de Don Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch. Le conocemos como crítico, dramaturgo, bibliófilo, académico, etc., pero en este volumen se nos revela como pedagogo, interesado en la preparación de un manual para la difusión de su lengua materna entre los extranjeros y particularmente entre "los compatriotas de mi padre"². De esta alusión se deduce que probablemente la edición original fué preparada para estudiantes de nacionalidad alemana, aunque la edición que tengo a la vista es sin duda una adaptación para estudiantes de nacionalidad inglesa, toda vez que está provista de

¹ *El eco de Madrid o sea curso practico de la buena conversacion española, principiado y dirigido por D. Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch, Director que fué de la Biblioteca Nacional y continuado por D. Enrique Lemming, Profesor de idiomas alemán e inglés que fué en la Universidad de Madrid*. Un volumen en 12mo., publicado por la editorial de Wilhem Violet, quinta edición, Leipzig, 1891. Páginas, x, 144, 84, ejercicios y vocabulario numerados separadamente.

² *Ibid.*, Véase el prólogo.

un vocabulario español-inglés. Además el anuncio de la casa editorial incluído en el libro hace referencia a *Ecos* para "alemanes, franceses, ingleses, holandeses, y otros"

La bibliografía de las obras de Hartzenbusch preparada por su hijo³ menciona este libro en la sección de prólogos en estos términos. "Prólogo al *Eco de Madrid o sea curso práctico de la buena conversación española* Leipzig, 1858" (*Ibid*, p 412). Esta referencia es prueba evidente de que Hartzenbusch Ixart tenía conocimiento de la existencia de esta obra, y de la publicación de la que juzgo sea la primera edición en 1858. Adviértase, sin embargo, que solamente le atribuye el prólogo a su padre, y nada más dice de la colaboración de éste. Lo cierto es que ha debido consignar que su padre es coautor y no mero prologador y darnos alguna luz sobre la pieza dramática que, según este prólogo, escribió precisamente Hartzenbusch para dicho libro. Este hecho acusa ignorancia de parte de Don Eugenio en cuanto a las proporciones de la participación de su padre, y lo que es más, la posibilidad de que ni siquiera hubiese leído el prólogo, pues de lo contrario hubiera tomado nota de esta pieza y de las trece páginas de ejercicios con que, según reza el prólogo, contribuyera Don Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch.

El estudio de esta pieza dramática sugiere varios problemas. En primer lugar tenemos la fecha de la primera aparición. Hartzenbusch al referirse en el prólogo a este dramita, como él le llama, dice que fué "ya antes impreso," lo cual indica que había sido publicado antes de 1858, ya bien en alguna revista, o en algún volumen de Hartzenbusch hasta ahora desconocido. El caso es que no he podido encontrar ningún indicio de la fecha exacta de su primera aparición. También hay la posibilidad de que esta pieza apareciese bajo otro título. Examinemos el argumento para ver lo que hay en cuanto a esto. Se trata de una joven, Pepita, que ha recibido una carta de un pretendiente hacia quien no siente inclinación alguna. Dos amigas vienen a pasar un rato de charla con ella, y en el curso de la conversación hablan de sus desdichas e infortunios. Todo lo atribuyen a haber rechazado al joven en cuestión cuando éste las pretendía. Pepita empieza a recapacitar sobre su decisión, pero aun así, no puede determinarse. Este

³Eugenio Hartzenbusch Ixart, *Bibliografía de Hartzenbusch*, Madrid, 1900.

dilema lo resuelve la llegada de una carta de otra amiga, en la cual dice haber sufrido un accidente muy desgraciado. Esta joven también ha rehusado casarse con el pretendiente de marras. Pepita acepta inmediatamente, lo comunica al joven por medio de una señal convenida, y un loro cierra el diamita de esta suerte

Y sin más pormenores
Del casamiento
Aquí acaba, lectores,
El dramático-cuento (p. 90)

Como puede verse, la pieza no es más que una especie de sainetito o juguete cómico. Hartzzenbusch lo caracteriza de esta suerte: "Dramático a galope, es decir que la acción va corre-que-te-cojo" (p. 89).

Los manuales de bibliografía española no hacen referencia a ninguna pieza dramática de Hartzzenbusch titulada *Querer de miedo*. Sólo ocurre un título que a primera vista pudiera sugerir alguna relación, *El casamiento por fuerza*. Sin embargo, la semejanza entre estos títulos es demasiado distante para deducir que ambos pertenezcan a la misma pieza. Según Don Eugenio Hartzzenbusch Ixart (*op. cit.*, p. 134), *El casamiento por fuerza* es uno de los títulos incluidos en una lista de las obras de su padre que le suministró Fernández Guerra, y según éste es una traducción de *Le mariage forcé* de Molière. De esta traducción nada más se sabe, pues no existen ejemplares de ella. Ante estos hechos, sólo cabe la conclusión de que *Querer de miedo* es una composición independiente, y como tal debe aparecer en cualquier bibliografía de Don Juan Eugenio Hartzzenbusch que pretenda ser completa.

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REFERENCE TO THE FACE IN FRENCH DRAMA BEFORE RACINE

G. Le Bidois¹ held that textual reference by a character to emotions or thoughts reflected by his own facial expression or by that of another character was a device distinctive of Racine, but it has been shown to occur in the drama of antiquity and in that

¹ *De l'Action dans la tragédie de Racine*, Paris, Poussielgue, 1900, Ch. iv

of La Calprenède² Its use can also be demonstrated in French drama before the latter author wrote

Religious and moral instruction of the illiterate explains in large measure the naïveté, exaggerated horror and tearfulness of medieval serious drama³ Facial expression is used in these plays to reflect gross emotions or physical states and sometimes as a *décor* for the mind The more usual type of allusion is a simple physical description, as in the case of an entering character "Je vous voy com toute esbahie"⁴ Divine punishment is emphasized by facial disfigurement, as seen in the sudden death of a wicked queen, whose beauty "ne fait qu'obscurcir, N1 son viaire que noircir" The moral character of this death is made clear by showing that the blackness cannot be due to a soiled floor

Comment li peut estre la face,
Pour cheoir en si belle place,
Ne le corps devenu si noir?⁵

The extensive and somewhat haphazard use of tears⁶ and other gross devices does not preclude the use of visual portrayal of mental actions which direct the intrigue The battle of wills between the peasant queen Grisélidis and her husband is so presented, the king

La regarde moult longuement
Mais jamaiz un seul mouvement
Ne un seul semblant de tristee
Il n'y trovast⁷

After placing assassins in the cellar, a woman "puts on a face" so as to make her son-in-law go for wine

La malade faire me fault
Le chief enclin me veil tenir
Et clos les yex⁸

² Cf M Baudin, *MLN*, XLVIII, 50 and XLV, 114

³ Cf Lintilhac, *Histoire générale du théâtre en France*, I, Ch I

⁴ *Miracle d'Oston, roy d'Espagne*, 1169

⁵ *Miracle de Thierry*, 774-75, 802-04 For other examples, cf *Amis et Amille* (leprosy) and *Robert le diable* (insanity)

⁶ Cf *Amis et Amille*, 176-77 (sorrow), 983-84 (fear), 1126 (relief), 1580-81 (joy) Tears are also a mark of sincere repentance, Jesus intercedes for Oston because of his visibly apparent contrition "qui de lermes moule sa face" (1538 Cf also *Olovis*, 1768-71)

⁷ *Grisélidis* (cf Lintilhac, *op cit*, p. 288)

⁸ *Miracle de Une Femme que Nostre Dame garda d'estre arse*, 276-79

In Bodel's *Jus de Saint Nicholas*, the action is determined by the facial expression of the idol, Tervagant. The Saracen king, hearing of the Christian invasion, asks for a sign

Sì je doi gaagner, sì rì,
Et sì je doi perdre, sì pleure
Seneschal, que vous est avis?
Tervagan a plouré et ris

The seneschal interprets the double sign of the idol and the action develops according to his interpretation. At the end of the play, he recalls the truth of the idol's sign.⁹

The use of the face in Renaissance tragedy reflects the transitional nature of the genre, for, alongside of medieval references horrible or lacrymose in nature, we find scenes of subtle face-reading and of highly psychological action. Garnier often used elements of stark horror,¹⁰ but he managed to use stock descriptions with more discrimination than his predecessors. Phèdre's fiery passion is portrayed differently from ordinary romantic love ("La couleur vous abaisse")¹¹

Hélas! vous voyez bien par mon visage blême,
Par ma palle maigreur qu'ardemment ie vous aime¹²

He makes another advance in introducing misinterpretation. Thésée, by misjudging Hippolyte's expression, brings on the catastrophe

Ce triste forestier, ce chasseur solitaire .
D'un visage rassis sentant sa maïesté,
D'un pudique regard, d'un sourcil venerable,
A le cœur impudent, lascif, abominable (iv)

In *La Troade*, Ulysse, sent to fetch Astyanax, sees through Andromache's story of her son's death

elle pleure, gemist,
Se tourne çà et là, la face luy blesmit,
Elle cuide escouter, bref elle a plus de crainte
Que son ame ne semble estre de dueil atteinte (ii)

⁹ For other examples of facial expression determining the action, cf *Amis et Amille*, 652-57 and *Thierry*, 112-15

¹⁰ Cf *Corneille*, III (1574), *Marc Antoine*, v (1578), *la Troade*, v (1579), *Antigone*, III (1580), *les Inuites*, v (1583)

¹¹ *Bradamante*, III, 1 (1582)

¹² *Hippolyte*, III (1573). The nurse, however, has described Phèdre's love in terms of changing color

As he tells of the fate intended for Astyanax, he sees his suspicions verified by Andromache's expression: " . ie luy voy le visage muer " (II) ¹³

Hardy made wide, though generally undeveloped use of the face, basing actions on face-readings,¹⁴ presenting "scènes de regards" ¹⁵ and employing other established uses of the device ¹⁶ His notable contribution was his development of description of entering characters. When Araspé enters to explain his attentions to Panthée, his feelings are strikingly visualized, he is "palissant où de crante où d'amour" ¹⁷ In another case, the catastrophe is foretold by the messenger's face

que vois-je avancer?
Et ses yeux égarez déjà delà lancer? ¹⁸

Such use of facial expression clarifies and shortens the scene to follow.

The restriction of physical action imposed by the classical doctrine shifted emphasis to psychological action, thus clearing the way for use of the face as a *décor d'âme* As early as Mairet's *Sophonisbe* (1634), we find characters who are fully aware of each other's facial expression, Sophonisbe knows how one may be betrayed by one's face:

Certes autant de fois que mon ame insensée
A voulu s'arrêter dessus ceste pensée,
Nourrice, autant de fois j'ay changé de couleur,
Et mes sens interdits ont montré ma douleur (I, 3)

It is not surprising, therefore, to find her reading Massinisse's face as astutely as she subsequently does ¹⁹ Rotrou consistently used the face to express conflict of wills The quarrel between Ménélas and Agamemnon begins with an examination of faces.

¹³ For other varied uses of the face, cf Garnier's *les Iunfues*, Jodelle's *Cléopâtre* (1552) and *Didon* (1559), Grévin's *César* (1560), Rivaudeau's *Aman* (1561), Bounin's *Soltane* (1562).

¹⁴ Cf *Alceste*, I, 2 (1610-20)

¹⁵ Cf *Félsimène*, III (1615-25)

¹⁶ Cf *Panthée*, V, 1, 2 (1605-15), *Méléagre*, V, 2 (*ibid*), *Didon se sacrifiant*, I, 2, III, 1, V, 1 (*ibid*), *Dorise*, III, 1 (1620-25)

¹⁷ *Panthée*, III, 1

¹⁸ *Coriolan*, V, 3 (1605-15) Cf *La Mort d'Alexandre*, II, 1 (*ibid*)

¹⁹ IV, 1 Cf also I, 2, III, 2, IV, 2, V, 5 Compare with *Chryséide et Arimand* (1625), in which there is frequent allusion to the face, but without finesse, owing to the emphasis on incident of the old type tragicomedy.

—Repondez à mes yeux d'un regard seulement,
 Et de là mon discours prendra son fondement
 —Croyez-vous que la peur m'ait interdit la vue? ²⁰

In *Bélisaire*,²¹ Théodore prepares to watch Antonie's face when the latter meets Bélisaire. Théodore warns her that it will mean Bélisaire's death

si par quelque signe ou public ou secret,
 Par quelque mouvement de joie ou de regret,
 Vous rendez votre amour visible à Bélisaire (I, 4)

The strain of the meeting is so great that Antonie's self-control wavers, whereupon Théodore commands "tiens cette vue abaissée." (I, 6)²² Both Rotrou and Du Ryer portrayed soul-struggle on the face. Despite Agamemnon's effort to hide his inner struggle over the question of the sacrifice of Iphigénie, the truth is read on his face by Clytemnestre.²³ In another play, a murderer is betrayed by his "maintien interdit" and his "visage effrayé."²⁴ The agony of Saul's struggle against fate is visualized:

Abner, en vain le roi veut monstrier son courage,
 La douleur de l'esprit éclatte en son visage ²⁵

By rapid reference to the face, Corneille frequently softened characters without detracting from their heroism. Emilie's femininity breaks through, following Cinna's departure

Il va vous obéir aux dépens de sa vie
 Vous en pleurez! ²⁶

We are shown that Polyeucte's earthly ties have not been completely severed, as Pauline says. "il s'émeut, je vois couler des larmes."²⁷ Corneille also gave misinterpretation a new turn by having a character "put on a face" to bring about a mistaken impression. Judging by her tears, Cléopâtre seems to have recanted. Her soliloquy, however, enlightens us "Si je verse des

²⁰ *Iphigénie en Aulide*, II, 2 (1640), these speeches are also found in Euripides' *Iphigeneia at Aulis*

²¹ Published 1643

²⁴ *Venceslas*, IV, 6 (1648)

²² Cf. Racine, *Britannicus*, I, 3, 5, 6

²⁵ *Saul*, IV, 1 (Du Ryer, 1639)

²³ *Iphigénie*, III, 2 and IV, 3

²⁶ *Cinna*, III, 5 (1640-41)

²⁷ *Polyeucte*, IV, 3 (1641-42) Cf. *Le Cid*, IV, 1, 5 (1637) and *Horace*, II, 5, III, 5 (1640)

pleurs, ce sont des pleurs de rage." ²⁸ Tristan l'Hermite's *Mariane* ²⁹ delineates the entire struggle of Salome and her brother against Mariane on the face. Herod sends Pherore to Mariane with explicit instructions to watch her face ³⁰ Salome instructs the Echanson to think of the false evidence as if it were true, and then. "Laisse agir là dessus ta langue et ton visage" (II, 3). This evidence leads to Herod's fatal misinterpretation, he imagines Mariane's reaction to be one of guilt, on seeing the Echanson "Désia l'apercevant, elle rougist de honte." (III, 2) ³¹

We have seen that allusion to facial expression varied in effectiveness with the use and development of psychological characterization. Inasmuch as the classical doctrine directed emphasis to such delineation of character, it is no more than reasonable to expect the finest facial pictures to occur in the works of Racine. In view, however, of the extent and variety of the examples of allusion to the face before Racine, it cannot be maintained that the device was original with any one man, like most dramatic devices, it evolved with the drama.

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PIERRE GROGNET AND *LES MÉLANCHOLIES* OF JEHAN DU PIN

The *Mélancholies* (title of the last "Book" of the *Roman de Mandevre*) ¹ of Jehan Du Pin (1340), we find curiously abridged in the *Second Volume des Motz Dorez du Grand et Sarge Cathon* (1533) of Pierre Grognet (or Grosnet). The varied contents of this volume have been noted by F. Lachèvre, ² who has succeeded in identifying a number of the authors reproduced by Grognet, though he admits there still remains much to be done. However, M. Lachèvre makes one error which we venture to correct here. On p. 28 he gives an analysis of folios 123-131 of Grognet, naming each piece (they are in verse) and giving the number of verses in each one ³. We have 24 pieces here, and the headings of each one are

²⁸ *Rodogune*, IV, 4 (1644-45). Cf. *Nicomède*, I, 3, 5 (1650-51).

²⁹ 1636.

³¹ Cf. also II, 2, 6, 7, IV, 1, V, 1, 3.

³⁰ I, 3.

¹ Cf. *MLN*, May, 1935.

² In *Bibliographie des recueils collectifs de poésie du 16^e siècle*, p. 26.

³ M. Lachèvre categorically attributes these pages to Grognet himself.

taken, word for word, and in the same order, from the table of contents which precedes the *Mélancholies*.⁴ The pieces in question deal with 24 "états du monde," ranging from the pope to the "vilain" M Lachèvre reproduces the first line of each piece, which lines are found, in almost every case, in the *Mélancholies*. As I have not been able to consult Grognet's volume, I cannot tell what changes he made (except abridgments) in Du Pin's text—except in one case Montaignon, in his *Anciennes Poésies Françaises*, VII, 70, reprinted from Grognet the 22 stanzas entitled *Des Villains, villeniers, vlnastres et doubles villains*. This, compared with the chapter in the *Mélancholies* entitled *Sur l'Estat des Villains*,⁵ shows that Grognet took the piece almost bodily from Du Pin. The latter's work is in "sixains" while Grognet's is in quatrains. Here is a good example of Grognet's alterations:

Du Pin	Grognet
Le villain parfait de nature	Ung villain parfaict de nature
Ne creut unques en l'escripture	Ne creust onques en l'Escripture
"Croyes" fait il en cellez peaulx	Il dit que ce ne sont que peaulx,
He Dieu! com male norreture!	Dont n'est pas digne des pourceaux
Cil qu'est de si faulse nature	
Doit morir avec les pourceaux "	

Many of Grognet's merely verbal changes are doubtless due to the fact that he was following either a later ms than our 451 (1411) or one of the incunabulum editions of the *Mandevie*, later versions in which the editors and scribes changed the text to conform to contemporary usage.

A DISSUATION ET REMÈDE DES SEPT PECHES MORTELZ (folios 100-104 of the *Motz Dorez*) attributed (with a question-mark) to Grognet by M Lachèvre is likewise taken from Book 8 of the *Mandevie*, where it occupies folios 116 recto to 128 recto of ms 451.

Folios 91-97 of the *Motz Dorez* are devoted to DES LOUENGES, EXCELLENS ET PROPRIETÉZ DES SEPT ARS LIBERAULX, which are, perhaps, inspired by Du Pin's work (Cf fol 6 verso sq of ms 451). But Du Pin himself took that from Gautier de Metz' rhymed translation of the *Imago Mundi* of Honoré d'Autun. (Cf. BN Ms f fr. 1822, p. 150)

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⁴ Bibl Nat Ms f fr 451, folio 89 recto

⁵ *Ibid*, folio 112 recto sq

WASHINGTON IRVING AS A SOURCE FOR BOREL AND DUMAS

Among the prolific writings of the elder Dumas, *La Femme au Collier de Velours* affords an interesting example of literary indebtedness which has apparently gone unnoticed. In spite of its elaborate setting this weird story, published in 1850,¹ has its immediate source in the work of Pétrus Borel. Among the latter's work, scattered through reviews and journals but never reprinted, is a story called "Gottfried Wolfgang," published² in Paris in 1843.

In the only adequate biography of this little-known French Romanticist, Aristide Marie³ protests indignantly against so flagrant a case of plagiarism. Though this story is not included in the only edition of Borel's collected works,⁴ the editor praises it highly and devotes four pages⁵ of his biography to a discussion of it. He is particularly incensed that Dumas should have been able to dupe the public with a fantastic setting, some new names, and a liberal dilution of a splendid story.

Having rebuked Dumas and restored to Borel the honor of literary ownership, the biographer asks,

N'est-ce pas à son ami Gérard de Nerval, dont le premier internement eut lieu en 1841, que songe ici Pétrus Borel? Cette réminiscence s'affirme assez bien lorsqu'il nous montre son héros hanté par le souvenir d'une femme d'une beauté merveilleuse, aperçue en rêve, et dont la vision le poursuit d'un inguérissable regret (138)

It is accordingly amusing to discover that "Gottfried Wolfgang" is an exact translation of Washington Irving's "The Adventure of the German Student." Borel not only took over the entire story but even included, somewhat misspelled, an English quotation

¹ H. P. Thieme, *Bibliographie de la Littérature Française de 1800 à 1930*, I, 637.

² *Sylphide* Littérature, beaux-arts, modes, 4me série, VIII, 331-334

³ Aristide Marie, *P. Borel, Le Lycanthrope, Sa vie et son œuvre* La Force Française, Paris, 1922

⁴ Pétrus Borel, *Œuvres Complètes*, ed. par Aristide Marie, La Force Française, Paris, 1921, 2 vols.

⁵ Aristide Marie, *P. Borel*, 137-141. In Mario Praz's *Romantic Agony* (1933, p. 134) this story is mentioned as an important tale of Borel's "worthy of Poe."

from Fletcher's *Wife for a Month*, which Irving had placed at the beginning of his *Tales of a Traveller*. The title "Gottfried Wolfgang" is the character's name in Irving's story. Borel simply prefaced this tale with a brief introduction concerning a melancholy young Englishman who had left the manuscript with an innkeeper at Boulogne. While Irving ended the story in typical Knickerbocker fashion by destroying the atmosphere of gloom and terror, Borel, whose literary stock-in-trade was crime and the shedding of blood, maintains this mood.⁶

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REVIEWS

The Early Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth (1787-1805) Edited by ERNEST DE SELINCOURT Oxford Clarendon Press [New York Oxford University Press], 1935 Pp. xviii + 578 \$8 75.

Wordsworth's Anti-climax By WILLARD L. SPERRY, Dean of the Harvard Divinity School Cambridge Harvard University Press, 1935 Pp. x + 228 \$2 50 (Harvard Studies in English, XIII)

"Wordsworth's Aesthetic Development, 1795-1802" By O. J. CAMPBELL and P. MUESCHKE In *Essays and Studies in English and Comparative Literature* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1933 Pp. 1-57 (University of Michigan Publications, Language and Literature, x)

For some years the letters of Wordsworth and his sister have been not merely out of print but unprocurable, and many a scholar has wondered what he should do if a volume of the only set available to him were lost. But if it was impossible for the Wordsworth specialist to work without the Knight edition—the only one approaching completeness,—it was equally impossible for him to

⁶ It will be recalled that Irving received the suggestion for the story from Thomas Moore, who had originally heard it from Horace Smith. See *Journal of Washington Irving (1823-24)*, ed. by S. T. Williams, Cambridge, Mass., 1931, p. 213 and *Memours, Journals, and Correspondence of Thomas Moore*, ed. by Lord John Russell, London, 1853, iv, 208.

work confidently with it, since it was known to be both fragmentary and inaccurate. The extent and the frequency of Knight's omissions have not, however, been suspected: the complete suppression of some letters, the printing of as little as one twenty-fifth of others, and the excision even in a note to Scott of over a third of the whole. There are four mistakes and four unindicated omissions in eight lines of Dorothy's letter of May 6, 1792, and eighteen omissions amounting to nearly six and a half pages (two-thirds of the whole) from her letter of September 10, 1800. Of the eighteen cuts just referred to, twelve were made without any hint to the reader, and in one case a word in the middle of a sentence in a postscript is made to begin a paragraph in the body of the letter.¹ Some of the passages dropped are quite as interesting as those retained, indeed, the three pages deleted from the poet's letter to Coleridge of Christmas, 1799, are among the best in the correspondence.¹ As a result, the first volume of Professor de Selincourt's eagerly-expected edition contains three times as much material as Knight printed for the same years: 241 letters as against Knight's 142, filling 562 large pages as against Knight's smaller and more loosely printed 273. Not all of this, however, is new, for extensive, though by no means invariably complete, quotations from Dorothy's previously unpublished correspondence were given in Professor de Selincourt's biography of 1933. Of the material here first made available, the greater part deals with money matters or with the details of every-day life which are of little general interest. The most significant of the new letters are those of March 5, 1798 and December, 1798 (or January, 1799), which give early versions of "The Ruined Cottage," "She dwelt among," "Strange fits of passion," "Nutting," and of the skating and borrowed-boat passages later included in *Prelude* 1. Here "Nutting" has the animistic lines, "They led me far, Those guardian spirits", "She dwelt among" is two stanzas longer and much less effective, but "Strange fits of passion" has a final stanza which unifies and gives meaning and pathos to an otherwise ineffectual poem. The piece now ends

"O mercy!" to myself I cried,
"If Lucy should be dead!"

Originally there was one more stanza.

I told her this, her laughter light
Is ringing in my ears,
And when I think upon that night
My eyes are dim with tears

¹ Professor de Selincourt neglects to mention that long extracts from the original draft of this letter were published in Christopher Wordsworth's *Memoirs* (I 149-54) and in Grosart (III 238-42). In *TLS* for September 12 and October 3, 1935, Catherine M. Maclean calls attention to six early letters of Dorothy's which are omitted, notes that the MSS of letters 142 and 174 are in the British Museum, and suggests that 180, which is important for *The Prelude*, was written in 1806.

Professor de Selincourt, though he is well aware of them, calls attention to none of these points. As in the case of his notable edition of *The Prelude*, the only criticism to be made of his comments is that they are too few. He says little about the correspondents—it is curious how much less we know, and how much less we care, about them than about the men to whom Keats wrote, he writes no introduction, gives very few cross-references, does not disentangle the baffling financial transactions which fill the letters to Richard Wordsworth, and does not inform us as to the present location of each letter.

Perhaps he has grown somewhat weary of his long task, for, although this volume covers the poet's great years (through the completion of *The Prelude*), it contains few really excellent letters. No one who felt as Wordsworth did about Personal Talk and who shrank from the use of a pen as he did was likely to be an attractive correspondent. Yet there are many more good things in his letters than is commonly supposed.² Strangely enough, the delicate observation of nature which marks his sister's journals is rarely found in her letters. These, although garrulous and tending to the commonplace, are always natural (which her brother's frequently are not) and give an unrivalled picture of the daily life of the poet and his family.

Dean Sperry has written an interesting and often admirable book, yet his major thesis, that the inferior quality of Wordsworth's later poetry is due to his esthetic theory, is unconvincing. All the evidence we have goes to disprove the assumption here made that "in the poems by which he is remembered . . . he worked in sight of his system and with an eye fixed steadily upon it" (p. 140). Dean Sperry's own system has come between him and the keen insight into Wordsworth's character that he usually reveals. For, as Dorothy wrote Mrs. Clarkson (March 27, 1821), "the will never governs *his* labours" and, as Miss Fenwick lamented, "he can do but as the spirit moves him" (*Correspondence of Henry Taylor*, 1888, p. 110). Nor is it true that "by his theories of art . . . He is denied classicism" (pp. 139-40)—witness "Laodamia," "Dion," and "To Lycoris"—that "He is self-exiled from both epic and dramatic themes"—witness those mentioned in *Prelude*, I, 166-233—that "He is confined to the simplest subjects"—witness *The White Doe*, "Ode, Intimations of Immortality," and *The Prelude* (the subject of which is the imagination as that of his work as a whole is "the Mind of Man")—that in autobiographical poems he is "required to look with suspicion upon present joys" and is "ideally to allow a lapse of many years between . . . experience and . . . poetic creation"—wit-

² Few of his early letters have been preserved: only one before 1791 (the year he met Annette) and only 19 before June, 1797, for '92, '93, and '95 the total is 31.

ness "Tintern Abbey," "The Cock is crowing," "Composed upon Westminster Bridge," the Calais sonnets, "Extempore Effusion," and the *Yarrow Revisited* volume, all of which and many more were composed immediately after the experience they celebrate. No, Wordsworth was not the slave of a system.

Dean Sperry considers other explanations that have been advanced for the early decline of Wordsworth's powers and answers sanely and dispassionately the theory of Herbert Read and Hugh Fausset that remorse for his treatment of Annette was responsible. In his discussion of the part played by the loss of Coleridge's friendship he is less convincing. He gives the impression that there was a considerable gulf between the two poets so early as 1803, thus ignoring the deep affection for Coleridge expressed in *The Prelude* and in the letters Dorothy and her brother wrote to various persons between 1804 and 1806 especially the joint letter to Coleridge of March 29, 1804. He fails to quote the letter to Beaumont of August 1, [1805]³ when Wordsworth, having finished his autobiography, found difficulty in continuing *The Recluse*. "Should Coleridge return, so that I might have some conversation with him on the subject, I should go on swimmingly." Coleridge was not only Wordsworth's closest and most gifted friend but the only one with whom he had ever talked over his poems and his theory of poetry. If the early Coleridge had not been destroyed by opium and the later Coleridge alienated by a quarrel, Wordsworth's poetic life might well have been prolonged.

Family cares may have had more to do with the matter than Dean Sperry thinks (pp 216-19), since Wordsworth's children, who appear to have contributed little to his poetry, brought many anxieties, an intolerably crowded house, loss of quiet, and great curtailment of freedom. Then, too, withdrawal from the world while it gave him an admirable opportunity for turning past experiences into poetry cut Wordsworth off from new experiences. The reaction from the French Revolution and French radical philosophy ("Godwinism"), together with his love for Annette, had made him a poet, but when these impulses were exhausted Grasmere could, after the first few years, furnish no new force, no later experience, to take their place.

Dean Sperry has not taken the trouble to make an index or to indicate the source of most of the passages he cites. He has also fallen into a number of mistakes, the most serious of which is that Wordsworth followed Godwin in regarding the imagination as passive, "mechanically conceived and mechanically produced" (p 138). But throughout *The Prelude* (for example, in II 232-65, 358-76, VIII 639-43, XIII 355-60, XIV 86-103, 188-218) Words-

³ So Knight, as the letter is not in de Selincourt's *Early Letters* and as Wordsworth learned August 15, 1806 of Coleridge's return, the correct date is presumably August 1, 1806.

worth insists that the imagination is active and creative, a chief source of our insight into higher truth. I recall no reason for thinking that Wordsworth's "speculative interest in children, and in particular in his own childhood, was far more a reasoned dogma than a spontaneous impulse" (p 134) or that he removed "Vaudracour and Julia" from *The Prelude*, where artistically it was a great blemish, lest its biographical implications should be discovered (p 57). And I see every reason for not believing that Wordsworth left Fiance to get on with his poetry and so to provide for Annette (pp 59-60, 152)—his words are, "Compell'd by nothing less than absolute want Of funds for my support" (*Prelude* A, x 191-2).

The book is honest and frank, its author confesses that he finds Wordsworth's personality unattractive and that he has to "toil through the closing books of *The Prelude*" (p 169, cf 56). But for the poet's greatest and most characteristic work he has not only sympathy but depth of understanding.

Professors Campbell and Mueschke trace Wordsworth's aesthetic development from the *Borderers* to "Michael." They believe that "a deserted girl and her child . . . seemed to possess his memory like an obsession" (p 13), that he employed the tale of terror, the sentimental, moral tale, the conversational narrative, and the ballad because these forms were "suited to giving his forbidden emotions furtive and disguised expression," and that Hartley later systematized and "gave a philosophical basis to all his cherished philosophical practices" (p 39). Unfortunately very little use is made of *The Prelude* or of the Prospectus prefixed to *The Excursion*, the interpretation of some of the passages quoted is dubious, and the absence of remorse from "Vaudracour and Julia," the one piece which is certainly related to the Annette affair, is not explained. The second part of the essay is devoted to proving "the soundness of the aesthetic and metaphysical affirmations" made in the Preface to the *Lyrical Ballads*. The interesting parallels quoted from Reynold's *Discourses* raise the important question, Did the critics of the early nineteenth century owe anything of importance to their eighteenth-century predecessors?

RAYMOND D. HAVENS

The Pursuit of Death A Study of Shelley's Poetry By BENJAMIN P. KURTZ New York: Oxford University Press, 1933
Pp. xxii + 339.

Professor Kurtz in adopting a line of study differing from that of his predecessors has explored a most interesting and fruitful subject. The theme of Death is one which few poets have neg-

lected, but he has shown how closely woven is this subject with Shelley's life and work, and how the references to death in his poetry so largely outnumber those in the poetry of any other poet of importance. He has suggested how events in the poet's own life are reflected and revealed in individual poems or passages in relation to his main subject, and he has shown by comparison how other poets treated similar ideas or phases. Professor Kurtz's knowledge of his subject is thorough, and his treatment displays exceptional ability and enthusiasm. Notwithstanding that he describes this critical examination of Shelley's life and poetry, too modestly, as a "little essay" it is in fact a most discursive treatise, and notable achievement.

Death as a theme appears in Shelley's earliest verses, although such allusions, in the main, may be attributed to intuition. Professor Kurtz has treated its development from the poet's boyhood, while under the thrall of that curious cult known as the "School of Terror" in which death was the principal bogey. We are guided, year by year, through the tempestuous period of *Queen Mab*, and so on to the last years of disillusion. It might be supposed that Shelley's constant references to death, before he could know what it actually meant, may be regarded as the meditations of a young poet who viewed the subject as a suitable one for poetical treatment. It was more likely he was at the time haunted by the mystery of death and its consequences. Very early he suffered in other respects, and knew grief which he believed to be more cruel than death itself. He had lost, though not by death, his first love, his father, mother, sisters and his home, and was soon to become an exile in a foreign land. It was not long, however, before he had some bitter personal experiences of death. In three or four years he surveyed mortality in all its most ghastly horror in the suicides of Fanny Godwin, and his forlorn wife Harriet, and in the deaths of his two much-loved children Clara and William. So the basis of Shelley's best poetry, like the poetry of others, was his experience of life. Thus Shelley unlocked his heart. It is noticeable that the dynamic impulse, which dominates much of his earlier verse, cooled down as his life advanced and as he mastered his technique, until at last he seemed to confess himself as a passive spectator in a tumultuous and turbulent world whose activities are sterile and doomed to failure. Although, towards the end of his life he appears to have lost hope for himself, as earlier he had lost faith in a personal survival after death, the fire of his poetry once again burst forth and breathed of hope and faith in a better state for the human race, with magnificent enthusiasm, in *Hellas*.

For many years Germany held the ground *par excellence* for scholarly editorial work: witness the texts of the Greek and Latin Classics edited by Tübingen savants. It now seems that America is

steadily becoming famous for her eminent scholars in this field, and Professor Kurtz's work is a notable example.

ROGER INGPEN

London

[Mr Ingpen, the foremost authority on Shelley of our generation, died on January 18th, before the proof of this review reached him —Eds.]

The Romantic Agony By MARIO PRAZ Translated from the Italian by ANGUS DAVIDSON London [and New York]. Oxford University Press, 1933 Pp xviii + 456. \$7 50.

The Romantic Agony is a survey of the literature of "erotic sensibility" in the nineteenth century. It touches upon the literatures of all western Europe (and Russia), though it draws its examples mainly from French, English, and Italian letters. The assumption of the volume is that "in no other literary period . . . has sex been so obviously the mainspring of works of imagination," and it is to the working out of the more abnormal aspects of the sexual theme that the study is devoted. There is an elaborate index, and in addition each chapter is followed by a section of references, notes, illustrative examples, and ancillary argument.

The first chapter sets up the distinction between the union of beauty and horror in the romantic movement and the same union in other literary periods such as the seventeenth century, that distinction being the difference between "a mere intellectual pose," as with the *concettisti*, and "a pose of sensibility," which Praz finds the central quality of the romantics in this regard. Upon this assumption the argument of the book in large part depends. The second chapter traces the metamorphosis of the Satan of Tasso and Marino as a literary figure into the "fatal man" of the romantics—the Byronic hero, the male vampire, the criminal erotic. In the third chapter Praz enters into an elaborate argument to show that to this tendency towards delight in criminal and sexual suffering the influence of the novels of the Marquis de Sade gave a special impetus, since, to the type of fatal man, the romantics added the type of persecuted woman, and under the spell of their admiration for *Justine* and its companion works, found a special delight in erotic pain. By the mid-century the fatal man passes into a new incarnation as the fatal woman—Cleopatra, Mary Stuart, the Monna Lisa and all their sisterhood. The fifth chapter leads even more directly into the literature of the decadence—the pleasures of immobile sterility, of algolagnia in exotic surroundings, the evocation of the merciless siren, and the

macabre ordered as formal art. The appendix on Swinburne discusses sexual flagellation and sadism, considered on the continent to be especially characteristic of English abnormality

It should be emphasized that *The Romantic Agony* is neither a monograph in comparative ethics nor a treatise of sociology, but a cool and objective examination of a certain set of literary phenomena. As such the volume makes an unmistakable contribution to our knowledge of nineteenth century literature—a contribution for which Lafourcade's *La Jeunesse de Swinburne* had, so far as English literature is concerned, prepared the way. The evidence is overpowering that these themes and these types occupy, not a veiled corner of a nineteenth-century library—veiled as one pushes *erotica* out of the way—but an important place on the bookshelves. Current discussion of nineteenth century moralism needs the correction which Praz gives, and in estimating the century we shall hereafter have to give a larger place to immoralism in that wonderful epoch than we have hitherto done. So far as the body of the material is concerned Praz can not be ignored.

At the same time one of the most baffling problems of his volume is the theory on which it is constructed. Praz tells us that the recurrence of morbid themes is not necessarily an indication of a psychopathic state in the writers discussed, he finds "the education of sensibility, and more especially of erotic sensibility" one of the particular and fundamental aspects of romantic literature, and holds further that the education of sensibility came about through works of art, so that "what it is therefore chiefly important to establish is the means by which the transmission of themes from one artist to another is effected." But he goes on to remark:

The mysterious bond between pleasure and suffering has certainly always existed, it is one of the *vulnera naturae* which is as old as man himself. But it became the common inheritance of Romantic and Decadent sensibility through a particular chain of literary influences.

To this reviewer the lines of argument seem here to be inextricably entangled. Praz himself insists upon the difference in kind between the treatment of the beauty of horror in the seventeenth century and that in the nineteenth—the one being an intellectual mode, the other being a mode of sensibility; yet it is surely naive to lump all seventeenth-century writers into one category, and all nineteenth-century writers into another. If we had more biographical data about the seventeenth century, we might easily discern pathological states of mind in those writers we are not now aware of, and we should be compelled to argue that their delight in horror was not merely an intellectual mode but also a mode of sensibility in the fashion of the nineteenth century. Contrariwise, although it must be granted that the treatment of

psychopathic themes does not necessarily argue a psychopathic state in the writer, it would appear that something more is needed to explain the pleasure of nineteenth-century writers in these themes than a common inheritance through a particular chain of literary influence, we should have to distinguish between intellectual and "literary" perversity, and the employment of perverse themes because they satisfy the morbid emotional needs of the writer. A writer may be drawn to an abnormal theme by reason of a genuine love for abnormality, or he may be drawn to it because he loves a literary *tour de force*. There are all kinds of differences in the treatment of the erotic. Thus the cerebral excitement of Swinburne is different from the emotional decadence of portions of *Les Fleurs de Mal*—among the poems of which we should again have to distinguish between those having a philosophical origin and those existing for the sake of sensibility. Praz allows for this distinction in his "Introduction," but he seems to forget it in the body of the book. Thus he quotes, "Our sweetest songs are those that tell of saddest thought," to show that it was Shelley's "disconsolate conclusion that pain is inseparable from human pleasure," quite overlooking the fact that Shelley was stating a philosophical paradox, and on the next page he quotes Baudelaire's "Hymne à la Beauté" as saying "the same thing," but the "same thing" is said with a quite different implication. D'Annunzio, Praz tells us, plagiarized Swinburne, but is the resulting "sensibility" identical? One sees the confusion quite clearly when Praz seriously says of "The Sphinx" that Wilde "inflates his cat to the proportions of Cleopatra," forgetting the fact that the cold, hard, metallic glitter of the poem is in a totally different frame of reference from even the same author's *Salomé*. The difference which separates the Marquis de Sade from Dreiser is the difference I have in mind, in *Justine* the "lesson" is, Evil, be thou my God! but in *The Hand of the Potter* the most utterly vile of perverts is pictured with human sympathy (I waive the question of literary merit in both cases), because the author believes that sympathetic insight should be extended to those who are beyond even very liberal humanitarianism.

To be quite fair to Praz it would be necessary to examine the concepts of romanticism and of literary history which he sets up, but for this there is not space. *The Romantic Agony* is at once a revealing and an enigmatic study, but one which nineteenth century scholarship will ignore at its peril.

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Primitivism and the Idea of Progress in English Popular Literature of the Eighteenth Century. By LOIS WHITNEY Baltimore The Johns Hopkins Press, 1934 Pp. xxii + 343 \$2 75.

It is doubly fitting that this volume should have appeared under the auspices of The Johns Hopkins Press, since it is clearly associated, both in its subject matter and in its method, with movements in scholarship in which Johns Hopkins has been a dominant force. As a study in primitivism, it forms an important chapter in the series of studies which are now going forward under the direction of Professor Arthur O Lovejoy, and which, in time, will afford the definitive treatment of this confusing complex of ideas. The method of the "history of ideas," which is here employed by the author, is likewise one in which various Johns Hopkins scholars have been pioneers.

The general subject of primitivism is one which Miss Whitney handled capably and with important conclusions in her earlier work on primitivistic theories of epic origins. In the earlier studies she was concerned with a more limited problem, here she has approached what is perhaps the most complex of all problems of primitivism in the age in which these problems became most confusing. She has sought to trace in the popular literature of the eighteenth century the development not only of such confusing moral and aesthetic ideas as are involved in terms like "simplicity," "degeneration," "taste," "sentiment," "sensibility," "nature," but also the way in which, during this period, the rapid development of "ideas of progress" tended for a time to put an end to theories of primitivism which had had such perennial vitality. Of all the sections of the volume, none are more illuminating than those which show that humanity is, like the White Queen, capable of believing six impossible things at once. Popular novelists and poets on one page cried out wistfully for the simple world of the past, on the next hailed exultantly the future.

Such a study as this gains much from the fact that the author is primarily concerned with popular literature. While she constantly shows her awareness of the so-called "philosophical" literature in the period—indeed, her first chapter is a highly competent analysis of such literature—she does not make the mistake, so common among historians of philosophy, of believing that philosophical ideas exist in a vacuum, and are handed down merely from philosopher to philosopher. She shows clearly that first-rate thinkers often draw from third-rate literature, and that the dissemination of ideas to the larger public is more often the result of third-rate popular writing than of technically "philosophical" works.

The deft handling of the confusing antithesis between primi-

tivism and progress is largely the result of Miss Whitney's own acute and careful study of her terms, it is, in part, however, the result of her training in the method of the "history of ideas." Thanks to the lucidity which results from that combination, the reader is able to make his way with ease through a vast mass of material which in less skilful hands would have become overwhelming, is able to study the background and development of these diverse ideas, and finally to see them fall into relation in that sort of whole, where—the author would undoubtedly agree—"all must full or not coherent be!" It is no easy task which she set herself. The mere accumulation of concrete details indicates a wealth of reading and a familiarity with unusual and forgotten sources. Her handling of this material shows expertness and unusual ability.

Naturally, it will seem to any critic who is more interested in one of these main conceptions than in the other, that equal justice has not been done to both primitivism and progress. Possibly because of Miss Whitney's longer study of primitivism, or possibly because of my more intimate acquaintance with the literature of progress, it seems to me that the sections on the latter idea are not so good as those dealing with the former. Miss Whitney has analyzed with care the idea of a "chain of being" as contributing to the idea of progress, and has had a good deal to say of the seventeenth-century scientific conceptions which lay back of the idea of evolution. But it seems strange to find in the general treatment of the background of the idea of progress no mention of the Baconian influence, which surely was of profound psychological importance in stimulating thinking on the subject, no suggestion of the scientific "Battle of the Books," which in its sharp clash of opinion had much to do with the rapid breaking down of dependence upon the past and certainly much to do with the temporary eclipse of primitivism, nothing of the invention of scientific instruments in which the "moderns" found their irrefutable claim for superiority over the "ancients," and pride in which led to disparagement of the Greeks, of the "noble savage," even of "our Father Adam!" Likewise, although Miss Whitney pays some attention to the general concepts of physics and astronomy which lay back of the idea of progress, she hardly touches the much more influential concepts of biology, particularly microbiology, though these concepts were more immediately appealing to the popular readers and writers whom she treats, and are frequently reflected in the ones she quotes.

Yet these are, after all, for the most part, matters of background rather than foreground, and she herself has pointed out that her treatment of the seventeenth-century background is necessarily generalized and brief. It is chiefly because her analysis of the philosophical backgrounds of the seventeenth century is so satisfactory that one wishes for an equally penetrating treat-

ment of the scientific background. She might also, for example, had she gone further into the scientific literature of the period, have found some excellent illustrations for her chapter on "The Popularization of the Idea of Progress" in the many volumes of popular science which poured forth in the eighteenth century, and which were as eagerly read as were the novels and periodicals of the day.

These omissions, however, are perhaps only defects of the qualities of this volume. Had Miss Whitney attempted to include all this material, she would have found herself with another volume, and even her admitted deftness in handling masses of material might well have broken down. The volume as it stands remains an excellent study and a contribution worthy of the series of which it forms a part.

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Catálogo bibliográfico y crítico de las comedias anunciadas en los periódicos de Madrid desde 1661 hasta 1819 By ADA M COE
Baltimore The Johns Hopkins Press, 1935 Pp xii + 270
\$3 50

This bibliographical study is of tremendous value and importance to every student interested in Spanish drama from the *Siglo de Oro* through the Romantic period. It is in general an alphabetical list of plays announced in the newspapers of Madrid from 1661 to 1819, containing an index of authors cited, a list of periodicals consulted, and a bibliography. The study begins with *La Gaceta* (1661), which published its first announcement in 1667, and continues to 1819. The last date is chosen as a concluding point on account of a study now in preparation by Professor N. B. Adams and Dr. A. K. Shields.¹ In the alphabetical list of plays Miss Coe includes bibliographical and critical material from 1671 to 1792 and for the year 1819. For the period 1793-1818, covered in Cotarelo y Mori, *Isidoro Máquez y el teatro de su tiempo*, only the date of the *estreno* is given. This means that, for a complete number of performances, one must supplement from Cotarelo's list, which is often unreliable. The complete number of performances is not always recorded, and, naturally, the date of the *estreno* is often inaccurate.

¹ This study will be a list of plays and a history of the Madrid stage of the Romantic period. Mr. Shields' unpublished doctoral dissertation of the University of Carolina, "The Madrid Stage, 1819-1834" (1932) contains a critical study and catalogue. He and Mr. Adams already have collected material to extend the study to 1850. It is hoped that this work will soon be published.

It is to be regretted that Miss Coe's list does not include operas sung in the Madrid theatres. This is especially objectionable—possibly only to this reviewer, now delving into the connections between Italian opera and Spanish drama—since Italian opera in Madrid was not regarded as an exotic flower as it was in some other countries, operatic performances were understood and enjoyed and the Spaniard had a real passion for them. In fact, practically all public operatic performances up to 1826 were sung in Spanish. Then, there is little doubt that opera contributed in many ways to the Romantic drama, especially in plots, scenery, costumes and stagecraft. Carmena y Millán, *Crónica de la ópera italiana en Madrid* (Madrid, 1878), Cotarelo y Mori, *Orígenes y establecimiento de la ópera en España hasta 1800* (Madrid, 1917), and Virella y Cassañes, *La ópera en Barcelona* (Barcelona, 1888)—not mentioned in Miss Coe's bibliography—would have been of inestimable aid in checking the date of *estreno*, the composer, and the librettist of the various pieces.

It seems that a few more of the authors might have been readily identified. Often some of the sources cited, especially Moratín, are unreliable, and a number of inaccuracies are to be found in the index. Omissions and errors will occur in any bibliography of this scope and nature, they are inevitable. The work will remain, however, of great helpfulness and aid to all students of Spanish Drama.

STERLING A. STOUDEMIRE

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The Early Days of Joel Barlow, A Connecticut Wit—Yale Graduate, Editor, Lawyer, and Poet, Chaplain During the Revolutionary War—His Life and Works from 1754 to 1787 By THEODORE ALBERT ZUNDER. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934. Pp. xii + 320. \$2.00. (Yale Studies in English, LXXXIV.)

The City in the American Novel, 1789-1900: A Study of American Novels Portraying Contemporary Conditions in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston By GEORGE ARTHUR DUNLAP. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1934. Pp. 187. \$1.00.

Constance Fenimore Woolson, Literary Pioneer By JOHN DWIGHT KERN. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1934. Pp. 198. \$1.00.

Poésie Moderne aux États-Uns (Conférences publiques de l'Université de Grenoble, publiées dans la Revue des Cours et Conférences) Par JEAN CATEL Paris Ancienne Librairie Furne, Boivin & Cie, Editeurs Pp. 56.

Neuengland in der Erzählenden Literatur Amerikas Von HELENE WIDENMANN Halle (Saale) Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1935 Pp xiv + 128 M. 5 00 (Studien zur Englischen Philologie, LXXXVI)

Joel Barlow is a familiar and interesting figure to students of American literature, but C B Todd's biography and the other shorter studies, biographical and critical, are none of them exhaustive Mr Zunder's book now supplies a full account of Barlow's early years, based on a thorough combing of the sources, printed and unprinted There can be nothing but praise for the diligence in investigation which it reveals It is painstakingly detailed, it is well documented, although the absence of a complete bibliography of books cited often makes it hard to run down the full titles of certain volumes referred to, and it contains a most useful list of books and articles on Barlow Unfortunately, however, Mr Zunder has presented his material clumsily His zeal for thoroughness has led him sometimes to clog his pages with trivial, or actually irrelevant, fact, and he has shown little skill in selecting and arranging his data. Moreover, he writes badly There are many paragraphs crowded with needless repetitions of words and names, and there are trite phrases and awkward constructions There are bits such as these Miss Whitman "hoped that he would study his faults, like Mirabel studied Millimant's", Buckminster "approved of Barlow writing an American poem", "Barlow had a long conversation at Hartford with Noah Webster and with Elizabeth Whitman if she was in town" The comment on Barlow's writings adds little to what the hastiest reader of them must inevitably understand for himself. Its defects, then, make this book unsuccessful either as biography or as criticism It is useful simply as a collection of information, the raw material for a valuable study. Barlow deserves better treatment, for, though he was never a great writer, he played an active part in the intellectual and literary history of his time in this country

Mr. Dunlap sets out "to trace chronologically the facts about the various phases of life in the city which the contemporary novels record" and "to determine whether the same novels have qualities that make them of permanent value" The result is essentially a catalogue of novels, briefly described and commented on. As a catalogue it is useful, as anything more it is disappointing The criticism is for the most part elementary, and many of the better books discussed have been more adequately treated elsewhere. A

thoughtful book on the novelists' attitudes toward the American city as a phenomenon in our civilization, and on possible changes in the novel brought about by the urbanization of this country, would be interesting and important, but Mr. Dunlap misses the larger issues in his care for details. Nor are the "facts" about city life which he finds in fiction, always safely to be called facts. He lists historical authorities (Winsor's name is misprinted as "Winson") but without fuller comparison than he offers between what the novelists described and what the actual records show, it is impossible to be confident that the storytellers' pictures were accurate or even meant to be so. Sometimes, surely, the authors simply made use of fictional commonplaces, already conventionalized by frequent use. These, however true basically and in general, represent neither the writer's own direct observation nor anything to be relied on for a student who would deal with "facts about . . . life in the city."

Mr. Kern's *Constance Fenimore Woolson*, also a printed doctoral dissertation, puts in convenient compass the story of Miss Woolson's life, and includes summaries of the content of her most important work, together with some critical discussion of her qualities as critic, writer of the short story, and novelist. A chronological list of her writings fills twelve pages, and is followed by a bibliography of books which shed light on her work and on her life. Mr. Kern has done his task in workmanlike fashion. His material—some of it new—is worth having, and he presents it adequately. Here and there there are bits of real critical value and, even though the book as a whole is not distinguished in style or in its study of Miss Woolson's merits and defects, it is one to be grateful for, since it may do something to revive interest in an author who does not deserve to be as completely forgotten as she has been. Her work in carrying "local color" beyond Harte toward realism, and her efforts along the lines followed by Henry James, make her, in spite of her obvious limitations, an American writer entitled to a modest but secure place in our literary annals.

Professor Catel's little book deals chiefly with the imagists of twenty years ago, and with Emily Dickinson and Walt Whitman. Much of his comment on these poets is appreciative and discerning. Unfortunately he is not content with this, but attempts to give a broader meaning to his work. He begins "Je me propose d'expliquer comment la poésie est née sur la terre américaine," and proceeds to generalize freely throughout as to the nature and development of poetry in this country. His evidence supports his conclusions, to be sure, but it is drawn from few writers and is but a small part of what should be taken into account in any serious study of subjects so large. On almost every page the reader well versed in our literary, intellectual, and social history will find himself uncomfortably aware that half-truths are being given

exaggerated emphasis and that certain wholly relevant data, which might vitiate much of the theorizing, are being passed over in silence. We read that American poets "sont obligés de se forger un langage personnel, car l'anglais d'Europe . . . n'a plus pour leurs oreilles la résonance voulue. Les lois qui ont réglé les rythmes anglais ne sont pas plus admises par eux, que les décrets du Parlement britannique," and, on another page "Nous avons vu que Walt Whitman et Emily Dickinson rejetant la tradition du vers figé retrouvaient spontanément le vers-formule magique des débuts de l'humanité." There is some truth, surely, in each of these remarks, but neither is completely true. Professor Catel offers them without qualification. Nor does he attempt to explain away the awkward questions they raise at once in the mind of anyone concerned with the whole range of American poetry since 1840, or with the relation between our verse-makers and the primitive origins of poetic art.

Miss Widenmann's book is a study of New England Puritanism and the New England attitude as revealed in the work of Catherine Maria Sedgwick, Hawthorne, Mrs. Stowe, Sarah Orne Jewett, and certain others. Its author has much to say that is worth reading, much that has genuine critical merit, but the value of the book lies in its revelation of the point of view of a foreign student without firsthand knowledge of the people it treats, rather than in any thorough insight into the theme. Almost wholly it relies on secondary authorities, and, inevitably, only on those which were accessible in Germany. Thus, for example, F. O. Matthiessen's study of Miss Jewett is not used, and the whole account of Puritanism is vitiated because it is based not on what the Puritans wrote but on what historians, of varying prejudices and varying equipments, have chosen to say about them and their ideas. Accordingly many pages must be read with profound scepticism by anyone who has gone beyond the secondary authorities, and here and there are downright errors—as in the extraordinary paragraph which not only perpetuates the old superstition about Cotton Mather's responsibility for the witchcraft executions but sets these executions at least a year after the last took place. The parallel between the Quakers and the Puritans in respect to their attitude toward literature is surely false, the assumption that because "Yankee" is a name for a New Englander all that has been said of "Yankees" applies directly to New Englanders, is dangerous, the emphasis on Hawthorne as a didactic moralist will not please those who think of him as a man concerned with sin and moral problems but rarely with a desire to preach or to support a code, the insistence that the Puritans relied wholly on the Old Testament, in preference to the New, will not satisfy anyone well read in their theological writings; and on many other points the book will provoke readers to question rather than to

accept But, with all its faults, it is a study worth pondering, for even its errors are at times stimulating and on many pages its very superficiality and its complete detachment from local prejudices give it freshness and boldness in generalization sometimes far to seek in essays of greater thoroughness and accuracy

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The Restoration Theatre By MONTAGUE SUMMERS. New York
The Macmillan Company, 1934 Pp xxi + 352 \$3 75.

The seven chapters of this handsome volume—the first of a projected four-volume work on the Restoration Theatre—constitute a vast and somewhat trying miscellany which is, nevertheless, a substantial contribution to its field Mr Summers' main objective, he states, is to elucidate the "physical conditions," i e, "the practical machinery" of the Restoration stage its curtain and scenery, lighting, costume, stage-business, tricks, and devices Coincident with these problems of stage technique, however, he treats also a great variety of matters less concerned with the stage than with the theatre at large—orange wenchers, vizard masques, and the behavior of audiences, and theatrical advertising and systems of admission, and still others—witness the chapters on *The Prologue* and *The Epilogue*—which are as much a part of Restoration drama as of its stage In a sense, stage, theatre, and drama are, of course, one and inseparable Even sturdy specialists, however, may find Mr Summers' presentation somewhat troublesome, chiefly because he fails to organize his findings on any one level either within his chapters or in their sequence, and because the subject-matter entries of the Index are too scanty to guide one through the labyrinth This is the more regrettable because of the very sweep and largeness of the work, for in his indefatigable accumulation of evidence from stage-directions, prompt notes, prologues, epilogues, prefaces, and other pertinent documents, Mr Summers has brought together a body of illustrative materials more comprehensive and abundant than any hitherto available within two covers The sheer weight of these materials might, indeed, have been effectively distributed—and the book made more readable thereby—if Mr Summers could have brought himself to print the superfluous in clearly captioned supplementary notes or appendices But the material is there, and for this all concerned will be grateful even though some readers may regret the temper of the book here and there or question occasionally the interpretation of the evidence

It is fair to add that the exceptions just taken are less applicable

to the second half of the volume than to the first. The discussion of Costume, and of Realism on the Stage, for example, is comparatively clear in presentation, and vigorously colorful in the writing. Some of the earlier chapters are less fresh, and possibly more "derivative" than Mr Summers may have realized. At all events, in view of his strictures against other scholars (p. xiv and elsewhere), one regrets the lack of more adequate acknowledgment to certain of his predecessors—notably to the pioneer work (by no means invalidated by the present volume) of W. J. Lawrence, and the tendency to damn with consistently faint praise or silence such others as Odell, Bernbaum, and Nicoll. Again, one may question whether his broadsides against the critics¹ who do not share his whole-souled enthusiasm for the Restoration Theatre will really help to cure them. The copious and illuminating information he has brought to bear on the subject of Restoration theatrical conditions should prove better medicine. Valuable doses for critics, and others, may be drawn, for example, from the reprint (Appendix I) of Robert Gould's vigorous satire, *The Play-House* (1685), from Mr Summers' vivid sketch (Appendix III) of the Phoenix Society's recent activities in the revival of Restoration and Elizabethan plays, and from the majority of the twenty-odd full-page plates which illustrate the volume.

Questions as to one detail or another of Mr Summers' interpretation of his materials will certainly suggest themselves to his readers. I can mention but one or two. His discussion of the free list, for example, repeatedly (pp. 44, 46) conveys the impression that this institution was of Restoration or eighteenth-century origin—which is certainly wrong, since all varieties of free-listers are known to have flourished mightily in Elizabethan times. Again, I think he offers no adequate evidence for the conjecture that "in the earlier years of the Restoration theatre the stage was . . . permanently² covered with . . . 'the green-baize carpet of tragedy'" (pp. 269-70), nor for the suggestion (pp. 167-68) that Congreve, above all the other comic dramatists, especially "mishliked the artificiality" of the traditional "terminal dance." More serious objection, finally, may be taken to another suggestion, if I read it aright, concerning Elizabethan staging. When, according to Mr Summers (p. 196), "Shakespeare's Lorenzo . . . whispered . . . to his . . . Jessica 'The moon shines bright' the lovers in the Belmont garden were bathed in silver radiance" proceeding from some scenic device "little different from . . . painted flats" I know of no satisfactory evidence to support this shadow-shape of painted flats on the stage of the Elizabethan public theatres.³ The man

¹ E. g., St. John Ervine, who "scribble[s]" like "an abnormally stupid schoolboy"; William Archer, "obviously unintelligent and obtuse"; Granville-Barker, "utterly and lamentably ignorant of the technique of the Restoration theatre" (pp. 282, 326, 149-50).

² My italics.

³ Cf. Thorndike, *Shakespeare's Theater*, pp. 112, 114.

who "disfigures" Moonshine in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* merely personified Shakespeare's jest at the crude *properties* of the amateurs, and in all probability Lorenzo and Jessica reclined upon a *property bank* (cf *Merchant*, v, 1, 54-55) on the outer stage "Painted flats" are virtually unthinkable there, and they are all but unheard of in Elizabethan records.⁴ It may be granted, indeed, though stage-directions are missing, that "elaborate effects of lighting" came into use in the later Jacobean *private* theatres. But, since there is little reason to believe that such effects, and flats to boot, could have been employed on the outer stage of the Theatre or the Curtain, for which *The Merchant* appears to have been written about 1596, it remains altogether likely that the lovers were bathed only in the silver radiance of Shakespeare's poetry.

These, however, are details, and Mr Summers does not claim to have cleared up every crux. His work is important because its materials throw abundant light upon many places hitherto comparatively dark.

ALWIN THALER

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English Poetry and the English Language By F W BATESON.

Oxford [and New York] Oxford University Press, 1934

Pp viii + 129 \$2 25

Modern histories of Literature are usually based on a sub-structure of social history. Mr Bateson suggests in his introduction that the semantic history of the English language would make a better framework. Even those who do not agree with him will welcome this careful honest and original little essay in a new style of literary criticism. Those who agree with him (as the reviewer does) will regard its appearance as an event of great potential importance.

Mr Bateson himself calls the book an 'experiment'. Regarded in that light, it may be said to show that the author is—so far—at his best when collating the history of English Literature, not so much with the semantic as with the purely philological history of the English language. There are for instance few more convincing observations in his book than the subtle distinction he draws between the diffuseness or 'copie' of the typical Elizabethan style and the diffuseness of the typical Victorian style, basing it on the different states of our language at these two periods with respect, not to meaning but to vocabulary.

⁴ Henslowe's exceptional "clothe of the Sone & Mone" (1598, *Henslowe Papers*, p 117) may have been merely a hanging, more or less like that of "Lazarus in the painted cloth."

The *semantic* history of language, and of the English language in particular is however something different from this. It is the history of the *meanings* of words and their changes of meaning. It resolves itself into a history of consciousness and one's interpretation of it will depend accordingly on one's conception of the nature of consciousness. The author's own conception is revealed by a tell-tale footnote on page 90, where he speaks of Dryden and his readers being "men of the world together" and adds "... the footing on which Dryden and his readers meet is a social one. The romantic poet was not colloquial because he was anti-social, an individualist, an anarchist, it was not to the vulgar surface of his readers' minds that he addressed himself, but to the recesses of their inner consciousness." This assumption—that human beings are 'anti-social' in the recesses of their consciousness and social only on 'the vulgar surface'—has its reflection in Mr Bateson's whole conception of the nature of meaning. For him the meanings of words are divisible into two parts (1) their *denotation* (the "thing" which they mean and about which everyone would agree) and (2) their *connotation* (the moods and emotions which they evoke and which are different in every individual). That this 'naïve' classification is always misleading and, for the purpose of judging poetry, quite unreal and useless has been shown really conclusively by Dr. I. A. Richards and others before him. So too you cannot distinguish the 'matter' of a poem arbitrarily from its manner. The subject of a poem is the whole universe of its meaning. The contrary assumption has in the reviewer's opinion led Mr Bateson hopelessly astray in some of his judgments (notably his estimate of the value and significance of Mr Walter de la Mare's poetry) and seriously detracts from the value of this his first experiment.

It is greatly to be hoped that Mr Bateson will repeat it on a larger scale after first giving further consideration to the whole problem of meaning.

OWEN BARFIELD

London

Goethe-Kalender auf das Jahr 1935 Goethe-Kalender auf das Jahr 1936 Herausgegeben vom Frankfurter Goethe-Museum Leipzig · Dieterichsche Verlagsbuchhandlung

Jahrbuch des Freien Deutschen Hochstifts Frankfurt am Main MCMXXXII/III Im Auftrag der Verwaltung herausgegeben von ERNST BEUTLER Halle a. d. Saale Kommissionsverlag Max Niemeyer.

Freies Deutsches Hochstift, Ansprachen, ditto

Der Goethe-Kalender, seit Jahren vom Leiter des Frankfurter Goethe-Museums, Dr. Ernst Beutler, herausgegeben, ist wohl die

einzigste Publikation dieser Art, welche die alte Tradition fortführt, mit dem Kalender eine ernsthafte literarische Unterhaltung zu verbinden, die zugleich wissenschaftlich zuverlässig und künstlerisch geschmackvoll den Leser unterrichtet und in ein Gefühl des ästhetischen Behagens versetzt. Der Herausgeber geht mit gutem Beispiel voran, wir verdanken ihm (1935) den reizenden Aufsatz mit dem schelmischen Titel "Von der Ilm zum Susquehanna," der ein Beweis dafür ist, wie die gründlichste Kenntnis eines bereits vielbesprochenen Themas durch Augenschau erst lebendig wird, indem des Verfassers Amerikareise die vielfachen Beziehungen zwischen Goethe und Amerika bildhaft und fruchtbar werden läßt und durch Auswertung des Reisejournals Bernhards von Weimar neue Seiten abgewinnt. Nicht minder erfolgreich und lebendig ist aber auch in der Ausgabe dieses Jahres seine Ueberprüfung der Quellen unsres Wissens vom historischen Faust und der Entstehung der Faustsage. Aus den übrigen Beiträgen ragen hervor der prächtige Essay Max Kommerels über Goethes Gedicht, der in hoher Ueberschau die Grundzüge von Goethes lyrischem Schaffen von der Straßburger Zeit bis zu seinem Tode entwickelt und auf vierzig schmalen Seiten wirklich Tiefes und Neues zu sagen weiß, und Hermann Hesses ebenso gedrangte Wertung von Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahren.

Es ist ja über den Meister viel geschrieben worden und Gutes und Kluges ist über seine Entstehung, Bedeutung und Kunst zu Tage gefordert. Das alles weiß Hesse. Ihm indessen, dem Dichter, gelingt es, dies alles zusammenzuschauen, wie über eine Landschaft von Einzelszenen den großen, reinen Himmelsdom zu wolben, das Werk als hohes Geschenk des größten Menschen einer außergewöhnlichen Zeit fühlbar zu machen, das uns auch heute noch, und gerade heute immer Neues zu sagen hat. Der Aufsatz ist schon durch die Dankbarkeit, Ehrfurcht und Gerechtigkeit, Zuge, die er im *Meister* selbst findet, und die klare, warme, vollendete Darstellung ein seltener Genuß.

Der Doppelband des *Jahrbuches* bringt eine reiche Ausbeute. Klug, aber in etwas verstimmend geistreicher Gewalttätigkeit handelt Max Kommerel vom Leben des Volksliedes in der Kunstlyrik. Paul Bockmann wird der vielgeschmahten Aufklärung mit seltener Besonnenheit gerecht, indem er den Witz als ihr Formprinzip erkennt und dadurch ihr Verhältnis zum Rokoko klärt, das nicht, wie Ermatinger will, mit ihr identisch ist, sondern eine Sonderform des Rokoko sei, und nicht, wie Kindermann will, eine Verfallserscheinung, sondern aus der lebenskräftigsten Wurzel der Frühzeit dieser Periode entspringe und von Lessing mit tieferem Gehalt unterbaut und in eine neue Form überführt werde. "Die realistische Wendung des späten Schiller," eine neue Diesseitsbewertung, "einen Rucklauf in sich selbst," behandelt Hermann Gumbel, während Julia Gauß die methodologische Grundlage von Goethes

Geschichtsforschung in einem tiefgreifenden Aufsatz untersucht, der mit dem Goetheworte schließt "Es gibt kein Vergangenes, das man zurucksehnen durfte, es gibt nur ein ewig Neues, das sich aus den erweiterten Elementen des Vergangenen gestaltet" Joachim Muller sieht in Stifters Kunst- und Naturauffassung "die Heiligung der Existenz," und Otto Kletzel untersucht Goethes Landschaftszeichnung an der Hand seiner Vorbilder und mit Wiedergabe von funfzehn vorzuglichen Tafeln

Die Ansprachen zur Feier des Gedachtnisses von Schillers hundertfunfundsiebzigstem Geburtstag (von Beutler) und des funfundziebigsten Bestehens des Hochstiftes (von Bernus) erfreuen durch das hohe kunstlerische und ethische Niveau, das in allen diesen Veroffentlichungen der Frankfurter Stiftungen den Geist des Humanitatszeitalters lebendig erhalt

ERNST FEISE

Étude sémantique de l'anglicisme dans le parler franco-américain de Salem (Nouvelle Angleterre) Par EDWARD POUSLAND
Paris Société de Publications Romanes et Françaises (sous la direction de Mario Roques), 1934 Pp. 311 Fr 60

Dr Pousland's volume is a Paris dissertation for which he received a university doctorate with *mention honorable*, the jury consisting of MM Vendryes, Jeanroy, and Fouché The book is a compilation and study of over five hundred anglicisms culled from about fifty issues of the weekly six-page *Courrier de Salem*¹ (1931-32) Dr Pousland has given elaborate and conscientious treatment to the many details of an attractive subject, in particular, his conclusions are set forth with signal honesty and balance. The author's investigations are opportune and timely in a field too much neglected by American scholars

The book still contains much of the thesis scaffolding which should not have survived in print, non-essentials frequently accompany the citations, and the bibliography could be limited to North American French alone The *Glossaire du parler français au Canada*, while often invoked, should have been explicitly checked for every citation in the book Moisy's Anglo-Norman dictionary is far too heavily relied upon for Old French The chapter division suffers somewhat from the misplacement of numerous citations, mainly in the category of stylistics, note especially the duplications for *espace* (pp. 80, 257), *offrir* (111, 232), *radio* (132, 217), *résulter* (141, 221) The index is incomplete and at times irrelevant (e g, *ancien président* 183, *même programme* 209, *grand*

¹ Concerning this choice of subject, cf A Dauzat, *Français Moderne*, II, 277-78 A further review by Marcel Fabry occupies a column in *l'Action Wallonne* (Liège; Jan. 15, 1934)

nombre 217), also, printer's errors are much too numerous. Some of the anglicisms are inadequately explained: e.g., *perspective* 124, *événement* 147, *subséquent* 157, *spécialement* 200, explaining *fondation* (= foundation, corset) as 'basis' (p. 86), the author invents the following illustration, "Tel Monsieur ayant appris à parler correctement aura la *fondation appropriée* pour avoir du succès auprès des clients."

While Dr Pousland observes that the *Courrier* represents the *beau langage* of bilingual Salem (cf. pp. 15, 33-34, 41, 123), it would be helpful to know more about the writers of its columns: are any members of its staff natives of Salem? where did they receive their French language education? which of the articles utilized by the author are derived from English, and which originate in French? do the *Courrier* anglicisms constitute a selective or a comprehensive list? precisely what light do they shed on the actual *parler franco-américain de Salem*? In Brunswick, Maine, for instance, many of these anglicisms (often mere journalistic vagaries) would, if recognized at all, rarely be used in conversation by any of the best educated French-speaking people. An occasional expression from among Dr Pousland's personal recollections (pp. 270-76) is, to be sure, current among the poorly educated in Brunswick. In criticizing North-American French (e.g., pp. 15, 278), the author tends to forget that its linguistic *standard* is identical with that of Paris. The fact that the anglicisms claimed by Dr Pousland average scarcely ten per issue would indicate (duplications notwithstanding) the creditable linguistic level of the *Courrier*,² particularly in view of its Anglo-Saxon surroundings.

Many of the foregoing reservations fit into problems which the author proposes to examine in the future. His familiarity with Salem patois, supplemented by bilingual command of French and English, justifies M. Dauzat (*loc. cit.*, 280) in welcoming "M. Pousland comme un sémantiste d'avenir."

EDWARD B. HAM

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² A cursory study of current numbers suffices to confirm this impression, especially since the majority of anglicisms occur in advertisements and in translations of syndicated cinema "blurbs." I have found, just as, for example, in the 56-year-old daily *Messenger de Lewiston* (Maine), that the editorial page and the leading articles generally set a very high linguistic standard, while athletic accounts, personals, and *faits divers* are conspicuously subject to English influences. A detailed discussion of these considerations would have materially aided evaluation of the data assembled by Dr Pousland. Incidentally, the printing of the *Courrier* was transferred in 1932 to the offices of the *Étoile de Lowell*, from which it has borrowed many items verbatim (cf. M. Tétrault, *Presse fr.-am. de la Nouvelle Angleterre* [Marseille, 1935], p. 9).

BRIEF MENTION

A History of The German 'Novelle' from Goethe to Thomas Mann. By E. K. BENNET (University of Cambridge). Cambridge. University Press, 1934. xiii + 296 pp. Mr. Bennet has had the courage to close his shutters and let the fireworks of methodology rage outside, which threatens to reduce the familiar world of currents to a multicolored apparition. Thus he is able to center his interest on the development of the German *Novelle* from the end of the 18th century to our days in a book of 300 pages. Moreover, he does not frown upon using the results of other scholars. His first chapter, a concise survey of the subsequent definitions of the genre, draws upon Hirt, Lucacs, Hirsch and others (R. M. Mitchels study on the question of the theory (1915) seems to have escaped his attention), Chapters II-IV lean heavily on Pongs' article in the *Jahrbuch des Freien (nicht Frankfurter!) Deutschen Hochstifts* and Grolman's essay in *Zeitschrift (not Zeitung!) für Deutschkunde*. Chapter VI, the Interlude of the *Dorfgeschichte*, is a résumé of Altvater's treatment of the subject in *Germanische Studien*, while the last three chapters proceed to a more independent analysis. The result is a most useful book, which is by no means devoid of the author's own judgment on the basis of first hand information and study. It compares very favorably with the few extant treatments of the subject, which are often mere catalogues of titles, neglects neither the philosophical aspect of currents of literature nor the evaluation of the achievement of individual authors. Storm and Keller receive the largest share of Mr. Bennet's attention, Raabe is unduly curtailed, Meyer viewed too much through Baumgarten's glasses, and the writers after 1880 are treated somewhat summarily. The name of the Contessas does not occur at all in spite of an extended discussion of the romantic *Novelle*. Although composition as the most important factor of form has been dealt with to quite an extent, it is to be regretted that other technical factors, such as *Leitmotive* and *Erlebte Rede* find no consideration, especially since the book may be successfully used as an introduction to the field for students and thus represents a welcome addition to our handbooks. The Appendix contains some graphs, notes, a selected bibliography, and a complete index. A chronological table would be of value. The misreadings "Karster Kurator" (pp. 172-3), "Katz Friedemann" (p. 279), and the omission of the article in "of all wise God" (p. 173) are noted for correction.

Das antiphilosophische Weltbild des französischen Sturm und Drang, 1760-1789 Von KURT WAIS Berlin Junker und Dunnhaupt Verlag, 1934 Pp xii + 262 The term "Aufklärung," popular in Germany, though little used by French critics, Dr. Wais considers an over-simplification of eighteenth-century French thought (p 5) Adopting from German literary criticism the well-known expression, "Sturm und Drang," the author applies it to the complex of opposing tendencies during the latter half of this period (pp 2-3) Certainly Dr Wais, with a wealth of citation, has no difficulty in proving that the philosophic party was not quixotically fighting windmills, but very real opposition Obviously this is hardly a new discovery, in spite of the author's regrettable tendency to speak at times depreciatingly of the work of M Mornet and other predecessors (pp 4, 223) New only, as it seems to me, is the somewhat exaggerated emphasis upon deservedly forgotten figures of the pre-Revolutionary period These men, Chassaignon, Clément, Saint-Martin, and others, help us to understand the conservative reaction during the Restoration, they make clearer the rise of Romantic mysticism, but they are not themselves authors of sufficient vividness and power to merit a place on our bookshelves today They have earned their oblivion. On the other hand, Dr W in my judgment, has over-simplified his conception of Rousseau, and to some degree of Voltaire, in the process of building up against them their "antiphilosophic" enemies The author relies too much upon occasional passages without taking into account others of equal or greater importance There are useful materials in this monograph, but the author's interpretations should be accepted with great caution A well-rounded study of the period might with profit take account of his work, avoiding, however, the one-sidedness into which Dr W has been led by excess of zeal for his thesis

GEORGE R HAVENS

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Sidelights on Robert Browning's 'The Ring and the Book.' By LOUISE SNITZLAAR Amsterdam: Swets and Zeitlinger, 1934 Pp. 153 Through an analysis of Books II-IV and VIII-IX of *The Ring and the Book*, Miss Snitzlaar aims to show the legitimate place of the arguments of the three representatives of Roman popular opinion and the value of the pleas of the lawyers in the *ensemble* of Browning's poem She points out the idealization of the poet's documentary sources, stresses Browning's fondness for burlesque, but does not sufficiently emphasize his passion for casuistry as a motive in the composition of these gnarly sections of *The Ring and the Book*. This work is a doctor's thesis of an undigested type and its sound conclusions are somewhat obscured by mechanical tabulation and a pedestrian style

Intimate Glances from Browning's Letter File (Assembled by A. J. ARMSTRONG, with an Introduction by R. A. YOUNG, Waco, Texas Baylor University Press, 1934. Pp x + 139) reveals that between 1868-89 the poet received ten invitations to become a candidate for the Lord Rectorship of leading Scotch Universities. The letters are, in the main, casual correspondence, and there is little in them of permanent literary or historical value. The two most interesting and significant letters are Professor Blackie's acknowledgment of the receipt of Browning's *Agamemnon*, stating his views regarding the translation of classical poetry and the spelling of Greek names in English, and Mr Lyall's commentary on *Omar Khayyâm*, when sending Browning a copy of his article on Fitzgerald's *Rubayyat*.

WILLIAM O. RAYMOND

Bishop's University

William Shakespeare A Handbook. By THOMAS MARC PARROTT. New York Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934. Pp viii + 266 \$1.25. For the student who requires an easy introduction that will increase his understanding of the plays he is reading and encourage him to read more it is hard to see how this little volume could be bettered. The author has kept it simple. His *Shakespeare* is less tabular and documented than some of the handbooks, mooted points are usually though not invariably labelled as such, but they are not as a rule analyzed. The writing is sensitive and charming, yet aesthetic appreciations and biographical difficulties are never handled sentimentally. Any undergraduate, from the class poet to the chestiest gorilla of the football squad, will, if he can read at all, find Professor Parrott's essay style painless and profitable. There are six illustrations, an appendix on metrical statistics, a chronological table, and an index. Professor Odell's *Shakespeare from Betterton to Irving* deserves the encomium pronounced in the brief annotated bibliography, but it appears to be responsible for the repetition of an error which I thought I had more than scotched. *Hamlet* did not hold the Restoration stage "in unchanged form except for certain cuts" (P. 229).

H. S.

English Plays 1660-1820 Edited by A. E. MORGAN. New York Harper and Brothers, 1935. Pp x + 1157 \$4.00. The latest volume in the Plays and Playwrights Series is notable for the representation of several authors not to be found in similar collections. Hoadley, Townley, Murphy, Foote, Reynolds, Morton, and Buckstone. Twenty-five plays are included. The editor has

taken pains with his texts. Footnotes supply helpful glosses and variant readings. An excellent anthology.

H. S.

Cynewulf and his Poetry, by KENNETH SISAM. New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1933 (for 1932). Pp. 31. \$80. This lecture, the second of the Gollancz Memorial Lectures of the British Academy, is a notably sane study of the OE poet. One may object to sundry terms, such as *Celtic* (p. 21) where *Christian* is obviously the proper word, and *Anglo-Saxon* (p. 29) for the correct *Insular*, but such infelicities do not affect the main points of the argument.

K. M.

Une Chronique Anglo-Saxonne, translated by MARIE HOFFMANN-HIRTZ. Strasbourg: Librairie Universitaire d'Alsace, 1933. Pp. 173. This translation into French of the Parker Chronicle is one of the fruits of the stay of Professor F. P. Magoun as visiting professor in the University of Strasbourg not long since. Mr. Magoun's enthusiasm for Old-English studies proved contagious there as elsewhere, and Miss Hoffmann-Hirtz was moved to undertake the work which now lies before us. She and her preceptors are to be congratulated that she has done so well what she set out to do.

K. M.

Eger and Grime, A parallel-text edition of the Percy and the Huntington-Laing Versions of the Romance, with an Introductory Study, by J. R. CALDWELL. Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature IX. Cambridge [Mass.]: Harvard Univ. Press, 1933. Pp. ix + 353. \$3.50. All students of the metrical romances will welcome this edition, which gives us on opposite pages the two chief versions of *Gray Steel*, or *Eger and Grime* as the editor prefers to call the romance. It is unfortunate, however, that such an edition was included in Schofield's *Studies*, a series not designed for anything of the sort. In his effort to make the edition fit in better, the editor has given linguistic matters short shrift and stuffed his introduction with much comparative literary material familiar to everybody and hardly worth reprinting.

K. M.

The Knowledge of Greek in England in the Middle Ages, by G. R. STEPHENS. Philadelphia, 1933. Pp. 167. This dissertation gives us a useful survey of an important matter. The author adds little that is new, but he brings together in a systematic form much pertinent material. Interesting to the student of English

culture is the author's statement that "largely" because of the Norman Conquest "in England study of all kinds received a temporary check and Greek practically disappeared" (p. 49). One gathers that the "temporary check" lasted long, since later we are told "While signs are not wanting that the spirit of twelfth century humanism was reaching England, such signs are neither so early nor so numerous as we might expect. This is especially apparent in the very slow advance made in the study of Greek" (p. 54). One misses in the bibliography the name of Albert S. Cook. Wærferth should have been mentioned alongside Plegmund on p. 38.

K. M.

Beowulf, by F. OLIVERO. Turin, 1934. Pp. cxliv + 257. This handsome volume contains the text of the OE epic and a translation into Italian. The text is preceded by a long introductory essay, and followed by 15 pages of bibliographical matter. The text printed is that of Wyatt-Chambers, but the editor and translator shows familiarity with the edition of Klaeber as well. The book is not free from mistakes, as in the derivation (p. cix) of OE *ór* from Latin *hora* (instead of *ora*), but one welcomes it as a worthy effort to make accessible to wider circles the noblest monument of the English heroic age.

K. M.

Old Icelandic Sources in the English Novel, by R. B. ALLEN. Philadelphia, 1933. Pp. 121. This dissertation includes, not only works to be expected from the title, but also translations, adaptations, and tales done somewhat in the style of the sagas or set in Viking times, Kingsley's *Hereward*, Hall Caine's *Bondman*, Scott's *Private* and Rider Haggard's *Eric Brighteyes* are considered in a special chapter, while Maurice Hewlett has a chapter all his own. The volume makes pleasant reading but has no scholarly value. One notes that the author translates *Fornmannasögur* with 'foreign men's sagas' (p. 67).

K. M.

Caxton Tulle of Old Age, ed. HEINZ SUSEBACH, Morsbach-Hecht's Studien zur engl. Philologie LXXV. Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1933. Pp. xxii + 118. RM 5. We have here a corrected or, better, emended text of Worcester's translation of the *De Senectute*, and a glossary of the words of romanic origin which occur in the text. The emendations grew out of a comparison of the text of Caxton with that of the *De Vieillesse* of Laurence de Primo Facto (the work which Worcester actually translated). The Latin text was also brought to bear when needful. Caxton's readings, when departed from, are duly recorded in footnotes.

K. M.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

ENGLISH

[The *English* list includes only books received]

Baker, Ernest A — The history of the English novel Vol 7, The age of Dickens and Thackeray *London* H F & G Witherby, 1936 Pp 404 16 sh

Beach, Joseph W — The concept of nature in nineteenth-century English poetry *New York* Macmillan, 1936 Pp xii + 618 \$5 00

Bonner, William H — De Quincey at work Pp. 111 \$0 50 (The University of Buffalo Studies, XI Monographs in Eng, II, April, 1936)

Bridges, Robert — Poetical works of, excluding the eight dramas *London* [and *New York*] Oxford U Press, 1936 Pp 576 \$1 50

Dahlerup, Verner — Ordbog over det Danske sprog Vol 16 *Copenhagen* Gyldendal, 1936 Pp 1460

Eaton, Horace A — Thomas De Quincey, a biography *New York* Oxford U Press, 1936 Pp xvi + 542 \$5 00

Ekwall, Eilert — The concise Oxford dictionary of English place-names *Oxford* Clarendon Press [New York Oxford U Press], 1936 Pp xiviii + 520 \$5 00

Ellwood, Thomas — Davids Edited by Walther Fischer *Heidelberg* Carl Winter, 1936 Pp xxviii + 248 (Englische Textbibliothek, XXI) [An attractive, carefully edited edition of an epic in heroic couplets, written for the edification of youth by Milton's Quaker friend]

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Hustvedt, Sigurd B — A melodic index of Child's ballad tunes *Berkeley* U of Calif Press, 1936 Pp 51-78 \$0 50 (Reprinted from Publications of the U of Calif at Los Angeles in Lang and Lit, I, no 2)

Landré, Louis — Leigh Hunt (1784-1859) 2 vols Vol 1, L'Autheur, vol 2, L'Œuvre *Paris* Société D'édition, 1936 Pp 295, 647 100 francs

Marks, Percy — Better themes Revised ed *New York* Harcourt, Brace, 1936 Pp xiv + 416 \$1 25

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Sisson, C J — Lost plays of Shakespeare's age *Cambridge* U Press [New York Macmillan], 1936 Pp xii + 221 \$3 75

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GERMAN

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Behrend, Fritz — Deutsche Studien, Vorträge und Ansprachen *Berlin* Hermann Wendt, 1936 132 pp M 3

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Frei, Luise — Die Frau in der schweizerischen Volkssprache Diss *Zurich* Wadenswil Villiger, 1935 152 pp

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Greatwood, Edward Albert — Die dichterische Selbstdarstellung im Roman des jungen Deutschland [Neue Forschung Arbeiten zur Geistesgeschichte der germanischen und romanischen Völker 27] *Berlin* Junker & Dunnhaupt, 1935 175 pp M 7 50

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Lendle, O C—Die Schreibung der germanischen Sprachen und ihre Standardisierung *Kopenhagen* Levin & Munksgaard, 1935 166 pp 4° K 5

[Mises, Richard von—] Bericht von einer Rilke-Sammlung Mit einem bibliographischen Anhang [Wien H Reichner, 1936] 19 pp, 6 plates

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Rastede, Kurt—Das Eindringen der hochdeutschen Schriftsprache in Oldenburg Diss *Hamburg* [S-A aus Oldenburger Jahrbuch, Bd 38] *Oldenburg* Gerh Stalling, 1934 107 pp

Schafer, Walter—Erziehung und Erzieher bei Adalbert Stifter *Wurzburg* Triltsch, 1936 vi, 73 pp M 280

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Zanthier, Christa Marie von.—Der Schicksalsglaube der Dithmarscher Hebbel, Groth, Frensen, Groß Eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung [Jahrbuch des Vereins für Dithmarscher Landeskunde Bd 14] *Heide* Heider Anzeiger, 1936 174 pp. M 240

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Barbier, H.—L'ame et Dieu Le sentiment relig chez V Hugo *Paris* Fischbacher, 1936 Fr 6

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Champion, E—La Comédie-Fr 1935 *Paris* Stock, 1935 408 pp 273 pl Fr 90

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Dumas, A—Chicot Ambassadeur, ed H A Grubbs *New York* Crofts, 1936 xvi + 225 pp \$1 25

Fillon, A.—Fr Mauriac *Paris* Malfère, 1936 380 pp Fr 15

Gaiffe, Maille, Breuil, etc—Grammaire Larousse du XX^es *Paris* Larousse, 1936 467 pp Fr 16

Gautier de Coinci.—Deux Miracles, publ p E Boman *Paris* Droz, 1935 cxx + 88 pp Fr 30

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Spink, J S—J-J Rousseau et Genève *Paris* Boivin, 1934 viii + 324 pp Fr 35

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NOTES ON A SHAKESPEAREAN FIRST FOLIO IN PADUA

Sir Sidney Lee's list of extant copies of the First Folio, published as a supplement to his facsimile edition,¹ records an incomplete copy in the University Library of Padua, "wanting fly-leaf and title, early MS notes, made apparently by an acting manager." The volume itself is in excellent condition, though the upper parts of a group of pages at the end are slightly water-stained. The cover-boards of the binding are apparently original, the back alone having been renewed when the book was rebound and restored at the end of the last century. From the thumb-marks on the corners of the leaves, it appears that the plays most frequently read were the ever-popular *Romeo and Juliet*, together with *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*, and *Cymbeline*, while the leaves of the history plays are quite clean. Inside the back cover is a label in a seventeenth- or eighteenth-century hand: "Tutte le Opere di | Sakespear | Commedie e Tragedie | manca il Frontispizio |." This shows that the title-page disappeared quite early in the history of the volume.

Nothing is known of how it came into the possession of the University Library.² A brief note "From an occasional Correspondent" appeared in the *Scotsman* of July 11, 1895, which informs us that it was discovered by the University Librarian among a number of unbound and uncatalogued books among which it had apparently rested undisturbed for a considerable time. The writer goes on to infer, partly from the fact that English students are known to have been in Padua during the seventeenth century, and partly from a MS. note in *Macbeth* at the foot of the first column of p. 150, which he reads as "Ritirata" (retreat), that the Folio

¹ Oxford, 1902.

² In spite of careful enquiries made from members of the Staff, and from the Director, whom I must thank for permission to use the Library at a time when it was closed to the public.

was used for productions of Shakespeare in Italy 'Ritirata,' however, is a mis-reading for "Retreate," and on other counts, the weight of the evidence is certainly against the organized production of Shakespeare in Italy during the seventeenth century

The notes, which form the special title to interest of this Folio, are written in two distinct hands, a fact to which the *Scotsman's* correspondent has not called attention. The first, A, occurs on the pages of *Measure for Measure* and *Macbeth* and is an easily legible, regular script in the Italian style, with smooth and pleasing curves. The second, B, occurs in *The Winter's Tale*, and is older-fashioned, thick, and untidy. Whereas scribe A usually let his page dry before turning over, B usually allowed the wet page to leave an unpleasant smudge on that opposite. Occasionally it is even possible to read the word as certainly from the offset as from the page on which it was written. Furthermore, the two scribes make their letters very differently. Whereas scribe A makes his capital A with a preliminary curved stroke, B's preliminary stroke is straight. The capital P of A has a ceriph at the bottom and an overhanging top curve, whereas B's has neither, and is made with a preliminary tick. A makes a small "c" with a curve, as in modern English script, whereas B's has a flat top. A spells "flourish" as *florish*, B either as *Fflurrish* or some obvious variant of it. And further details could be multiplied.

It is obvious from the notes either that this Folio has been prepared for use as a prompt copy or that a prompt copy has been prepared from it, and in view of the two hands one may suggest that it was in the possession of an acting company. The three plays which are annotated show unmistakable signs of emendation and cutting for acting purposes. The whole of *Measure for Measure* and *Macbeth* have been gone over, and certain passages not required by the development of the plot have been cut by means of vertical lines down the margins and horizontal lines between the lines of text. The cuts in *The Winter's Tale* are more drastic and more clumsy, and are not carried beyond the first act.

As far as *Measure for Measure* is concerned, this principle of abbreviation chiefly affects the speeches of the Duke, from which far more cuts have been made than from those of any other character. This is especially noticeable where he is sententiously moralizing, stating principles of conduct, or exhorting others to fortitude. Thus in 1, 1, there is a cut of eleven lines beginning

halfway through line 37,³ ("they on thee. . . Hold therefore, Angelo"), in III, 1, where he visits Claudio in prison, the long speech beginning "Be absolute for death" is halved, and the part from "Happie thou art not" to "That beares the name of life?" is discarded, as is also the speech in couplets at the end of the same act. Briefer cuts have been made from the speeches of other characters, e g, from that of Angelo, IV, IV, 22-28, V, 1, 404-408. Scenes of low comedy have been curtailed very drastically e g, II, 1, 218-248, III, II, 41-85, IV, II, 3-20. The length of the play is thus reduced by about one-fifth.

The cutting from *Macbeth* is careful, though unfortunate in effect. As a play, it is much more closely-knit, and hence there is much less that can be sacrificed without loss. Furthermore, it is not by any means the least effective passages that have been selected for excision, rather, indeed, the contrary. The whole of the Porter's speech is cancelled, except the last seven words, together with some of the most deservedly famous lines from the speeches of Macbeth himself. The first of these occurs in I, VII, 9-16 ("Heere, But heere . . . To our own lips"), 29-32 ("I have no Spurre . . . falls on th' other"), V, V, 16-18 ("I have supt . . . Cannot once start me"), 28-30 ("a poore Player . . . is heard no more"). It will be noticed, however, that although each of these last two cuts involves the breaking into a blank verse line both at the beginning and the end, yet the broken half-lines are made to join up quite naturally, without interruption of the rhythm. In one case, two feet are omitted from a line, and an extra foot inserted into another, giving the impression that the corrector's hand has been rather too heavy. This is found in III, 1, where the end of Macbeth's first long speech is made to read

if 't be so,

For *Banquo's* Issue haue I fl'd my Minde
The gracious Duncan murther'd,
Put Rancours in the Vessel of my Peace
To make them Kings, the Seedes of *Banquo* Kings
Rather than so, come Fate into the Lyst,
No, it is concluded *Banquo*, thy Soules flight
If it finde Heauen, must finde it out to Night

As the part of the scene where Macbeth interviews the murderers has also been cut, this is the end. In order to render unnecessary

³ Reference are to the line-number in the First-Folio text.

the appearance of the murderers at line 85, a slight alteration of text occurs at line 57, where after the Servant's announcement that they are "without the Palace Gate," Macbeth's reply "Bring them before vs" is cancelled, and in its place is written "Bid em stay there for me" Then, after delivering his next speech in a curtailed form, Macbeth goes out to see them. Although the scene where the murderers next appear (III, III) is left intact, that in which they announce the death of Banquo to Macbeth (III, IV) is slightly altered The word "first" of the stage direction at line 13 "Enter first Murtherer" is cancelled, and a "2" is written above it, while in the space to the right is written "2 Murtherer Mr K" This results in the saving of a character, we shall return later to discuss the bearing of this point

As might be anticipated, the slighter, and, superficially speaking, the more irrelevant scenes have been dispensed with, or much curtailed Thus III, VI, where Lennox and a Lord discuss the flight of Malcolm and Macduff into England, is omitted altogether, and the scene in England between the two exiles is shorn of lines 4-38, 79-115, and 170-179. Two passages which might have been regarded as blasphemous are crossed out. *Macbeth* IV, III, 137-8, *Measure for Measure* III, II, 30-1

The cuts from *The Winter's Tale* are less interesting. The first scene is omitted, and also I, II, 259-273, 278-329, and 369-395.

In order that the characters should be ready to enter at the right place, their names are written in the margin some lines before their entry is indicated in the text Thus in *Measure for Measure* I, II opp lines 105-7 is written "Provost Claudio Lucio Juliet Gent Offe" ready for their entry at the beginning of Sc III, and "Lucio Gent" opposite lines 8-10 in Sc. III of the same act, in anticipation of their entry at line 11 "Act Song" (though no indication of what the song was to be) occurs opposite III, II, 248-251, and, as the rest of the scene is cancelled, this marks the end of the act Sometimes an extra injunction is added, e g, in IV, III, "Clowne Bee ready Abhorson" is written opposite "Scena Tertia" and although Abhorson does not enter until after line 20 in the text, yet his entry in the acting version is hastened owing to the shortening of the Clown's opening speech On two occasions a stage property is mentioned. The first is in IV, III, opposite line 110, at the point where the Provost comes in with the head of Ragozine the Pirate; the reminder "Provost

Head" occurs in the margin. The other is before one of the witch scenes in *Macbeth* (IV, 1) where "Cauldorne" is written in the margin. Other supplementary stage directions in *Macbeth* are "Treade" opp III, III, 12, (used to give point to the Third Murderer's "Hearke, I heare Horses,") just before the assassination of Banquo, and also the frequent instruction "Charge" scattered through the battle scenes of the last act.

The same kind of thing appears in *The Winter's Tale*, done with much less thoroughness. It is noticeable, however, that the entries of the characters are anticipated in the margin by a very much larger interval, occasionally by as much as twenty lines, and never by less than seven. Especially towards the conclusion of the play, the instruction "Ffurrish" occurs fairly frequently, and at the very end "Fflurizell" is rather surprisingly written, either as a slip for "Ffurrish," or perhaps to show that Florizell is to be ready with an epilogue.

The most interesting, and at the same time the most baffling problems centre in the determination of the acting company responsible for the production. Only very meagre information is forthcoming from the margins. One example has already been given, where the Second Murderer is called "Mr. K" in order to distinguish him from the other Murderer (only one, apparently) who bursts in upon Lady Macduff (IV, II, 94). Here he is called "Mr. Carl." The name occurs again in full in the part of the Messenger who announces to Macbeth the shifting of Birnam Wood, as "Mr Carlile," in order to distinguish him in turn from the Messenger who warns Lady Macduff of approaching danger. This name is difficult to decipher, but is possibly "Mr Hewitt." Similarly the initials of the English Doctor who discourses of the King's Evil are written in the margin ("Doctor T S") to show that the part is not taken by the same man who acts the part of him who cannot minister to a mind diseased, and who is "Mr G." "T S" also takes the part of the Servant in *The Winter's Tale*, (III, II, 138, enters line 150, V, I, 87, enters line 107) and that of the Lord who asks Leontes to arrest the fugitive lovers (V, I, 210, enters line 217). This occurrence of "T S" in both *Macbeth* and *The Winter's Tale*, we may notice, forms the only link between the two hands already described. All the actors with this exception have the prefix "Mr" to show that they were "sharers" or members of the Company. Hence "T S" may be

merely a super, or a stage hand, or a young apprentice-actor who aspired to join the company later

The only seventeenth-century actor bearing the name of Carlile is the James Carlile who "first appear'd in the World as a Player, and gave no small Promises of making considerable Progress in that way, he left the stage while he was yet young,"⁴ and was later killed in Ireland perhaps at the Battle of the Boyne, 1690, or at the Battle of Aughrim, 1691. Lowe⁵ records that he took the part of Aumerle in the 1682 production of *The Duke of Guise*, and Langbaine himself records a few more details of his work. "He gave us," he writes, "a play *The Fortune Hunters*, or, *Two Fools Well Met* [1689]. This was acted with Applause, as it has been lately revived by the *Patentees* Company [acted by his Majesties Servts Covent Garden]"⁶. We hear of him again in the reply of the patentees (1694) to Betterton's Petition, apparently five years after his death, though the events referred to occurred in 1687. In this reply, Alexander D'Avenant is accused of having allowed Betterton 'to brow beate and discountenance young Actors as Mr Giloe Carlile Mountfort & others'"⁷. Gillow, we may notice, is associated with Carlile in *The Duke of Guise*, where he takes the part of Melanax. It is possible that he is "Mr G."

It is worthy of remark that both Carlile's play and Dryden's are produced by the King's men. Further investigation into the personnel of this Company between 1680 and 1694 will show that there is a bewildering number of minor actors whose initials correspond with those in the margins of the Folio, and hence nothing definite is to be concluded.⁸

A serious objection to the case, so far as one has been able to build it up, seems to lie in the fact that *Macbeth* was the property of

⁴ Gildon's Langbaine, pp 15-16

⁵ *Life of Betterton*, p 110

⁶ Notes within square brackets are the MS additions of Thomas Coxeter, found in Bodley's copy

⁷ Quoted in Allardyce Nicoll *Restoration Stage*, p 337

⁸ Mr G Philip Griffin, James Gray, Cardell Goodman

Mr K Edward Kynaston (unlikely in so small a part),
Nathaniel Kew, Thomas Kent

T. S Thomas Simpson, Thomas Sheppey

There is a William Hewytt who appears as one of the lessees of the Theatre Royal in 1661, and a George Hewett who petitions for the recovery of a debt from Shatterell, but neither of these seems to have been an actor

the Duke's men before the union of 1682.⁹ Hence the production must have taken place after this date, unless it took place out of London, beyond official control. This, indeed, is quite possible, having regard to the internal evidence: the cutting of certain parts and the doubling of others points strongly to the possibility of a company going on tour. Moreover *Macbeth* was not popular in London at the time, except in the Dryden-Davenant operatic version. But it was far more likely to appeal to Scottish tastes, and hence it is just possible that the production took place in Edinburgh some time in 1679 when a band of King's men went to Scotland and remained until sent for. Their names are Thomas Gray, Cardell Goodman (either of whom might be Mr G), and Thomas Clarke, though there is no evidence that Carlile was one of the number.

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THE COMPOSITION OF "SCOTS WHA HAE"

Dr James Currie, in his *Life of Burns*,¹ 'quotes' an account by John Syme, one of Burns' intimate friends, of a tour he made with Burns through Galloway. The original manuscript² from which Currie made up his version has recently come to light, and a comparison of it with Currie clears up a long-standing uncertainty about the composition of *Scots Wha Hae*, besides illustrating further Dr Currie's literary vanity and his inclination to change documents when they conflicted with his theories.

His revision of an early paragraph of Syme's letter is an example of both these faults. In describing a ride across the moor in a storm, Syme says

⁹ For this, and other information about the names of actors, I am indebted to Mrs Eleanore Murrie.

¹ Currie, James, *The Works of Robert Burns*, London, 1801, I, 250 ff.

² A letter from Syme to another of Burns' friends, Alexander Cunningham, dated August 3, 1793. I am much indebted to the Trustees of the Alloway Cottage Museum, and their Secretary, Col T. C. Dunlop, of Ayr, for permission to copy and use Syme's original letter. The letter, and Currie's version of it, are set up in parallel columns in my Cornell University thesis, *Robert Burns As Seen by His Contemporaries, A Source Book of Fact and Opinion*.

I took him the moor road where savage & desolate regions extended wide around—The sky turned sympathetic with the wretchedness of the soil and treated the poor travellers to the full flood of misery—For 3 hours did the wild Elements ‘rumble their bellyful upon our defenceless heads—O, ho, twas foul’—

This adequate description Currie enlarges as follows

I took him the moor road, where savage and desolate regions extended wide around The sky was sympathetic with the wretchedness of the soil; it became louring and dark The hollow winds sighed, the lightnings gleamed, the thunder rolled The poet enjoyed the awful scene—he spoke not a word, but seemed rapt in meditation In a little while the rain began to fall, it poured in floods upon us For three hours did the wild elements *rumble their bellyful* upon our defenceless heads Oh, Oh! ‘twas foul

Syme continues, “We were utterly wet and we got vengeance at Gatehouse by getting utterly drunk” Currie gives this innocent passage an insidious twist by altering it to read, “We got utterly wet, and to revenge ourselves, Burns insisted at Gatehouse on our getting utterly drunk”

According to Syme, “the wetness had rendered it an impossible task to get on” a pair of “jummy” boots which Burns had bought for the journey Burns’ extreme annoyance at this “whiffing vexation,” and his headache following the evening at Gatehouse, made him a most irritable companion the next day, until Syme pointed out to him the seat of Lord Galloway, whereupon, “he expectorated his spleen against the aristocratic elf, and regained a most agreeable temper.” Dr Currie here condenses Syme’s account fairly enough, but omits the following quatrain against Lord Galloway, “struck up” upon Syme’s remark that “it was rash to crucify Ld G— . . . for tho he might not receive any favours at his hands, yet he might suffer an injury”

Spare me thy vengeance G—ay
In quiet let me live,
I ask no kindness at thy hand
For thou hast none to give³

Syme reports that, upon reaching Kirkcudbright, “Burns

³ The editors of *The Centenary Burns*, entitle this epigram, “On The Same [The Earl of Galloway], On The Author Being Threatened With Vengeance” Syme’s letter makes it evident that the threat was only an imaginary one

obstreperous independence would not dine but where he should as he said, eat like a Turk, drink like a fish, & swear like the Devil." This violent but characteristic phrase becomes, in Currie, "But Burns was in a wild and obstreperous humour, and swore he would not dine where he should be under the smallest restraint" In the evening, when Burns had partly "regained the milkiness of good temper," he and Syme went to call upon Lord Selkirk at St Mary's Isle, just outside Kirkcudbright, where they found Urban, the singer

Currie reproduces in substance Syme's record of the evening but expands his brief description of the return trip to Dumfries and adds a story of the composition of "Scots Wha Hae" not found in Syme's letter at all Currie's account follows:

The poet was delighted with his company, and acquitted himself to admiration The lion that had raged so violently in the morning, was now as mild and gentle as a lamb Next day we returned to Dumfries, and so ends our peregrination I told you that in the midst of the storm, on the wilds of Kenmore, Burns was rapt in meditation What do you think he was about? He was charging the English army, along with Bruce, at Bannockburn He was engaged in the same manner in our ride home from St Mary's Isle, and I did not disturb him Next day he produced me the following address of Bruce to his troops, and gave me a copy for Dalzell

The romantic story here palmed off on an unsuspecting public has long puzzled editors, who have known the letter of late August [30th], 1793, in which Burns sends the song to George Thomson, and speaks of having composed it in his "yesternight's evening walk"

I shewed the Air to Urban, who was highly pleased with it & begged me to make soft verses for it, but I had no idea of giving myself any trouble on the subject, till the accidental recollection of that glorious struggle for Freedom, associated with the glowing ideas of some other struggles of the same nature, *not quite so ancient*, roused my rhyming Mania⁴

Burns had met Urban at St Mary's Isle on the Tour with Syme, July 31 or August 1 As he seems not to have met him for a considerable time previous to that occasion, it is probable that they discussed the air then, and that Burns mentioned it to Syme. But if Syme said nothing of the matter to Currie, whence Currie's

⁴ J DeLancey Ferguson, *The Letters of Robert Burns*, Oxford, 1931, ii, 195-6

brazen interpolation? The answer is to be found in the following note in Cunningham's hand between the signature and the postscript of the letter "Either on this ride to Dumfries or next day Burns I believe composed Scots wha hae with Wallace bled—the sublime address of Bruce to his troops—Burns sent it soon after to J Dalzell He shewed it next day to J S [John Syme] in the stamp office"

Currie had not invented the story He had merely expanded Cunningham's suggestion and forged it to Syme's letter The history, then, of "Scots Wha Hae" seems to be that Burns began turning the song over in his mind on the ride from Kirkcudbright to Dumfries—not on the ride from Kenmore to Gatehouse through the storm He showed Syme an early version of it shortly after their return, and sent Thomson a finished draft at the end of the month But in his editing of this letter Currie's desire to improve his sources, and his well-meant but slipshod editing, have raised an unnecessary problem, and have caused his friend's⁵ word to be called in question

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A NOTE ON HAWTHORNE'S REVISIONS

Professor Randall Stewart has pointed out in his edition of *The American Notebooks by Nathaniel Hawthorne*¹ that Mrs Hawthorne, in editing her husband's notebooks, omitted everything which was objectionable to her on moral grounds or which presented Hawthorne in what she considered an unfavorable light It is the purpose of this paper to suggest from certain revisions² which Hawthorne made in reprinting after 1842 tales published previously, that his wife began to exercise a similar "purifying" influence on Hawthorne's writings soon after their marriage The

⁵ Syme was Currie's law agent and factor

¹ New Haven, 1932, pp xiii-xxi

² Critics of Hawthorne agree that he made but few revisions See *Hawthorne's Works*, ed R H Lathrop and H E Scudder, Boston, 1900, iv, xv-xvi, xviii, xii, also Hawthorne, Julian, *Hawthorne Reading*, Cleveland, 1902, p 86

only passages of any importance which Hawthorne cut out during the whole course of his revising were, I believe, omitted from stories which had been published before his marriage. And, most significant of all, each of the noteworthy omissions involved the dropping of some matter which would have appeared to Mrs. Hawthorne crude, or would have seemed to her to compromise her husband's reputation.

The following passage from "The Seven Vagabonds" as it appeared in *The Token* for 1833—a part of the author's description of the young woman he met in the showman's wagon—was omitted when the story was reprinted in the 1842 edition of the *Twice-Told Tales*:

I hardly know how to hint, that, as the brevity of her gown displayed rather more than her ankles, I could not help wishing that I had stood at a little distance without, when she stepped up the ladder into the wagon. This gay stranger was appropriately burdened with that mirth-inspiring instrument, the fiddle, which her companion took from her hands, and shortly began the process of tuning.*

The following sentence, expressing Hawthorne's good wishes for a newly married couple who pass by, was included in "The Toll-Gatherer's Day" when it was first published, in *The Democratic Review* for 1837:

And when you shall have reached the close of that journey of life, on which you are thus brightly entering, hand grasped in hand, and heart folded to heart, may you lie down together to as sweet and happy a repose, as that queer parting smile on our good old friend's face seems to invoke for you, at the close of this day's travel, its first happy stage!†

But when the sketch was revised for the *Twice-Told Tales* in 1842, the following sentence was substituted: "May your whole life's pilgrimage be as blissful as this first day's journey, and its close be gladdened with even brighter anticipations than those which hallow your bridal night!"‡

The most extensive of Hawthorne's omissions which I have observed came when "Monsieur du Miroir" was reprinted in the first edition of *Mosses from an Old Manse* (1846) from *The Token* of 1837. One sentence which was omitted belonged originally to

* *The Token*, 1833, p. 57.

† *The Democratic Review*, I, 33 (October, 1837).

‡ *Hawthorne's Works*, I, 282.

a paragraph in which the author noted various places where he was accustomed to meet Monsieur du Miroir

If we chance to meet, when I am pale with midnight study, or haply flushed with a mere sip of silver-top champagne, the poor fellow is sure to exhibit an aspect of worn-out or over-excited energy, graduated precisely to my own *

A little later in the same tale an entire paragraph was cut out

Intimate as, in some respects, we may be said to be, the reader will hardly conceive my ignorance in regard to many important points of M du Miroir's mode of life I never yet could discover, nor even guess, what is his business or pastime, in the long space which sometimes elapses without an interview between us He seldom goes into society, except when introduced by me Yet, occasionally, I have caught a dim glimpse of M du Miroir's well-known countenance, gazing at me from the casement of some aristocratic mansion where I am not a guest, although, quite as often, I grieve to say, he has been impudent enough to show himself within the dusty panes of the lowest pot-houses, or even more disreputable haunts In such cases, meeting each other's eyes, we both look down abashed It must not be concealed, however, that, while holding my course amid the week-day bustle which flows past a church, I have discerned my friend through the lofty windows, doubtless enjoying a private audience of Religion, who sits six days in her deserted fane, and sees all the world the seventh With what sect he worships on the Sabbath, indispensable as the point is to a proper judgment of his moral character, I absolutely never knew When the bells fling out their holy music, I generally see him, in his best black suit, of the same pattern as my own, and wearing a mild solemnity of aspect, that edifies me almost as much as the sound orthodoxy of my reverend pastor But we meet no more, till the services are ended Whether he goes to church with the Episcopalians, to chapel with the Methodists, or to the synagogue with the Jews—whether perverted to Roman Church idolatry, or to Universalist or Unitarian infidelity—is a matter which, being no controversialist, M du Miroir keeps to himself Of course, however, he cannot expect my full confidence, while there remains the slightest ambiguity on this head

It seems improbable that Hawthorne would have cut out these naive and harmless passages without some prompting—and such prompting was doubtless afforded by his wife, who, it will be recalled, rooted out from her edition of her husband's notebooks every allusion to sex, and even altered passages in the notebooks which revealed Hawthorne's dislike for churches or church people, or which disclosed elements of his personality which did not meet with her approval It was inevitable that she should object

* *The Token*, 1837, p 52

to the author's confession—feigned, we can be sure—in “Monsieur du Miroir” that he met his reflection in “the lowest pot-houses, or even more disreputable haunts”⁷ And Mrs Hawthorne surely could not tolerate the allusion to “Universalist or Unitarian infidelity,” for she was a devoted attendant at the Unitarian church

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THE MIDDLE SCOTCH POEM ON HERALDRY IN QUEEN'S COLLEGE MS 161

I

In 1869, Furnivall edited¹ a fifteenth century poem on heraldry² from Harleian MS 6149, 151r-155r inc,³ with the help of G E Adams, who contributed valuable heraldic footnotes. Furnivall considered this poem to be a copy by a Scotch scribe of an English original but it is difficult to accept this opinion in view of the fact that numerous words in the poem (e g *speris* 16, *seur* 21, etc) are found only in Scotch and northern texts

Another copy of the same poem is preserved in Queen's College, Oxford, MS 161, 110r-113 inc,⁴ and this paper presents both a collation of these MSS with the variant readings of the Queen's MS (*Q*) following the Harleian (*H*) readings and some additions to the glossary provided by Furnivall. Minor orthographic variations and obvious mistakes by the *Q* scribe (e g *without* for *within* (l 37), *stanis* for *metallis* (l. 64), etc) are ignored.

⁷ Compare in this connection the omission of the word “swag-paunched” from “Howe's Masquerade,” when it was reprinted in *Twice-Told Tales* for 1842 (*Hawthorne's Works*, II, 8) from *The Democratic Review* of May, 1838

¹ *E E T S (E S)*, VIII

² A convenient guide to this subject is F J Grant, *The Manual of Heraldry* (Edinburgh, 1929) Further bibliographical references are given by O Barron in *Shakespeare's England*, II, 90

³ This MS is a collection of various tracts on heraldry For full descriptions, see *Cat Harl MSS*, III, 332

⁴ The librarian of Queen's, Mr T W Allen, has kindly allowed roto-graphs to be made of this MS for my use and Dr C F Buhler, of the Morgan Library, has given me the benefit of his paleographic knowledge in connection with several readings

II

l 4 discrepancis] discrepance. This confirms the *H* reading *viciis and variance* in l 3 l 5 pusancis] pusanttis l 7 tret] tret l. 11 commyniteis] commoniteis: l. 12 ferre] feir, werre] weir, pes] peace l. 14 toknis] toikynnys, ther] þair l 16 more] onore l 20 (also l 59, l 108, l 112) metallis and colouris] mettellis and cullouris l 21 sertyn] certane. l. 23 best] beist l. 27 consate] consait, clere] cleir l 30 lynth] lenth l 34 dais] days. l 35 estate] estait l 36 quhar] quhair. l 40 spedfull] spedfull l 41 dedis] deidis l 43 deffernt] defferent. *Q* confirms Furnivall's emendation. l 54 brocht] brot l. 55 date] dart l. 56 nocht] not l 58 mast] maist l 61 feldis] feildis, bere] beir. l 71 therin] þairin. l. 72 oucht] ocht. l. 76 emeraut] emerant, pupour] purpour, confirming Furnivall's emendation l 77 cassidone] cassidoun. l 79 tho] þai, most] maist. l 81 othir] outhir l 84 lernit] leirnit. l 94 werely] wearily l 97 blason] blasoun, therin] þairin, feld] feild l 98 bere] beir. l 102 behold] behald l. 103 repreve] repreif, schuld] schold l 104 namyt] nemmit l 106 Quhiche] Quhilk, forbere] forbear l 107 rondis] roundis l 108 figourit] figurit l 109 plateis] platis l 111 pomme] pomen l pales] paleis. l 115 ourthwert] orthwert. l. 120 were] beir l 121 Read *king* for *kingis* to aid the rime since l. 123 ends on *seyng* l. 126 The word *armes* is cancelled in *Q*. l. 127 lionne] lyoun, lyone] lioun l 135 bere] beir. l 140 fovermie] sovraunt l 143 (also l 161, l 163) best] beist l. 146 ther] þair l 149 vmdois] windois l 150 ffet] ffeir l. 151 fete] fece, confirming Furnivall's conjecture l. 152 certane] certane ll 154, 156 The rime scheme is defective in both MSS. l 159 ther] þir l. 168 thire] thair. l. 169 told] cold. l 170 sted] steid l 171 attently] autently. l 180 manis] maneris l 186 Actene] Atteyne l. 189 (also l 210) quhiche] quhilk. l 201 attempe] attempine. l. 202 ther] þair l 203 *Q* has *in* before *mynd*, spoiling the sense l. 205 attentik] autentik l 206 necesser] necessair l 207 bere] beir l 208 schall] sall l 213 preuilegit] preuilegit. l. 214 werre and peice] weir and pece l. 219 takin] taken. l 222 holy] haly l 226 ded] deid, hatrent] haterent. l 229 proced] proceid l. 236 mansuete] mansuet l 245 simple] semple. l. 248 Tharfore] Thairfore; not] note. l. 249 correk] correct.

III

l 10 *pensals*, n, a small pennon or streamer [AN *pencil*, Lat *penna*] Cp Barbour *Bruce* (*STS*) xi, 193 Pensals to the vynd vaffand

l 16 *speris*, v., (Sc and North) to inquire [ON. *spyrja*]

l 16 *felle*, n, intelligence This word usually occurs as an adjective, see *NED* under *fell* a and adv 5 [OF *fel*, Lat *fello*]

l 21 *seir*, adj, various [ON *sér*] Cp *Cursor Mundi* (ed. Morris), 2 And Romans red on maneres sere

l 33 *nyte*, v, to deny [Cp ON *níta*, to refuse]. Cp *Cursor Mundi*, 883 Al þat i sai mai sco nocht nite

l 45 *tent*, n, aphetic for *attent* (i e. attention) Nearly always in a phrase such as *take tent*, to take care Cp *Cursor Mundi*, 661: Lok for þi, þat þee tak tent þat þee ne brek mi commament.

l 46 *aglot*, n, a metal tag on a lance [OF *arguilette*].

l 52 *dart*, n, date [OF *datte*, Lat *data* fem sing of *datus* given; from the letter formula *data Romae* etc, indicating the date]

l 83 *sammyn*, adv, together [OE *samen*, ON *saman*]

l 88 *aduert*, v, to pay attention [OF *avertur*, Lat *advertere*] Cp. Barclay *Ship of Fooles*, 42 Thinking that God does not therto aduert

l 158 *phicht* (for *playtyd*), pp, interwoven, pleated [OF. *pleit*, Lat. *phictum*]

l 177 *panis*, n, cloth [OF. *pan*, Lat *pannum*]

l 191 *conterpace*, v, to weigh mentally [OF *contrepeser*].

l 214 *rmg*, n, Sc. obs for reign

l 230 *degest*, v, to ponder over, to consider [Lat *digestus*, pp of *dirigere*]

l 234 *mesaris*, n., mitigators (?) Cp *NED*. under *mese* vb

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CAESAR AND VIRGIL'S MAGIC IN ENGLAND

The story of Julius Caesar as related in the Anglo-Norman Chronicle of Nicholas Trivet, written early in the fourteenth century, contains two points of interest In the first place it confirms President MacCracken's conjecture of the existence of a local

tradition attributing to Caesar the building of various cities and castles in England. John Lydgate, in *The Serpent of Division*,¹ says.

Iulius was made victorious, and Cassibulan browzt vnto subieccion of þe Empire of Rome, and constreyned bi Cesar to paien for his trewage þre þowsande þownde eueriche zere And in signe of this conqvest and famous victory, Iulius Cesar edefied in þis londe dyuerse Castellis & Citees, for a perpetuell memorye to putte his name in remembraunce, þat is for to seyne þe Castelles of Dovir, of Cantorbury, Rowchestire, and þe towie of London, and þe castell and þe towne of Cesareisbury, takynge his name aftir Cesar, þe whiche is now Icalled Sawlisbury And ourr more as seiþe myne auctowre he edefied Cesarischestre, þat now is callid Chichestre, and þe castell of Excestre

President MacCracken's comment on this passage (p 16) is: 'I can find no chronicle that ascribes these castles to Julius Caesar, but this popular etymology must have been accepted long before Lydgate's day' Although the phrasing in Lydgate is similar to that in Trivet, there is at least this evidence against Trivet as Lydgate's authority, that Trivet does not commit the mistake in which Lydgate followed Chaucer of making Brutus and Cassius into one man (cf MacCracken, pp. 39 f).

Of greater interest, however, is a legend of Virgil the Magician which has escaped the notice of students of the Virgilian legends. Caesar, having founded the city of Chichester, observed that the city lacked a water supply, and therefore sent a picture of the city and the country around it together with fine gifts to Virgil, then in Greece, asking him to provide running water by his magic. Virgil sent Caesar an enchanted serpent in a box to be opened on the spot where he wished to have the source of the water, but the curious messenger opened the box in a valley below the city. Nevertheless the serpent sprang out, entered the earth, and a river rose out of the ground and went uphill to the city. This was the origin of the River Lavant, which may be seen at Chichester to this day.

I reproduce here the pertinent portion of the Chronicle from the rotograph of British Museum *MS. Arundel 56*.² I have modernized the punctuation and expanded the contractions in italics.

¹ Ed H N MacCracken (London and New Haven, 1911), p 51.

² Library of Congress, Modern Language Association Deposit, No. 111, fol 25v.

En le temps Iulius cesar estoit Roys en Engleterre Cassibelan le fitz Loud Del noun Loud fu Loundres apele Kaerlud, qar il la reedifia de trez noblez edificetz & fesoit portes e tours e murs e est enterre en vne de cez tours enpres de la porte qe de soun noun est apelle loudgate, la porte Loud cist auoit treis fitz, Cassibelan, Belyn, e Dodrogon ceus trois freres combatirent encountre Iulius cesar auant dit en cest estoire, e doys foys le chacerent vileinement hors Dengleterre & Romperent ses Noef en la Riuer de Tamise par cheynes fermes as Arbres & piles aguz fichi en le founs de la Riuer & la neyerent grant nombre des gentz lempour, & il mesmes a peyne eschapa, mes apres par treson de faus Britouns autrefois entra la terre & fu Cassibelan & sa terre suget a lempire enpaiaunt treis mil liuers dargent pur truage, e en moustrance de la conquete fet sur la terre Dengleterre edifia le chastel de Douere & de Caunterbers et de Roucestre & de loundres, e le chastel ou la vile deynz Cesaresbury quest Saltsbury ore apelle Il edifia outre cestes edifiez Cesarischestre quest Cicestre, & le Chastel de Excestre, e pus en returnaunt A Rome fu occis par treson de Brut & de Cassie En son temps estoit virgile engrece Qar apres qe Iulius auoit founde la Cite de Cicestre aperceut un grant default, Cest assauoir que la cite fu saunz esement de ewe coraunt Dount Iulius fit depoudre le sit de la cite & le sit del pais en vn grant drap & lenvoia a virgile en grece oue beaus douns et lettres entrepriaunz qil ordnat par artifice pur la cite ewe corraunt Et virgile enuoia vn serpent enchaunte enclos & asselle al emperour eyns vn boste saunz riens reueler al mes-sangier lempour qe il portat & lui comanda qil baillat la boiste issint assele entiere & que lempour ouerat la boiste en tiel lieu ou meuz vousist Auer la source de vne Riuer pur sa cite Mes lui Messager par coriouseite de sauuer quele chose virgil lui Auoit baille ouerist la boiste en/ (26^r) vne valeye plus base que la ou la cite est assise & ne purquant al ouerer de la boiste lui serpent saili entraunt la terre Et meynテナunt surd vne riuer alaunt countre mount que unkore nome Auoute & court a la cite & souent ensechit et nomement encountre dures aanes, come dient gent dauncien espreue

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A TEXTUAL NOTE ON CHAUCER *GENTILESSE*, 20

Gentilesse 20 has given considerable trouble to editors of Chaucer's minor poems. The third stanza of the poem, in which the line occurs, is printed thus in Skeat's text ¹

Vyce may wel be heir to old richesse,
But ther may no man, as men may wel see,

¹ *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed W W Skeat, Oxford, 1899, I, 392-3

Bequethe his heir his vertuous noblesse,
 That is appropred unto no degree,
 But to the fiste fader in magestee,
 That maketh him his heir, that can him queme, (20)
 Al were he mytre, croune, or diademe

Heath (*Globe Chaucer*) reads "That maketh his heyr him that wol him queme" Robinson (*Student's Cambridge Edition*) prints "That maketh his heir him that can him queme" Skeat gave the following note on his reading of the line.

This is a difficult line to obtain from the MSS. It is necessary to keep *heir* in the singular, because of *he* in l. 21. The change from *his heir him* to the more natural order *him his heir* is such a gain to the metre that it is worthwhile to make it.

In the MSS, however, there is virtually no authority for the singular forms, *heir* and *him*. The readings are as follows:

- Shirley's ASHMOLE MS 59 (S1) "That mape his heires hem that wol him queme",
 Shirley's TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, MS R 3 20 (S2) "That maketh his heires hem that wol him queme",
 HARLEIAN MS 7333 (H1) "Whech mape his heires hem that doone him queme",
 HARLEIAN MS 7578 (H2) "That maketh his heires hem that him queme",
 HARLEIAN MS 2251 (H3) "That maketh his eyre suche as can hym queme",
 ADDITIONAL MS 22139 (Add) "That maketh his heires hem that can him queme",
 COTTON CLEOPATRA, D VII (C) "That maketh his heires hem that him queme",
 Caxton's edition (Cx) "That makes hem eyres that can him queme"

It will be observed that the shift into the singular has no MS authority except H3, which is an admittedly corrupt text. I believe Dr Skeat's argument that, "It is necessary to keep *heir* in the singular, because of *he* in l. 21," is based upon a mis-reading of Chaucer's sentence. *He* in l. 21 refers back to *no man* in l. 16. Lines 18, 19 and 20 are parenthetical, and refer to *noblesse*. The entire stanza is constructed according to the pattern of the first strophe. The problem of the wording of l. 20 is confined to that line alone.

A study of the entire poem in the various MSS establishes clearly that C and H2 are the best authorities for the text. They

agree on the reading "That maketh his heires hem that him queme" I believe this line is the nearest to Chaucer's original I should explain the MSS variations as follows Shirley found a line which for him did not make sense and which was certainly unmetrical He accordingly took *queme* (the third person, plural, present) to be the infinitive form, and supplied *wol*. The scribe of H1 altered the word to *doone*, and other scribes to *can* Cx and H3 being puzzled, wrote what amount to new lines I suggest as a conjectural emendation of the line as it is found in the best MSS "That maketh hem his heires that him queme." This reading is metrical, it does no violence to the meaning of the line nor to the structure of the sentence, and it does not alter any word in the C-H2 reading If this were Chaucer's original line, it seems to me possible that a scribe in copying might have written "That maketh his heires ,," discovered his omission of the word *hem*, and, upon seeing that its insertion at this point would not violate the meaning of the original, produced the line which caused later scribes and editors so much trouble

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A CHAUCER ALLUSION IN A 1644 PAMPHLET

At Huntington Library is a unique pamphlet by Thomas Jordan that contains an interesting quotation from Chaucer It is a quarto of two sheets with a title-page, which reads The Debtors Apologie/ *or*,/ A Quaint Paradox/ Proving That it is good to be in/ Debt, and (in this Age) may be u/eful for all Men / By T J / Written in the year of/ Engagements, 1644./

To Jordan, actor and versifier, the year 1644 may well have seemed "that dotage of the world in which the wor/t things do overtop the worthie/t,"¹ and there is more than a hint of a first-hand acquaintance with the prison "where expenceful Wa/ters, Game/ters, and unthrifty Debtors" occupy "the upper skirt or stage"²

With the help of Rabelais, Jordan has endeavored to prove that the state of a debtor is good both for his friends and himself,

¹ *The Debtor's Apologie*, p 1

² *Ibid*, pp 7 and 8

when, on the ninth page, he stops to "pitty Seneca's weaknesse who blufhed to borrow . . .," and then continues

That Poet *Laureate* forfeited his wreath of Bayes and Ivy-twine, who made his prayes to his Purse, to keep him out of debt, in this manner

*To you my Purse, and to none other wight
Complain I, for you to be my Lady deen
I am sorry now that you be light,
For certes yee now make me heavy cheer,
Me were as lefe laid upon a becr
For which unto your mercy thus I cry,
Be heavy again, or else mote I dye

Now vouchsafe this day, or it be night,
That I of you the blisfull sound may heare,
Or see your colour, like the Suny bright
That of yellownesse had never pere
Ye be my life, ye be my hearts flere,
Queen of comfort and of good company
Be heavy again, or else mote I dye

Now Purse, that art to me my lyes light,
And Saviour as down in this world here,
Out of this Town help me by your might,
Sith that you will not be my treasure,
For I am have as neer as any frere,
But I pray unto your courtesie,
Be heavy again or else mote I dye **

The marginal note—"Ocleve in Chaucer"—reveals Jordan's error and indicates the edition of *Chaucer* with which Jordan was familiar. In the 1602 edition, the last published before the writing of the pamphlet, this ballade is, for the first time, attributed to Occleve (f 320)

Th Occleue to his empty purse

Carelessness of copy or printing must be held responsible for the differences in text for which the 1644 spelling is not a sufficient explanation. Though "flere" for "stere" (5th line of 2nd stanza) may only illustrate the ordinary confusion of "st" and "fl," the mistake may have arisen from the printer's lack of acquaintance with the somewhat archaic "stere" and his readiness to read into the copy a familiar, though here quite senseless, word.

This type of error seems to be illustrated in the course of some

* *Ibid.*, pp 9-11

Latin verses spoken by the Purse of the "prodigall unthrift"
Here *fuertis* has evidently been substituted for *furiis*

*Haud melius fatum, nam pendeo more latronis,
Ingenium sic me fueris habere putant*⁴

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AN ALLUSION TO CHAUCER IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Mercurius Britannicus, no. 103 (Oct 27-Nov. 3, 1645), pp 913-4

Once upon a time, in the moneth of October, 1645 The King having loft his *Newcastle-Coate* in the North, his chief Commanders would needs fall by the eares to catch themselves a heat in his prefence at Newark, and they were (O Chaucer, and thy *Gennus* come help on my Tale') ycleped Rupert and Maurice,

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A PEREDA MANUSCRIPT

Montero stated in his *Pereda* (Madrid, 1919, p 105) that a MS of a play by Pereda existed in the library of Federico de Vial with the title *La suerte en un sombrero*. I had examined a MS in the Biblioteca Municipal de Santander entitled, *La fortuna en un sombrero*. I felt sure that this must be the same MS. and wrote to Sr don Tomás Maza-Solano who is in charge of the above library. He informed me that there never has been more than the one MS and that the correct title is *La fortuna en un sombrero*. He surmised that Montero had seen the MS in question in the de Vial library and quoted the title from memory making the very natural change from *fortuna* to *suerte*.

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⁴ *Ibid*, p 12.

A POSSIBLE SOURCE OF LOPE'S PEAR-TREE STORY

Lope de Vega's ability to incorporate into his plays any good story that might be going the rounds is a commonplace of Spanish literary history. Numerous examples have already been pointed out¹ And if it were merely to add one more to the long list it would scarcely be worth while to mention this one, even though, so far as I know, it has never before been listed. It has, however, added interest because of its possible source—the continuation of the *Lazarillo de Tormes* written by Juan de Luna and published in Paris in 1620, a work placed on the *Index* by the Inquisition and, therefore, for Lope forbidden fruit.

In the introduction to this work Luna, after telling of the debate that arose concerning the fishy nature of the Lazarillo in the 1555 sequel to his adventures, asserts that the fishermen were able to persuade the populace that Lazarillo was indeed a tunny fish by virtue of the license which had been granted them by the Inquisition. And in order to show the terror which the inquisitors inspired among the people he relates this story:²

A este proposito (aunque sea fuera del que trato aora) contare vna cosa que sucedio a vn labrador de mi tierra, y fue que enbiandole a llamar vn Enquisidor para pedirle le embiasse de vnas peras que le hauian dicho tenia estremadas no sabiendo el pobre villano lo que su señoria le queria, le dio tal pena que cayo emfe[r]mo, hasta que por medio de vn amigo suyo, supo lo que le queria leuantosse de la cama fuesse a su jardin, arranco el arbol de rayz, y lo embio con la fruta diziendo no queria tener en su casa ocasion le embiasen a llamar otra vez,

This tale appeared the following year, 1621, in Act II, lines 396-411 of Lope's play *Mirad a quien alabais*, published in Parte XVI, in this form:³

Un judío mohatrero
de éstos de que hay copia tanta,
tenía un peral, cuya planta
alababa al mundo entero

Tanta la alabanza fué,
que un señor inquisidor
envió un paje y por favor
pidió que un plato le dé

¹ Cf. M. A. Buchanan, "Short Stories and Anecdotes in Spanish Plays," *MLR*, iv (1909), 178-184, v (1910), 78-89.

² *Segunda Parte de la vida de Lazarillo de Tormes*, Paris, 1620, Sig. a1v-b-ava.

³ *Obras de Lope de Vega* publicadas por la Real Academia Española (Nueva Edición), Madrid, 1930, xiii, 42-43.

de las peras que llevaba
 Alborotóse el judío,
 que, aunque fuese en tiempo frío,
 cualquier temor le quemaba

Un hacha al tronco aplicó
 y como le vió caer
 por no tener qué temer
 todo el peral le envió

The fact that the next line reads "El cuento es viejo, en efecto" suggests the possibility of an older version which both Luna and Lope may have used.

E HERMAN HESPELT

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A LETTER OF CHRISTINA ROSSETTI

Although the following letter is undated, it is reasonably clear from internal evidence that it was written in the year 1867. Elihu Burritt, to whom it was addressed, was a self-educated blacksmith and a well-known advocate of world peace. Without any instruction he acquired a working knowledge of almost forty languages, published what is probably the first book in Sanskrit by an American, and prepared grammars and reading exercises in Hindustani, Persian, Turkish, Arabic and Hebrew. This letter, one of two addressed by Christina Rossetti to Burritt, is in the Burritt MSS in the library of the New Britain Institute, New Britain, Connecticut.

50 Euston Square, London, N W
 Saturday night

Dear Sir

Thank you for the gift of a book¹ which introduces me to a new poetess—new to me, and a poetess I think. It seems to me that "Jane Ellice" deserves to be far better known in proportion to other female verse writers than you tell me is the case. There is a richness and beauty in what she writes very noticeable. May I add that in some lines her versification strikes me as utterly in the wrong? gratuitously out of metre, and faulty to even an unpracticed ear perhaps.

My dear Father died thirteen years ago and is buried in Highgate Cemetery, we all, except my eldest brother who is an artist, were living together at the time of his death. Pray another time instead of merely looking at the outside of our house favour us by coming in, and be sure of a cordial welcome from my Mother or any of us who may be at home. I cannot tell you how dear the Italian language is to me, so dear that I will not attempt to compare it with my native English only as I think

¹ Jane Ellice, *English Idylls, and Other Poems* (London, 1865).

in English I have naturally written in it also, indeed I am a very imperfect Italian scholar, not a "scholar" at all, but a warm admirer merely

Yours very truly

Christina G Rossetti

MERLE EUGENE CURTI

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SHENSTONE'S BIRTHPLACE

In a letter of June 1742 to Richard Graves, William Shenstone says, "I do not know whether it be the prejudice of being born at the Leasowes, or from any real beauty in the situation, but I would wish no other" Yet in Joseph Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*, 1888, the entry is as follows

William Shenstone, s Tho, of Wickstone, co Leicest Gent Pembroke Coll, matric 25 May, 1732, aged 17, a poet, died 1763¹

Douglas MacLeane's *History of Pembroke College Oxford*, 1897, gives the entry in a footnote in Latin "Gul Shenstone, 17, Tho fil., Wickstone in com. Leicest gen fil"²

How might a mistake have been made in the matriculation entries of Pembroke College, Oxford, for May, 1732? Might the entry of William Shenstone have been confused with the one next to his by the person who compiled the records? In answer to these questions a letter from Mr S Gibson, Keeper of the University Archives at Oxford, gives the solution of the "Wigstone riddle"

I congratulate you on having discovered a bad mistake and on giving the right explanation The official who was responsible for entering the names in the matriculation register mixed the entries of two persons Here they are

Aulo Cerv Tho Griffiths 17 Tho fil Parochia Halesowen Com
Salop Pleb fil

Coll Pemb Gul Shenstone 17 Tho fil Wickstone Com Leices
Gen fil

You have done me a good service

When we correct William Shenstone's matriculation entry, it

¹ Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, II, 1285.

² MacLeane, *History of Pembroke College Oxford*, 370.

becomes "Coll Pemb Gul. Shenstone 17 Tho fl. Halesowen Com Salop Gen fl" and the version in Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses* becomes "William Shenstone, s Thomas of Halesowen, Salop. Gen, Pembroke Coll, matric 25 May, 1732, aged 17, a poet, died 1763" Thus the contradictory evidence becomes proof of the truth of Shenstone's own statement that he was born at the Leasowes, Halesowen, Shropshire.

MYRA M. WARD

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TWO SWIFT IMITATIONS

Although there were many imitations of *Gulliver's Travels* in the eighteenth century,¹ the satiric technique or the ideas of Swift's two other important satires were seldom imitated or used as a basis for satire by the eighteenth century writers. However, there are isolated examples, two of which I believe have not been brought to the attention of modern scholars

The *Critical Review*, for March, 1761 (p 268), mentions

The Battle of the Players in Imitation of Swift's Battle of the Books In which are introduced the Characters of all the Actors and Actresses on the English Stage, with an impartial Estimate of their respective Merits By the Author Richards²

In Jan, 1791 (p 115), the same journal lists *A New Tale of a Tub, written for the Delight and Instruction of every British Subject in particular, and all the World in general* Ridgway, 1790³

CLARENCE M WEBSTER

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¹ See Eddy, W A, *Gulliver's Travels A Critical Study*, Princeton, 1923, pp 201-3

² The comment is "With a little more common sense and decency this author might pass in the crowd of authors"

³ The reviewer says that the book is nearer in style to the *History of John Bull*, ascribed to Swift, than to the *Tale*, that there are "Shandean" touches, that the satire is political, with notes in satiric imitation of those of Warburton, Johnson, and Steevens, that Bentley is mentioned derisively; that part of the description of "Will Whig," who came from the woods of Germany, is quoted.

KOTZEBUE'S DER HYPERBOREEISCHE ESEL

In Goedeke's *Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung*, Vol 5, 2nd edition, page 279, 58, is the following statement "Der hyperboreische Esel oder Die heutige Bildung, Ein drastisches Drama u. philosophisches Lustspiel für Junglinge, in Einem Akt, Leipzig 1799, 58 S 8" That there is another printing, of the same date and publisher, but with 74 pages, Goedeke does not know. A few readings in which the two editions differ from one another are (*A* is the edition of 74 pages, *B* that of 58 pages)

15, 16 (12, 8) wiederholten *A* wiederholten *B* 28, 21, (22, 17) gescheuter *A* gescheiter *B* 49, 1 (38, 12) fordern *A* fodern *B* 57, 4 (44, 18) anlaufen *A* auflaufen *B* 61, 7 (48, 4) (beyserte) *A* (bey Seite) *B* Moreover, *A* always capitalizes *du* and *dein* in their various grammatical cases Some examples are 34, 1 (26, 14) Du *A* du *B* 34, 16 (27, 3) Dir *A* dir *B* 34, 17 (27, 4) Dich *A* dich *B* 37, 5 (29, 1) Deine *A* deine *B* Then, too, *A* consistently spells *Madchen* thus while *B* always writes *Madgen* Examples are 28, 18 (22, 13) 30, 4 (23, 17) Madchen *A* Madgen *B*

One criterion which points to *A* as the first edition is that this printing has the greater number of pages Other things being equal, the second printing of a work usually has fewer pages than the original edition

This play contains numerous quotations from Schlegel's *Lucinde* and *Athenaeum* In these quotations *A* preserves the spellings of these two mentioned writings, here designated by *S*, much better than does *B* This closer agreement with the original spellings on the part of *A* is another criterion which leads one to regard it as the first printing.

Some examples are 42, 5 (32, 23) Litteratur *AS* Literatur *B* 42, 15 (33, 10) Projekt *AS* Project *B* 42, 15 (33, 10) subjektive *AS* subjective *B* 42, 16 (33, 11) Objekts *AS* Objects *B* 46, 3 (36, 6) Naiv *AS* Naif *B* 48, 10 (38, 3) 54, 4 (42, 8) 54, 15 (42, 20) 55, 1 (43, 2) Madchen *AS* Madgen *B* 54, 17 (42, 22) Beinchen *AS* Beingen *B* *B* reproduces the original spellings of *Lucinde* and the *Athenaeum* only three times whereas *A* has different spellings 32, 1 (24, 22) andere *A* andre *BS* 42, 20 (33, 14) anmaassender *A* anmassender *BS* 53, 13 (42, 1) Salz an die Speisen *A* Salz an den Speisen *BS* This latter reading where *A* has *die* for *den* seems to be a printer's error

Against the other two agreements must be weighed the numerous

cases where *A* follows the original more closely. It must be added that *A* page 68, note 1. reads *Lucmde* 115 while *B* page 53, note 1 reads *Lucmde* 113. Both notes are wrong because the correct reading is *Fragmente* 113. In this case the difference points to *B* as the first edition.

The new printing of *Der hyperboreische Esel* in the *Deutsche Literatur-Pasquille*, edited by Dr. Franz Blei, Leipzig 1907, Verlag von Julius Zeitler, follows *B* fairly consistently. Such details as the non-capitalization of *du* and *dein* and their forms and punctuation show a close agreement with *B*.

Examples of the latter are (*N* designates the new printing) 31, 8 (24, 14) noch, dei *A* noch der *BN* 37, 16 (29, 11) besser daran als *A* besser daran, als *BN* 59, 3 (46, 10) Ach *A* Ach! *BN*. Moreover *N* has *auflaufen* for *anlaufen* as has *B*, and *Beungen* instead of *Bevnchen*, both referred to above. However, both *Madchen* and *Madgen* appear in *N*. Examples 18, 7 and 18, 29 *Madchen*, while 31, 19 and 31, 22 *Madgen*. In addition *N* makes errors of its own as for instance 5, 19 (6, 14) vante *AB* vaute *N* 21, 1 (14, 3) Facultaten *AB* Faculitaten *N* 23, 7 (15, 12) durrer *AB* durer *N* 24, 18 (16, 4) Ferne *AB* Form *N* 33, 4 (20, 16) Jeder gute *AB* Jeder guter *N*. In several places the text is slightly changed, thus 28, 10 (18, 2) the word *recht* is present in *AB* but lacking in *N*. Likewise 27, 11 (17, 14) *AB* have *doch wahr* while *N* has *schon wahr*.

The *Neudruck*, therefore, is not an accurate reproduction of the original.

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WEIBLICHKEIT = WOMANHOOD

In his *Modewörter des 18. Jahrhunderts*, "Zeitschrift für deutsche Wortforschung" VI, 344 (1905), Wilhelm Feldmann traces the history of the word *Weiblichkeit*. His earliest example with the meaning 'Wesensart der Frau' is taken from the first edition of Wieland's *Agathon*, I, 12 (1766)

. als daß sie auf die Thranen und Bitten, noch selbst auf die Reizungen dieser Schönen einige Achtung gemacht hatten, welche doch in diesem Augenblick, da Schrecken und Zagheit ihnen die Weiblichkeit (wenn es erlaubt ist, dieses Wort einem großen Dichter abzuborgen) wiedergegeben hatte, selbst dem sittsamen Agathon so verführerisch vorkamen, daß er vor gut befand, seine nicht gerne gehorchende Augen an den Boden zu heften,

The words in parentheses, it may be added, do not appear in the later editions of 1773 and 1794. Feldmann asks "Wer ist der 'große Dichter' dem Wieland das Wort abgeborgt hat? Man konnte an Richardson denken! Jedenfalls hat Wieland *Weiblichkeit* wohl in Umlauf gebracht." No evidence concerning Richardson is given by Feldmann.

In the *Deutsches Wörterbuch* of the Grimm's there is, as might be expected, a very thorough study of the word, concerning which A. Gotze, the editor of Volume XIV, makes the statement (col. 439)

zu seiner hauptbedeutung 'wesensart der frau' gelangt weiblichkeit um 1766 durch den einfluß des englischen *womanhood*

The Wieland quotation of Feldmann is reproduced, but with the remark: "der große dichter ist Milton." No evidence for this assertion is adduced.

Intent upon verifying this ascription to Milton, I referred to John Bradshaw's *Concordance to the Poetical Works of Milton*, London, 1894, only to find that the word *womanhood* is not recorded for Milton. The word is also missing in Laura Lockwood's *Lexicon to the English Poetical Works of Milton*, New York, 1907. The *NED*, which traces the word back to Chaucer, likewise fails to cite a single instance from Milton. It does quote instances from Shakespeare, however, and these are confirmed by John Bartlett's *Complete Concordance to the Works of Shakespeare*, London, 1894.

may we, with the warrant of womanhood and the witness of a good conscience, pursue him? (*Merry Wives*, IV, 2, 220), There's neither faith, truth, nor womanhood in me else (*1 Henry IV*, III, 3, 125), and for womanhood, Maid Marian may be the deputy's wife of the ward to thee (*ib.*, III, 3, 129), Setting thy womanhood aside, thou art a beast to say otherwise (*ib.*, III, 3, 139), Let it not be believed for womanhood! (*Troilus and Cressida*, V, 2, 128), one thing more, That womanhood denies my tongue to tell (*Titus Andronicus*, II, 3, 174), No grace? no womanhood? Ah, beastly creature! (*ib.*, II, 3, 182)

Wieland was the first German to attempt a translation of Shakespeare: his eight volumes, comprising twenty-two plays, appeared in the years 1762-1766. His work on the first volume of *Agathon* falls in the very same years. On January 18, 1765 he informs his publishers that the Shakespeare translation is causing him more trouble than any original composition of his own. If they want the

Shakespeare finished, he will have to lay aside *Agathon*, and if he completes *Agathon* he will have to give up Shakespeare. The latter alternative was finally adopted, and we thus have no translation of the *Merry Wives*, *Troilus and Cressida*, and *Titus Andronicus*. The *First Part of King Henry IV*, to be sure, was translated (1764), but Act III, Scene 3, in which the word *womanhood* repeatedly occurs, was omitted, Wieland giving in its stead the following résumé

*
Fünfte und Sechste Scene

Ein paar pöbelhafte und schmutzige Zwischen-Scenen aus dem Wirthshaus zum Bären-Kopf in East-Cheap, zwischen *Falstaff*, *Bardolph*, der *Wurthm*, dem *Prinzen* und *Peto*

Although Wieland did not translate this scene, we are reasonably safe in assuming that he was familiar with it, and saw the play on the word *womanhood*, which occurs three times in the space of fifteen lines. The "great poet" to whom he alludes in *Agathon* is therefore not Richardson or Milton, but Shakespeare.

W. KURRELMEYER

GERYON AND THE KNOTTED CORD

(DANTE, *Inferno*, XVI, XVII)

The descent of Dante and Virgil to the Eighth Circle on the back of Geryon is prefaced by a curious bit of by-play in which the monster is summoned by means of a cord. Dante, who had thought to use the cord to capture "the leopard of the painted skin," unbinds it from his waist and gives it to Virgil knotted and twisted (*agroppata e ravvolta*).¹ Virgil then throws the cord into the abyss, whence Geryon later rises. Lest the incident be dismissed as merely picturesque embellishment, the warning is inserted

Ah! quanto cauti gli uomini esser dienno
presso a color che non veggion pur l'ovra,
ma per entro i pensier miran col senno!²

The use of knotted and twisted cords to ensnare dragons, beasts, and devils had been common from the earliest times in Babylon,

¹ Inf, XVI, 106-14

² Inf, XVI, 118-20

the original source of much of medieval magic. Its origin may be traced to the Babylonian Creation Epic wherein the arch-fiend, Tiamat, and all of her forces are captured by means of a net³ In subsequent magical rites knotted cords are used to ward off or control many kinds of evil As protection against the malignant powers of the dead, "a variegated and a scarlet thread are to be spun together and seven knots tied in it"⁴ By tying knots a tabu can be cast on an enemy, diseases can be cured, or evil spirits bound.⁵

The magical binding of devils (usually regarded as seven in number) was to become a wide-spread tradition It was apparently common in Egypt⁶ Sir James Frazer has noted its appearance in places as mutually remote as Shetland, Russia, Rome, and Armenia⁷ It is mentioned also in the *Picatrix*, a medieval book of magic.⁸

Dante's connecting the magic cord and the girdle has a precedent in Pliny's *Natural History*, where it is stated that "the hyena is more easily captured by a hunter who ties seven knots in his girdle"⁹ This coincidence occurs also in *The Sword of Moses*, a thirteenth- or fourteenth-century Syrian rabbinical manuscript, in which it is advised, "to catch a lion by the ear . . . make seven knots of the fringes of thy girdle"¹⁰ Dante may have taken the idea directly from Pliny, to whom he refers in *De Vulgari Eloquentia*,¹¹ or, more likely, from current magical practise. The persistent association of the knotted cord with magic is par-

³ Tablet iv, 28-125, S Langdon, *The Babylonian Epic of Creation*, Oxford, 1923, 129-45

⁴ R Campbell Thompson, *Semitic Magic, Its Origin and Development*, London, 1908, 33-4

⁵ *Ibid.*, xxvii, 123, 165, 169, 170, 172, 188 Cf Maurice H Farbridge, *Studies in Biblical and Semitic Symbolism*, London, 1923, 124, and Robert William Rogers, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, New York, 1908, 153

⁶ Max W Muller, *Mythology of All Races*, vol XII, *Egyptian*, Boston, 1918, 142, 199, 421

⁷ *The Golden Bough*, 3rd ed, London, 1913, I, 326, III, 306-7, 13, 303, 308

⁸ Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, New York, 1923, II, 819

⁹ xxviii, 27, quoted in Thorndike, I, 69

¹⁰ III, 91, in Moses Gaster, *Studies and Texts*, London, 1925, I, 326

¹¹ II, vi, 83.

ticularly pertinent in view of the assignment of diviners and magicians to the circle to which Geryon conveys the poets

If Dante is here using a magical device as a fitting means to descend to the circle where the magicians are tormented, he is incidentally confessing by implication to a knowledge of the magical arts¹² A strong hint to this effect had already been given in the question of Cavalcante de' Cavalcanti—

“ Se per questo cieco
carcere vai per altezza d'ingegno,
mio figlio ov' è, perchè non è ei teco? ”¹³

Cavalcanti apparently still believes that the underworld may be conquered through “altezza d'ingegno,” and intimates that Dante and Guido had been companions in the study of one or more branches of the esoteric knowledge which was always filtering in via Spain from the East and which, regardless of its content, was generally regarded in Christian Europe as “magic”¹⁴ In other words, Dante's “magic” need not have been more diabolic than that of Michael Scot, whom he meets shortly after his arrival at the Eighth Circle Dante's description of him as “Quell' altro, che ne' fianchi è così poco”¹⁵ calls attention to the close-fitting girdle which was part of his traditional Spanish costume and, by its very rarity in Italy, was almost necessarily associated with the girdle of the magician¹⁶

In this related imagery is to be found, I believe, the most definite clue to the sin of Dante, whereby he was all but completely “lost”¹⁷ Surely “philosophy” is too broad a term to apply to his defection since he obviously never deserted the Christianized Aristotle of Aquinas Dante's sin was rather the sin of Ulysses,

¹² He not only knows the beast-catching properties of the magic cord (Inf, xvi, 106-8), but confesses to having worn it and is only at this point giving it up

¹³ Inf, x, 58-60

¹⁴ This confusion is amply demonstrated throughout Henry Charles Lea's *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages* (3 vols.), New York, 1887, and specifically in Dante's reference to the Latin translator of Averroes as a magician “che veramente de le magiche frode seppe il gioco,” Inf, xx, 116-117

¹⁵ Inf, xx, 115

¹⁶ J Wood Brown, *The Life and Legend of Michael Scot*, Edinburgh, 1897, 138-9

¹⁷ Inf, i, 26, 58, Purg, xxx, 136

who sought "virtute e canoscenza,"¹⁸ but by a mistaken method Dante also pursued false visions of good, false because he undertook to climb the hill independently of spiritual guidance. He had not yet learned to be content with the "qua,"¹⁹ nor to await Beatrice "ch' opra è di fede"²⁰ If we were forced to give a name to this mistaken "magical" philosophy, the best guess would be Averroism, partly because it was the particular magic of Scot, partly because there is a possibility of its having been embraced by Cavalcante and Guido Cavalcanti,²¹ and partly because of its contemporary prominence and its undoubted attraction to a speculative mind. It would have been strange indeed if Dante had not inquired into its doctrine.

Without necessarily taking up the vexed question of the identity of the beasts, we may see in the cord Dante's proposed substitute for Virgil, agent of Beatrice, of Lucia, of Mary. Dante had mistakenly relied on it to catch the spotted leopard. It is then rare poetic justice that Virgil (not Dante) uses this same fraudulent girdle to lure the knotted and circled body of Geryon, "quella sozza imagine di froda"²² Dante is to be newly girded with the rush of humility²³ when he has put off the pride of mortal "ingegno," and bows before the authority of the Church.

It is then of further interest to note that the threefold body of Geryon had itself been connected with Gnosticism, a traditional source of magic and closely related to Averroism. Hippolytus in describing the mystic trinal man of the Naasseni remarks that this trinity is known to the ignorant as Geryon.²⁴ Traditions "known to the ignorant" have at times an astonishing survival-power, and although there is no evidence that Dante was aware of the Gnostic significance of Geryon, there is reason to believe that the "image of fraud" had taken on in the poet's mind the special connotation of "magic fraud." For Geryon is attracted by the lure of this cord, whose knots and circlings are repeated on his own body, and Virgil predicts his appearance with the significant remark,

¹⁸ Inf, xxvi, 120; also 97-9 ¹⁹ Purg, III, 37 ²⁰ Purg, xviii, 47-8

²¹ Emile Gebhart, *Mystics and Heretics in Italy*, trans. by Edward Mashin Hulme, New York, 1923, 158

²² Inf, xvii, 7

²³ Purg, I, 94-5

²⁴ *Refutation of All Heresies*, v, 5, *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, vi, Edinburgh, 1868, 139

"che il tuo pensier sogna,
tosto convien ch' al tuo viso si scovra" ²⁵

One may well ask what would be in Dante's mind as a result of having his attention drawn to the cord unless he is meditating on whatever the cord represents and is here being prepared to expect some relationship between the girdle and the forthcoming apparition. Then when the monster appears he is characterized as

" la fiera con la coda aguzza,
che passa i monti e rompe i muri e l' armi,
ecco colei che tutto 'l mondo appuzza " ²⁶

Fraud does indeed pollute the whole world, but the remaining imagery is somewhat strained if applied to a type of vice which is universally indigenous. On the other hand, Averroism—or for that matter, any heretical philosophy or magic—did pass mountains and broke through all the walls and weapons that the Church could provide.

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INFERNO, XII, 100-126, AND THE *VISIO KAROLI CRASSI*

In the first ring of the seventh circle of Hell Dante and Vergil come across a group of souls immersed in the seething, sanguine waters of a river. These are they who on earth, impelled by greed and fury, were guilty of crimes of violence. On the banks run Centaurs armed with bow and arrows, ready to shoot at whichever sinner should venture to emerge from that particular depth of boiling blood to which his misdeeds have condemned him. Through this part of the Inferno the great Centaur Nessus becomes the visitors' guide and, leading them along the shore, points out the more notorious among the multitude of the damned, some of whom are submerged to the brows, others to the throat, others to the chest, others only to the feet.

Io vidi gente sotto infino al ciglio,
e 'l gran Centauro disse "E' son tiranni
che dier nel sangue e ne l' aver di piglio

²⁵ Inf, XVI, 122-3

²⁶ Inf, XVII, 1-3

Quivi si piangono li spietati danni "
 Allor mi volsi al poeta, e quei disse
 "Questi ti sia or primo, e io secondo"
 Poco più oltre il Centauro s' affisse
 sovr' una gente che 'nfinò a la gola
 pareva che di quel bulicame uscisse
 Mostrocci un' ombra da l' un canto sola,
 dicendo "Colui fesse in grembo a Dio
 lo cor che 'n su Tamici ancor si cola."
 Poi vidi gente che di fuor del rio
 tenean la testa ed ancor tutto il casso,
 e di costoro assai riconobbi io
 Così a più a più si facea basso
 quel sangue, sì che cocea pur li piedi,
 e quindi fu del fosso il nostro passo

The indebtedness of this passage to the popular medieval visions of Heaven and Hell for its description of the graduated immersion of sinners, has long been recognized, and special mention has been made of the visions of St Paul and Alberic.¹ The fact has been overlooked, however, that Dante's peculiar use of the motif, different as it is from that of the general tradition, may be a clue to his knowledge of a highly interesting piece of other-world literature, which, so far as the present writer is aware, has never before been directly associated with the *Divina Commedia*. This is the tenth-century Vision of Charles the Fat.

Among the popular visions before and during Dante's time which contain the motif, Paul applies it to the punishment of Laodiceans for sexual irregularities, gossip in church, failure to keep the proper hours of prayer, malice toward neighbors.² Alberic

¹ See, for example, *La Divina Commedia di Dante Alighieri*, ed Grandgent (revised edition, 1933), p. 108, *La Divina Commedia*, ed Padua (Dalla Tipografia della Minerva, 1822), v, 296, and n. 2 (cf. the Florentine reprint, 1830), and Catello de Vivo, *La Visione di Alberico* (Ariano, 1899), pp. 20-21. Of the present writer's *Vision Sancti Pauli* (Studies and Documents, ed Kirsopp Lake and Silva Lake, iv, 1935), pp. 12-14 and notes.

² See the Long Latin text, ed M. R. James, *Apocrypha anecdota* (Texts and Studies, ed J. Armitage Robinson, ii, no. 3), pp. 28-29. With some variations this scheme is kept also by the Long versions in Armenian, Syriac, Coptic, and Old Russian: see Silverstein, *Vision Sancti Pauli*, pp. 28-30, and pp. 106-107, nn. 47 and 61, and N. Tichonravov, *Pamyatniki Otrechennoj Russkoj Literatury*, ii (Moscow, 1863), 49. And it is preserved by most of the late medieval redactions, whether in Latin or in the Western vernaculars, though they discard the designation as Laodiceans of the

employs it for the chastisement of sexual delinquents only.³ All such others as the Vision of the Abbot Sunnulf,⁴ the Vision of a monk at Wenlock Abbey,⁵ the fragmentary vision in an eighth-century epistle of Bishop Lull,⁶ and St Patrick's Purgatory,⁷ leave unspecified the transgressions for which this torment is meted out. Only in the Vision of Charles the Fat is it true that the sinners plunged to varying depths into the boiling stream are, as in *Inferno*, XII, those who, out of their greed for earthly things, were guilty of bloodshed and rapine. The very words with which they describe their crime are reminiscent of Dante's phrase, "E' son tiranni/che dier nel sangue e ne l' aver di piglio."

sicque ascendimus super montes altissimos igneos, de quibus oriebantur paludes, et flumina ferventia et omnia metallorum genera bullientia. Ubi reperi innumeras animas hominum et principum patris mei et fratrum meorum praecipitatas, alias usque ad capillos, alias usque ad mentum, alias usque ad umbilicum, clamaveruntque ad me ejulando: "*dum vivimus amavimus tecum et cum patre tuo, et cum fratribus tuis, et cum avunculis tuis facere praelia et homicidia et rapinas pro cupiditate terrena*, ideo in ista bullientia flumina et metallorum diversa genera sustinemus tormenta."

souls who were guilty of all these sins. This point is discussed by the present writer in a forthcoming article in *Harvard Studies and Notes*.

³ Ed. F. Cancellieri, *Osservazione intorno alla questione . . . sopra l'originalità della Divina Commedia di Dante* (Rome, 1814), pp. 150-151, § 3. This parallels to some extent the abbreviated statement in the extant Long Greek text of Paul C. Tischendorf, *Apocalypses apocryphae* (Leipzig, 1866), p. 57. The ninth-century Vision of Wettin (Migne, *Patr. lat.*, cv, 773-774, cf. the verse rendering by Walafrid Strabo, Migne, *Patr. lat.*, cxiv, 1070 D) speaks of unchaste priests and their female partners in sin as immersed to the genitalia, but the principle of *graduation* does not occur.

⁴ Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum*, iv, cap. 33 (Migne, LXXI, 296).

⁵ Ed. Duemmler, *Epistolae merovingiorum et karolini aevi* (Mon. Ger. hist., Epistolarum tomus III), I, 254.

⁶ The same, p. 404.

⁷ See, for example, John Colgan, *Trias thaumaturga* (Louvain, 1647), p. 277, Migne, *Patr. lat.*, CLXXX, 994, T. Atkinson Jenkins, *The Espurgatoire Saint Patrice of Marve de France* (printed from vol. VII, The Decennial Publications, University of Chicago, 1903), pp. 41-42, and C. M. van der Zanden, *Étude sur le Purgatoire de Saint Patrice* (Amsterdam, 1928), pp. 113 and 168.

⁸ Hariulf, *Chronicon centulense* [XI-XII c.], III, cap. 21 (ed. Ferdinand Lot, Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire, Paris, 1894, pp. 145-146). For the date of the Vision see pp. xxviii-xxix. Cf. the edition of Zur-Lauben from a separate text of the vision in

It is further to be observed that, beyond the limits of this single passage, the Vision generally contains just that union of apocalyp-
tics with contemporary allusion to men and events which would
have made it particularly attractive to Dante, whose own poem
exhibits a similar combination.

That the Italian poet could easily have known this work is prob-
able from its wide currency during his age. The twenty or more
extant codices in which it appears as an independent piece date
from the tenth to the fifteenth century, and, if numbers are any
evidence, indicate a special popularity during the eleventh, the
thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁹ In addition the Vision was
incorporated in several well-known historical works. From the
Chronicon of Hariulf, which seems to have been the first to use it
in this fashion, it was taken over by the *De gestis regum Anglorum*
of William of Malmesbury,¹⁰ and by this means it passed into
several of the great universal histories, e. g. Helinandus, *Chroni-
con*, XLVI, under the year 888,¹¹ and Vincent of Beauvais, *Specu-
lum historeale*, XXIV, capp 49-50.¹²

If the testimony of a single passage is not proof conclusive of
either knowledge or debt, it should at least influence the future
historian of the popular vision literature in its connection with
Dante to scrutinize more carefully than has been done in the past
the pages of the Vision of Charles the Fat.

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THEODORE SILVERSTEIN

an early twelfth-century manuscript, with variants from other sources
"Vision de l'empereur Charles-le-Gras, Roi de France & d'Italie," *Histoire
de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, XXXVI (1774),
215-216

⁹ See René Poupardin, *Le royaume de Provence sous les Carolingiens*
(Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Sciences philologiques et his-
toriques, fasc 131, Paris, 1901), Appendice VI, "La *Visio Karoli Crassi*,"
p 324 and nn 2-9, and p 325 and nn 1-9. Cf Zur-Lauben, in *Histoire de
l'Académie*, XXXVI, especially p 209 and nn g and h, and pp 210-211 and
notes; and Wilhelm Levison, "Zur Textgeschichte der Vision Kaiser
Karls III.," *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichts-
kunde*, XXVII (1901), 502, n 6, et passim

¹⁰ II, § 111 (ed William Stubbs, *Rerum britannicarum medi aevi scrip-
tores*, XC [1887], I, 112-116). For William's debt to Hariulf, see Stubbs,
I, 112, n 6

¹¹ Migne, *Patr lat*, CXXII, 875-878

¹² *Bibliotheca mundi seu Speculi maioris tomus quartus* (Douai,
1624), pp 979-980

JEAN LEMAIRE, DU BELLAY, AND THE SECOND
GEORGIC

In composing his Second Georgic, which instructs the husbandman in the cultivation of vines and trees, Vergil warns his pupil against planting wild olive trees as supports for his vines,¹ since the risk of a disastrous fire is enhanced by the inflammability which characterizes trees of that species. The poet passes in characteristic style to a condensed but vivid description of the conflagration which may well arise (vv 303 sqq.)

nam saepe incautis pastoribus excidit ignis,
qui furtim pingui primum sub cortice tectus
robora comprehendit, frondesque elapsus in altas
ingentem caelo sonitum dedit, inde secutus
per ramos victor perque alta cacumina regnat,
et totum involvit flammis nemus et ruit atram
ad caelum picea crassus caligine nubem,
praesertim si tempestas a vertice silvis
incubuit, glomeratque ferens incendia ventus

Jean Lemaire de Belges, whose *Illustrations de Gaule et singularitez de Troye* makes the double contribution to the French Renaissance of following Homer rather than Dares and Dictys and of serving as model to Ronsard's ill-fated *Franciade*, borrows and adapts the picture of the blazing vineyard. In I, xxv of the work² he uses it to illustrate the sudden passion of Paris Alexandre for the nymph Pegasis Enone, and the rapidity of his progress to the "cinquesme point d'amours"

Car ainsi comme il aduient aucunesfois que les pastoureux des champs par inaduertance ont laissé un charbon de feu entre les seiches fougieres, et il suruient aucun impetueux vent chaud et meridional, qui allume les festuz et fueillettes gisans alentour, tantost la flambe esparse prenant vigueur, surprenent ce qui luy est voisin, et ne cesse de forsener parmi les bruyeres iusques à ce quelle ayt tout mis en cendre

The debt of Lemaire to Vergil is clear, if only in the ascription

¹ The poet may rather be dissuading the planter of an olive orchard from *grafting* scions of the domestic tree upon wild olive stock. For a summary of the issue—which is not in point here—see the note to v 302 of *Georg II* in Papillon's *Virgil* (II, 71 of the 1882 edition), whose text is basically Ribbeck's and is used here.

² *Illustrations de Gaule, & singularitez de Troye*, in *Œuvres de Jean Lemaire de Belges*, ed Stécher, Louvain, 1882, p 183

of responsibility for the fire to the "incautus pastoribus" in the Latin and in the French to the "pastoureaux" who "par inaduer-tance" have allowed their fire to spread under an "impetueux vent"—the "tempestas" of Vergil

Some fifty years after Jean Lemaire's composition, Joachim du Bellay used in Sonnet XIII of his *Amours* (addressed, I conjecture, to Diane de France, duchesse de Montmorency)³ the same figure of speech as Lemaire, and for a kindred purpose—to draw the comparison between the devouring flame in the fields and the devouring passion which endangered the poet's heart

Comme souvent des prochaines fougères
Le feu s'attache aux buissons, & souvent
Jusques aux bledz, par la fureur du vent,
Pousse le cours de ces flammes légères

Et comme encor' ces flammes passagères
Par tout le bois traînent, en se suivant,
Le feu qu'au pied d'un chesne au paravant
Avoient laissé les peu cautes bergeres

Ainsi l'amour d'un tel commencement
Prend bien souvent un grand accroissement
Il vault donc mieulx ma plume icy contraindre,

Que d'imiter un homme sans raison,
Qui se jouant de sa propre maison,
Y met un feu qui ne se peut esteindre

Chamard⁴ points out that this is a reminiscence from the Georgic, and Du Bellay's use of so literal a version as "peu cautes bergeres" for the idea expressed in Vergil's "incautus pastoribus" shows clearly that he had the Latin passage in mind. Du Bellay's lines, however, seem to owe more to Lemaire than to Vergil, for like Lemaire and unlike Vergil, he uses the description as a symbol of love, makes the fire start in dry bracken, and makes the wind *immediately* catch up and spread the flame. Moreover, whereas Vergil confines the description to a fire raging among trees, Lemaire conceives of it as burning in opener ground, among "fougieres," "festuz," "fueillettes," and "bruyeres," while Du Bellay, though his image is not clearly conceived as either Vergil's or Lemaire's,

³ V. "Considerations on *Les Amours de J. Du Bellay*," *MP*, xxxiii (1935), 129 sqq.

⁴ V. not ad loc, p. 242 of Vol. II, 11 of the *Œuvres poétiques*, republished 1934 by the Société des textes français modernes

evidently lets his fire range more widely than does either of them, since it consumes "fougeres," "buissons," "bledz," and "bois." His "chesne," I incline to think, represents "robora" in the Latin (*robur* regularly meaning "oak," albeit the tree in question in the Georgic is either the wild or the domestic olive).

It may be observed that Du Bellay allows himself to reintroduce the fire-simile at the end of his sonnet, where he compares himself to a madman who sets his own house alight. The effect of this reintroduction and shift in use is a disunification of tone in the sonnet as a whole, and indeed the *Amours* in general, composed as it was in the late period of its author's deafness and discouragement, falls well below the level of his earlier collections both in inspiration and in construction. This sonnet is the only one of the sequence in which Du Bellay has returned fully to his precepts of the *Deffence* and illustrative practice as in the *Olive*, and has enriched his verse with the picturesque concepts and terms of specific earlier works. It is touching that in a poem which may well be one of his last, Du Bellay's sole revival of his youthful technique should associate with the Roman master Vergil a poet in the French tongue whose aims and practices so commanded the respect of the Pléiade—Jean Lemaire de Belges.

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A NOTE ON RONSARD'S *EPITAFÉ DE FRANÇOIS RABELAIS*

During the past century almost a score of critics have entered into the discussion as to whether the *Epitafe de François Rabelais* indicates Ronsard's admiration for Rabelais or his hostility to him. Conspicuous among those who hold the former view is M. Paul Laumonier, who concludes that the *Epitafe* is "bien moins une preuve de malveillance ou de grossièreté, que l'expression d'une admiration personnelle, essayant de se traduire dans le style même de Gargantua."¹ On the other hand M. Abel Lefranc and many

¹ "L'Épitaphe de Rabelais par Ronsard," *RER*, I (1903), 205-216. See also his critical edition of the *Œuvres Complètes de Ronsard*, VI, 20-23, and his article in the *Revue de la Renaissance* (1902, p. 15), where he charac-

others believe that Ronsard's verses were inspired "par une fantaisie fâcheuse et rancunière"² Since Rabelais is not mentioned elsewhere in the works of Ronsard, and since it is difficult to know how the two authors felt toward each other, scholars of both groups have frequently resorted to evidence of a highly circumstantial nature. But, curiously enough, all of them seem to have overlooked a passage in the *Épître* itself which has an important bearing upon their discussion.

In lines 37-43 of the *Épître*, Ronsard refers to Rabelais' works as follows:

Il chantoit la grande massue,
Et la jument de Gargantue,
Son fils Panurge, & les pais

terizes the epitaph as "un badinage dénué de toute acrimonie et une expression de la sympathie que dut ressentir pour l'auteur de *Gargantua* notre poète épicurien et gaulois." J-J Jusserand considers the epitaph "moins hostile qu'on ne prétend" (*Ronsard*, Paris, Hachette, p. 74). Pierre Villey completely agrees with M. Laumonier and says that "c'est bien un hommage que je vois pour ma part dans la charmante épithame qu'au lendemain de sa mort Ronsard lui consacra" (*Marot et Rabelais*, pp. 328-331). Likewise in agreement with M. Laumonier are Hugues Vaganay ("La Mort de Rabelais et Ronsard," *RER*, I, 1903, 143-150), Sainte-Beuve (*Tableau de la poésie française au seizième siècle*, éd. Charpentier, p. 52, n. 2), and Marty-Laveaux in his *Notice on Ronsard* (*Œuvres*, I, xix ff.).

² "Remarques sur la date et sur quelques circonstances de la mort de Rabelais," *RER*, I (1903), 59-65. M. Jacques Boulenger writes "J'admets que ce ne soit pas de l'antipathie, mais à coup sûr ce n'est pas de l'admiration que Ronsard témoigne pour l'homme à la 'grande gueule'." (*Rabelais à travers les âges*, pp. 11-19). Lazare Sainéan remarks that when one considers that these verses were composed only a few months after Rabelais' death, "on ne peut se défendre d'un sentiment pénible. Si ce n'est de la rancune, c'est au moins du mépris, mêlé peut-être d'une pointe d'envie, humaine faiblesse dont les grands poètes ne sont pas exempts, bien au contraire." (*L'influence et la réputation de Rabelais*, pp. 3-7). M. Henri Chamard considers the *Épître* "aussi fausse que grossière" (*Joachim du Bellay*, pp. 66-69). M. Jean Plattard agrees with the point of view of M. Boulenger (*RSS*, VIII, 1921, 147-151). Miss Margaret de Schweinitz (*Les Épitaphes de Ronsard*, pp. 15-17) also sides with this group. The earliest interpretation of Ronsard's epitaph as an expression of his hostility to Rabelais is that of Jean Bernier (*Jugements sur les Œuvres de Rabelais*, Paris, 1697). Pierre Bayle repeated his statement in the *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique*, under the name of Ronsard. The same point of view is found in Michelet, *Histoire de France*, éd. Lemerre, 1885, XI, 131.

Des Papimanes ébaïs
Et chantoit les Iles Hieres
Et frere Jan des automnières,
Et d'Episteme les combas ³

It is not easy to understand why Ronsard should have written *son fils Panurge*, but several explanations present themselves. He may really have thought Panurge to be the son of Gargantua. Or he may have been thinking of Pantagruel and his confusion may have resulted from the fact that the two names have the first syllable in common. Also, he may have had in mind the idea of a "spiritual son," but even so he would have had slight justification, since Panurge is always associated with Pantagruel rather than Gargantua.⁴ It is evident that at some time between 1554 and 1560 Ronsard became aware that *son fils Panurge* was incorrect. In the 1560 edition he has altered the line to read *le grand Panurge*.⁵ Of all the adjectives which might be used to characterize Panurge, *grand* seems to be the least appropriate, unless Ronsard meant to be ironical. It can not aptly be applied to him in any conceivable way, so that it is not probable that this change resulted from more thorough reading of Rabelais during the intervening years. It is more likely that someone had called the first error to his attention and that, in revising the text, he merely used the first adjective which came to his mind, one that would have been appropriate to almost any Rabelaisian character except Panurge.

And what of his reference to the combats of Epistemon? To the student of Rabelais, Epistemon stands for one definite thing,—knowledge. Ronsard might well have spoken of the battles of others, but a thorough acquaintance with Rabelais on his part would never have permitted him to refer to the combats of one of Rabelais' least combative characters.

From these references to Rabelais' works in the *Epitafe*, one can not definitely conclude, to be sure, that Ronsard was hostile to Rabelais. He may possibly have known Rabelais well and have

³ *Œuvres*, éd. Laumonier, VI, 22-23

⁴ Panurge is not mentioned in the *Gargantua*. He enters the story for the first time in *Pantagruel*, ch. IX.

⁵ "L'épithète *grand* appliquée à Panurge au vers 39 ne marque-t-elle pas le succès croissant de l'œuvre de Rabelais?" writes Vaganay (*loc. cit.*). If appropriately used, *grand* might be so understood, but in this case such an interpretation seems fantastic.

been the victim of momentary carelessness, but one is not accustomed to think of Ronsard as a careless poet. It is more probable that his acquaintance with the *Gargantua* and the *Pantagruel* was quite superficial, and it would even have been possible for him to write these lines with the knowledge which could be obtained by hearsay, without ever having read Rabelais. It seems almost certain that he considered himself superior to Rabelais and that Sainéan is right in saying that the epitaph represents "au moins du mépris, mêlé peut-être d'une pointe d'envie." In any case, M. Laumonier's idea that the *Épître* stands as a mark of Ronsard's admiration is untenable, since such an admiration would certainly imply greater accuracy in his analysis of Rabelais' work.

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REVIEWS

Shakespeare-Jahrbuch Edited by WOLFGANG KELLER and HANS HECHT Vols 69, 70 Leipzig, 1933, 1934 M 10, each

Ursprung u. Entwicklung des Monologs bis zu seiner Entfaltung bei Shakespeare By ELISABETH VOLLMANN Bonn. Peter Hanstein, 1934. Pp 9 + 166 (Bonner Studien zur englischen Philologie, Heft 22.)

Zur Zusammenarbeit englischer Berufsdramatiker unmittelbar vor, neben und nach Shakespeare By Dr ALEXANDER TIEGS Breslau Trewendt & Granier, 1933 Pp 144. (Beiträge zur Anglistik, Heft 2.) M 2 50.

Nathaniel Lee Constantine the Great. Text, introduction, notes, by WALTER HAFELE. Heidelberg Carl Winter, 1933. Pp 1 + 166 (Englische Textbibliothek, Heft 20.) M 5 50.

Das amerikanische Kurzschauspiel zwischen 1910 und 1930. By GUSTAV L PLESSOW Halle (Saale) Max Niemeyer, 1933. Pp vii + 269. (Studien zur englischen Philologie, Heft 83.) M 10

Bernard Shaw et la France By MINA MOORE. Paris Honoré Champion, 1933. Pp 220. (Bibliothèque de la Revue de Litt. Comparée, Tome 97.)

Seventeenth Century Studies, by members of the graduate school of the University of Cincinnati Edited by ROBERT SHAFER
Princeton Princeton University Press, 1933 Pp. viii + 335
\$3 50

An Anthology of Elizabethan Dedications and Prefaces Edited by CLARA GEBERT Philadelphia University of Pennsylvania Press, 1933 Pp ix + 302

The Invented Personages in Shakespeare's Plays By BELLE SEDDON MATHESON Philadelphia, 1932 Pp 83.

The Role of the Virgin Mary in the Coventry, York, Chester and Towneley Cycles By BROTHER CORNELIUS LUKE, F S C Washington, D. C The Catholic University of America, 1933. Pp v + 121

Chart of Plays, 1584-1623 Compiled by W P BARRETT, for The Shakespeare Association Cambridge University Press, 1934 Pp 39. \$ 90

Shakespeare as a Critic of Language By GLADYS DOIDGE WILLCOCK London Humphrey Milford, for The Shakespeare Association, 1934 Pp 30 \$ 70

Hamlet By J A CHAPMAN Oxford University Press, 1932 Pp iv + 39 \$.60

The contents of the last two Yearbooks of the German Shakespeare Society suggest a slackening of the energies that have been so eagerly and so scientifically applied to the study of Shakespeare in that country The reprint (1933) of Wilhelm Dilthey's criticism of Freytag's *Technik des Dramas*, which first appeared in 1863, is presented as a memorial to the centenary of Dilthey's birth, yet one cannot help wondering whether the space would have been thus filled if a satisfactory contemporary essay had been available The inclusion in the same volume of Georg Froberg's careful tabulation of performances of Elizabethan plays during the Restoration, a thorough and useful job, raises a similar speculation because the original dissertation was done as long ago as 1922 To see the name of Johannes Schlaf in a *Jahrbuch* arouses anticipations, but they are scarcely satisfied, because his remarks on poetic collaboration, while they give some interesting light on his relations with Arno Holz in the late 1880's, are slight, and of no value to the student of Shakespeare.

There is little in these volumes in the way of historical or linguistic or otherwise scientific research Instead the trend is to philosophy and aesthetics, the direction and tone of which are

set by Max Deutschbein's "Individuum und Kosmos in Shakespeares Werken" (1933) This is a beautifully coordinated and systematized exposition of the author's view of Shakespeare's *Weltanschauung*, which, in accordance with recent German thought on the subject, makes a two-period division. In the first period, to 1599, Shakespeare is a spokesman of the Renaissance, of the confidence that the microcosm of man is a repetition of the noble composition of the macrocosm, "he possesses within him an unfailing and unfaltering 'mettle,' which permits the harmonious exercise of all his powers . . . he is the master of Nature." In the second period, however, which begins with *Julius Caesar* and *Troilus* and is fully expressed in *Hamlet*, the world has completely changed. Harmony no longer exists in heaven or earth, instead demonic forces possess the cosmos, "the earth is no longer the *stella nobilis*, the center of the universe, but the battle ground of supernatural, irrational powers, which seem to strive among themselves for life and death", man becomes the plaything of the gods, not wholly noble as before, but a mixture of good and ill. This is the period which the Germans are now calling the "baroque" And this new *Weltanschauung* is explained, by reasoning which cannot be detailed here, to be essentially Germanic—"Deutschland ist Hamlet!" Or, one is tempted to say, "the wheel has come full circle, we are here"

The 1934 volume contains a survey of "Shakespeare in der deutschen Philosophie," by Max Wundt, a defence by Hans Neuhof of the Shakespearean tragic purpose (again the "baroque") from certain new (German) theories of tragic aesthetics which contend that the poet has misunderstood the nature of tragedy, and an extremely heavy consideration of the *Sonnets* by Friederich Dannenberg which this reviewer confesses he was quite unable to read. More acceptable to the Anglo-American student is Max Deutschbein's excellently argued and supported brief for preferring the speech of Hamlet that begins "What a piece of work is man," as it is arranged in the second Quarto to the arrangement in the Folio.

But whatever objections one can bring, *The Shakespeare Jahrbuch* is always valuable, if for no more than its technical essays on the staging of plays, its bibliographies, and its statistical summaries of German productions

There is certainly no lack of science in Fraulein Vollmann's dissertation on the dramatic monologue, but it is science too literally applied. One might suppose the monologue to be a matter of technique, or a self-evident convenience, but no, it must be grounded in psychology, and hence its justification is sought in the habits of savages and children. No doubt the soliloquies of primitives and of children are psychologically interesting, but we may question the need of a bridge between them and the soliloquies of Hamlet. Fraulein Vollmann is on better ground when she

comes to the analysis of the monologue in relation to the plays and to the character of the times.

Dr Alexander Tiegs has made a study of collaboration during the Elizabethan period which for the first time examines the activity, not as a problem concerning individual plays or dramatists, but as a general practice and matter of business. He finds, in contradiction to some scholars, that collaboration was the Elizabethan norm, promoted chiefly by the need for new plays, and assisted by such motives as inexperience, lack of self-confidence, and the more assured chance of employment that comes from group association. He examines and assigns, where possible, the various methods of collaboration,—whether by division of acts, by division of material (as into serious and comic, or by plots), or by division of characters. He gathers together and lists all instances of collaboration that have been hitherto identified, and discusses the various means of identification. In this connection it is interesting to find him declaring stoutly for the authority of identification by internal analyses, in cases where such proofs are sufficient, as against external evidence.

Walter Hafele's critical edition of Lee's *Constantine* is a sound piece of work. His examination of sources, of dating, of the relation of the play to other English plays (particularly to Otway's *Don Carlos*, from which there is some direct borrowing), of its relation to contemporary politics, and of the authorship of the prologue and epilogue, is thorough and well founded.

Gustav Plessow's study of the one-act play in the United States is also thorough and well founded, but to a degree that, to an American, is nothing short of staggering. We are not accustomed to having our multitudinous stepchildren of the theatre taken so seriously, or wrapped in such thick clouds of German aesthetics. "Konstruktives," "Tektonisches," "Agogik," "Dynamic," "Offenheit," "Geschlossenheit," "Tiefe," reverberate majestically through a long section in which Herr Plessow undertakes to show how, by an aesthetic system of his own invention, the genre of the one-act play can be firmly defined. The present reviewer confesses himself to be completely floored, and leaves this section for those who have the head for it. Insofar as the book is a survey of the history of the one-act plays in America, and a classification and analysis of them, it is admirably informed. Herr Plessow is naturally not aware, or at least unable to take cognizance, of the latest development, the impressive growth of the Farm Bureau play movement, which is opening a new and possibly important chapter in this history.

That an examination of the relations of George Bernard Shaw to France is called for can hardly be disputed, the summons rests upon the frequent Gallicisms in his plays, the French characters and subjects he has treated, his general interest in things French,

but more especially upon the campaign led by M. Hamon to make the French admire Shaw, and their determined resistance. If Shaw is really the twentieth-century Molière, then the indifference of the French public to this resurrection needs explaining. Mina Moore seems to have collected every piece of evidence necessary to the matter, and her conclusion is that Shaw has little to interest France. His ideas are outmoded, or are offensive to the generality of people, his characters are unreal and hence uninteresting, his humor and wit, which carry the plays for so many who speak his own language, vanish in translation. And so he remains a dramatist, so far as France is concerned, to be read rather than heard, and to be valued by a few. As yet he has left no impress on the national mind or on the theatre.

In the American section of this miscellany, the volume of *Seventeenth Century Studies* is the most considerable. This is composed of three long papers written for Professor Robert Shafer by his graduate students, each being engaged with classifying and describing the ideas of an author. The first, on Massinger by B. T. Spencer, and the last, on Samuel Butler by Dan Gibson, Jr., are the best, probably because there is more good meat in their subjects. The third, on John Ford by Mary Cochnover, is tedious, no doubt because, with certain exceptions, the intellect of Ford is tedious. Mr. Gibson alone of the three has anything like a thesis, which gives his study an interest and value above the others. It is to insist that Butler be regarded not merely as the satirist of Puritanism, but as a satirist in the broadest sense, possessing a "deep-seated distrust of man," and "thoroughly rationalistic, cautiously practical, hypercritical in his manner of looking at life," in short much more than the author of *Hudibras*.

The two Pennsylvania theses are both slight. It is convenient to have gathered together the dedications and prefaces which appeared between *Tottel's Miscellany* and the *First Folio*, but Miss Gebert's introduction and notes are superficial. Miss Matheson has discussed all the invented characters in Shakespeare, in order to find out which groups or types he is most successful with, but the discussion is mechanical and the results practically nil. In comparison the representative of the Catholic University of America is much closer to the proper level of graduate research. The objective of Brother Cornelius Luke, to prove that the Virgin in the English cycles is never treated as an independent dramatic personage but always as the Holy Mother of God, may be somewhat lacking in substance, but the work is carried on, as it should be, with a proper knowledge of theological history and with a successful effort to relate the cycles to the stream of doctrinal thought.

The Shakespeare Association has put out, in convenient pamphlet form, a chart of Elizabethan plays, by dates, divided into parallel columns by authors, so that one can see at a glance what

was done in any year Gladys D Willcock writes of Shakespeare as a critic of language, chiefly in the years before 1600, to show how well he was aware of the current theories of rhetoric and how well he kept his critical head J A Chapman, embittered by the failure (financial only, we trust) of a former volume of essays, and deeply pessimistic as to the chances of the Man of Letters in the modern world, has published the first installment of a new volume to test the public receptivity Should this fail, he will never publish more The reviewer is reminded of Peter Pan begging the audience to say they believe in fairies so that Tinker Bell's life may be saved, and feels that, to save Mr Chapman from the sin of despair, he ought to wave his handkerchief and clap loudly. But that is a little hard to do The thoughts here presented on *Hamlet* are marked by originality and deep feeling, but they are fragmentary and none too coherent That Hamlet resisted within himself the command to murder, that Shakespeare was a man pervaded by a deep spiritual peace—these and other ideas are of a surety interesting, but one would like to hear more about them We hope Mr Chapman will gratify us

HAROLD N HILLEBRAND

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The Works of John Milton, Vols XIV-XVII De Doctrina Christiana Edited with the Translation of Charles R Sumner, by JAMES HOLLY HANFORD and WALDO HILARY DUNN New York Columbia University Press, 1931

These new volumes of the Columbia Milton represent the first edition of the *De Doctrina* since Sumner, over a century ago, edited the unique manuscript that had just been discovered in the Old State Paper Office They contain not only the Latin text of Milton's treatise but also Sumner's English translation and notes on that translation and on the Latin text Treating Sumner's edition as an *editio princeps*, Professors Hanford and Dunn, by correcting its errors and by bringing it into closer conformity with the manuscript, have endeavored to reduce the text "to some such consistency as might have been given it if a seventeenth century printer had set it, and Milton with his own eyes corrected the proof" Whether or not the Columbia edition attains this end is perhaps debatable, for of Milton's works printed under such conditions none that I have had opportunity to examine contains such curious pointing and capitalization, but the editors' return to the scribal pointing is undoubtedly wise, for it is well to know the exact reading of the manuscript before one argues concerning the minutiae of Milton's beliefs

The section of the Columbia edition most open to criticism is the notes on the Latin text, for there material is often presented without sufficient clarity. Consider, for example, how cryptic and ambiguous is the following type of note, which may indicate at least four different things. In "[A] *idololatru* [B] *idolatria* SUMNER"¹ (xvii, 136, 10), B represents the MS reading, emended by Sumner to A, which Columbia prints.² In "[A] *magis* [B] *minus* SUMNER" (xvi, 298, 11), B is the reading of the MS and of Sumner, A is an emendation which Sumner suggests in a footnote and which Columbia incorporates in its text. In "[A] *experientia* [B] *experientiae* SUMNER" (xvii, 58, 1-2), A is the reading of the MS, printed by Columbia in preference to B, printed by Sumner. In "[A] *cacorum* [B] *celorum* SUMNER" (xv, 94, 12), B is a reading corrected in the MS to A, which Sumner and Columbia print.³ In these four examples, therefore, only one thing remains constant. A represents, among other things, the reading of Columbia. This confusion is typical. Given then the note "*quisque* [B] *quique* SUMNER" (xvii, 168, 8), is it possible to determine, without actual collation, the readings of Sumner and of the MS?⁴

The notes, besides being ambiguous, are incomplete. To approach a fairly full description of the first 196 pages of the MS, that part recopied by Skinner, at least the following additions seem called for.⁵

xiv, 8, 10 *facio*] MS *facio* 16, 1 *Christiana* should be capitalized 16, 8 *quisquam*] *uam* inserted 18, 8 after *sæcula* a word possibly *saculorum* deleted 18, 10 *de ventura* written as one word separated by a line 18, 19 *secundum*] *seundum* corrected 28, 8 *tota* inserted 42, 23 after *idem* a word blotted or deleted 52, 21 *valeri*] MS *valere* 54, 21 after *probator* a word deleted *renum* inserted 56, 1 after *in* a word possibly *erebris* deleted *latebris* inserted 58, 11-12 after *et*] *Ioan vii* inserted over deletion 60, 14 after 11 a period which MS and standardization require 64, 23 *educere*] MS *educere* 86, 5 *immissurum* v]MS

¹ The letters A and B enclosed in brackets are mine, the bracket separating the Latin words belongs to the note.

² Columbia also indicates the same situation by a second type of note reading, for example "*praesto*] *presto*" (xiv, 112, 13).

³ To indicate this same situation, Columbia may employ the type of note referred to in footnote 2, for instance "*iii 6] vi 3*" (xv, 50, 12), or another type "*gratiae gloriæ* CORRECTED" (xiv, 102, 22). Throughout their notes, the editors have failed to follow a consistent method of presentation.

⁴ Other examples of a lack of clarity are found in the following notes: "AFTER illo die, die REPEATED SUMNER" (xv, 118, 4). It is not clear from this note that we have in the MS a case of diplography, and that both Sumner and Columbia omit the second "die." "benignus] SUMNER PRINTS beatus" (xiv, 56, 20) is misleading. Here, Columbia has rejected the MS reading "beatus," which Sumner prints, for "benignus," an emendation suggested in Sumner's footnotes.

⁵ This list contains, as does Columbia, a number of corrections of misprints found in text.

immissurum v 86, 6 scribi] MS Scribi 88, 10 ac rursum should be italicized 98, 17 contineat] continet corrected 114, 8 after *rogo* several words possibly *sed et pro us* deleted 116, 18 after *Deo*] *est* inserted 126, 10 after *acceptiōne* a word probably *inducat* deleted 130, 10 Christus] MS Christus, 148, 17 *præstant*] *erant* inserted over deletion 154, 7 after tantum a word deleted 154, 8 after definitum a word probably definitum deleted 168, 10 gloriam tribuo should be italicized 176, 8 decreto] decreto corrected *acquiessem*] MS *acquiessem* 176, 10 after mihi a word possibly *clarius* deleted 184, 4 *es*] *est* corrected 200, 4 etiam inserted 208, 16 *sumus*] MS *sumus* 214, 4 *Sermo*] MS *sermo spiritus*] MS *Spiritus* 228, 12 *distinguit*] MS *distinguit* 232, 19 after *misit*] *ipsum* deleted 232, 23 after *facit*] *quod vult* deleted 246, 9 after *ἴα* two letters deleted 246, 10 *δραπέλαι*] MS *δραπέλαι* 262, 12 after mitti a comma deleted 264, 13 v a blotted number corrected 280, 21 note reads *se*] *s* MS agrees with Col reading *se gessit* the *e* is apart from the *s* and joined to the following *g* but joining of words in MS is not unusual 298, 16 *est*] MS *est* 300, 9 after *Quis* a word deleted 304, 15 after *et*] *v* deleted 304, 16 *mea* inserted 306, 14 *esse*] MS *Esse* 308, 14 *separatim*] *separatim* corrected 308, 20 *sint*] *sit* corrected 312, 4 *maxime*] MS *maxime* 320, 9 41] 14 corrected 342, 1 note reads *vi* 14] *xiii* 16, 14 corrected seems rather *xiii* 16 corrected 348, 19 *transgressionem*] *transgressionem* corrected 362, 14 2 inserted 394, 18 *docemur*] several letters deleted and *mur* added 396, 19 *illo* inserted 400, 12 after *unum* a punctuation mark deleted

xv, 4, 6 after *GLORIAM*] *Qua* deleted 12, 13 *parallelo*] MS *Parallelo* 16, 2 *sententia*] *sentia* corrected 16, 12 *innuunt*] *innunt* corrected 20, 21 *impensionem*] MS *Impensionem* 24, 18 after *Paulus*] *u* deleted after Col] *u* inserted 40, 21 *vi* 6] *vi* 7 corrected 42, 1 12] illegible second digit corrected 42, 16 *Hieronymi*] *Hieonymi* corrected 68, 22 *cum*] MS *Cum* 72, 8 *quemquam*] MS *quenquam* the note entered xv, 86, 6 should occur here 72, 11 *hinc*] MS *hinc*, 86, 5 *quæ*] MS *que* 96, 9 after *angeli* a word perhaps *vel* deleted 96, 17 after *potius* a word deleted 104, 5 *vi* 2] MS *vi* 3 The 3 is 1 corrected 122, 6 *non*] MS *Non* 132, 5 *Sed*] MS *sed* 136, 4 after *in*] 2 inserted 136, 20 after *multiplicato* a word perhaps *sibi* deleted 140, 6 *Item*] MS *Idem* 142, 19 *sed*] MS *Sed* 156, 12 *conuenerunt*] MS *conuenerunt* 158, 2-3 after *Christianam*] *obiciunt* deleted 160, 1 after *rem* a comma deleted 160, 8 *si*] MS *Si* 168, 15 *duritiam*] MS *duritiem* 172, 12 *nec*] MS *Nec* 174, 11 after *confitemur* a question mark corrected to a period 178, 7 *sicut*] MS *Sicut* 182, 21 *decimatus*] *decima* corrected 190, 5 after *verum*] *eius* inserted 214, 7-8 *suorum*] MS *suorum* 220, 6 *idem*] MS *idem* 220, 8 *cap*] MS *cap* 226, 4 *Christum*] MS *Christum*, 226, 5 *civitas*] MS *Civitas* 232, 7 *nam*] MS *Nam* 232, 12 *ut*] MS *Ut* 232, 18 after *obdormierint*] *per Iesum* deleted 234, 24 after *discipulis*] *angelus* deleted 256, 20 after *Christus*] *Christus* deleted 260, 3 *carnem*] MS *carnem* 260, 15-16 after *plenitudinem* a punctuation mark deleted 266, 5-11 the scribe intended here either italics or quotation marks 266, 16 *assumat Natura*] MS *assumat natura* 268, 18 *Græca*] MS *græca* 270, 13 *testimonio*] *testimo* corrected 272, 11-17 *Hoc est* a bracket on left margin encloses this paragraph 276, 25 5] 4 corrected 278, 5 *referenda*] MS *referendae* 278, 9 *viii* 58] *viii* 5 8 corrected

Another omission, which is puzzling when one considers the care with which the notes record all alterations made in the Greek, is the editors' failure to note changes made in the Hebrew Collation shows that in general they have regularly departed from the manuscript reading, omitting accent and cantillation marks, point-

ing words unpointed in the manuscript, repointing those incorrectly pointed, or rejecting readings in the manuscript that fail to agree with the passages cited from the Bible. These changes, however, are not always consistent or correct. The editors may retain accent marks (xiv, 278, 8, xv, 16, 3), they may not point (xv, 120, 14), they may retain the manuscript reading in preference to that cited in the Bible (xv, 136, 14). They may repoint incorrectly or insufficiently (xiv, 48, 2, xv, 16, 3), or they may misspell (xiv, 278, 8, xv, 136, 14, and translation, xiv, 247, 8, xv, 137, 19). Thus, after two editions of the *De Doctrina* and Fletcher's description,⁶ there is no complete account of the Hebrew in the manuscript.

In the printing, these volumes are comparable with that dignified, though limited, edition that Sumner prepared for George IV, and the text is, without question, commendable. By rendering Milton's treatise more accessible, and by furnishing a check on Sumner's text, the Columbia edition satisfies a long-felt want, but, unfortunately, other needs have been left unfilled. Mr. Sewall's articles have suggested the importance of the revisions and deletions in the manuscript of the *De Doctrina*, and the textual notes of the Columbia edition, scholars had every right to expect, should have given these data, but because of the failure of the editors to compile this material completely and to present that compilation in a clear and consistent manner, those who wish to know more of these matters must seek the manuscript in England or the rotograph at the Columbia University Library.

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American Plays: Selected and Edited with Critical Introductions and Bibliographies By ALLAN GATES HALLINE (American Literature Series Harry Hayden Clark, General Editor) New York: American Book Company, 1935 Pp viii + 792.

Seventeen plays are introduced and reprinted, beginning with *The Contrast* of Royall Tyler and ending with *The Field God* of Paul Green. "Commentary on the purely dramatic aspects . . . has been subordinated in favor of philosophical interpretation and literary kinship." Few of these pieces are fit for such scrutiny, but the editor is nothing if not tolerant. The puerile *Horizon* of Augustin Daly is "perhaps his most important play, not only be-

⁶ *Milton's Semitic Studies*, Chicago, 1927, pp 70-71. The evidence of the manuscript fails to bear out Fletcher's statement that "the Hebrew is accurate to the point."

cause of its dramatic qualities, but also by reason of its literary recognition of the frontier" The play was produced in 1871! The editor's introduction includes cross-references to Rousseau, Mark Twain, Hamlin Garland, F. J. Turner, and the *Spoon River Anthology*! Even that inane melodrama, Joaquin Miller's *The Danites in the Sierras*, a play its author lived to be ashamed of, is taken seriously "one aspect of the frontier's influence on American literature was an extended and often deepened attention to the nature which formed such an important part of the pioneer's life" And so "the naturalism [*sic*] and emphasis on feeling" link Miller, a reader of Rousseau, firmly with the romantic period during which he wrote" This play was produced in 1877! Langdon Mitchell's *The New York Idea*, an unwittingly farcical attempt at comedy of manners, is "a highly significant event in American dramatic development" and, in the quoted words of the late Montrose J. Moses, "a drama comparable with the very best European models, scintillating with clear, cold brilliancy" According to the editor's appended "Chronological Tables," Ibsen died the year *The New York Idea* was produced Chekhov had died two years before Among the Europeans who were providing models were Strindberg, Maeterlinck, D'Annunzio, Synge, Schnitzler, Hauptmann, Hofmannsthal, Wedekind, Gorky, Andreyev, Evreinov, Molnár, Cúrel, Porto-Riche, Benavente, and Shaw.

An older generation of admirers of the American drama before 1920 (prior, that is, to *The Emperor Jones*) made notoriously unrealistic claims for its merits as drama and as literature The editor of the work before us may be absolved from original aesthetic sin, since he is only following their opinions¹ Contemporary enthusiasts would be well advised to take notice of a new pitfall which has already swallowed, not the brilliant commanders of philology's latest flanking movement, but some of the stalwarts who have obeyed their call to arms for the history of ideas Scholars who pull a solemn face over the profound cultural im-

¹ It is, however, fair to remark that the editor stops his ears against criticism adverse to his plays For example, he cites Edmund Wilson's review (*Dial*, LXXV, 100-101) of Philip Barry's *You and I* Now, with all deference to Mr Barry's subsequent achievements, if there ever was a first play that succeeded in being at once smart-alecky, pretentious, affected, and shallow, it is this one, and Mr Wilson expertly exposed its "silly-clever wit" and its jejune theatricality "Not a convincing attack," adds the editor, an instance of the leniency which seems to be characteristic of the academic critics of American drama On the whole the metropolitan journalists have adopted higher standards It is no province of the universities to create the future O'Neills, Elmer Rices, and Sidney Howards, but collegiate English departments ought to do something toward providing enlightened audiences for them The writer's belief in the importance of this job is responsible for the length of this review If we are to have any effect whatever on the minds and tastes of the next generation we must stop praising, at any rate on aesthetic grounds, examples of bad art, whether they hail from the twentieth century or from the seventeenth

plications of theatrical claptrap are not a whit more convincing than the breast-beating aestheticians "The aim . . . is to give the reader an adequate picture of the development of American drama . . . to define the thought of the plays . . . it will thus be seen that our drama is more closely integrated with our literature as a whole than has been commonly supposed"

I doubt it, even after reading this book from cover to cover, though perhaps I am merely ignorant of the common suppositions of the specialists. The seeds of "thought" per square foot are throughout the vast acreage of these nineteenth- and early twentieth-century plays so scattering as to be almost negligible, and I remain dubious about any "development" at all of American drama as a whole. American poetry, that is to say the peculiarly American strain in our poetry, exhibits at least a discernible progression from Emerson through Whitman to Lindsay, Sandburg, and Masters. A similar statement would hardly hold good for our drama, which to the extent that it is able to show first-rate accomplishment is the result (leaving out of account the recent emergence of several geniuses) of direct and fairly speedy assimilation of post-realistic European subjects and techniques.

To be sure, it is an arguable proposition that Mrs. Mowatt's *Fashion* (1845) is "a part of that feeling for cultural independence which is so trenchantly set forth in Emerson's *The American Scholar*" (1837). But establish the fact, and what of it? It has no real significance, since there is no closer connection between these obviously diverse works than between either or both of them and *The Contrast* (1787), which, "coincidentally enough," as the editor puts it, was written in the very year when "the concept of national unity reached its culmination in the drafting of the Constitution"² Introducing Paulding's *The Bucktails*, "written shortly after the conclusion of the late [second] war with England," the editor observes, "There is little wonder that the nationalism of the play is especially strong." Here he is indeed on solid ground, yet nationalism is especially strong in Booth Tarkington's *The Man from Home* (1907); nor is a nationalist motive peculiar to American drama.

There is, in fact, little standing room for the historian of ideas on an undisputed or easy terrain. It needs no ghost come from the grave to persuade us that in *Superstition* (1824) James Nelson Barker is "reflecting the rationalistic thought current shortly before and partly during the period in which he was writing." The

² The really, if mildly, interesting facts about *The Contrast* are that it seems to be the first American comedy actually staged, that it lamely imitates the schools of both Sheridan and Steele, that it introduces the first (or else the second) of the long line of stage Yankees, and that not till the fourth act does the author, a guileless amateur, get around to staging the first meeting of the lovers whose betrothal brings down the final curtain.

editor's evidence consists of the play's "appeal to reason and knowledge, and such terms as 'age of light' and 'abstract points in science'" In other words, the dour Ravensworth of the play believes in witchcraft, and the enlightened author did not. But whoever thought he did? Had the man bitten the dog, had Barker or any other civilized Philadelphian of the time written a play to advocate reverting to the credulity of the Mathers, that would be news

The cult of ideological historiography is not going to be much advanced by this sort of thing. The only claim of most of these plays to any attention at all is that they did have their hour on the stage.³ Examination of the sorry specimens from Tyler and Dunlap to Bronson Howard, Clyde Fitch, Augustus Thomas, David Belasco, and Owen Davis⁴ might, it is true, have some slight value as an index to such well-known phenomena as the cultural lag, the survival of Puritanism, American vulgarization of the fine arts, and the persistence of rhetorical romanticism long after realism had captured several branches of our literature. But it would be going a long way round to work

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Diderot Supplément au voyage de Bougainville, publié d'après le manuscrit de Léninegrad, avec une introduction et des notes (Contribution à l'histoire du primitivisme) Par GILBERT CHINARD. Paris E Droz, Baltimore The Johns Hopkins Press 1935 Pp 211

As the title indicates, the publication of this curious and masterly dialogue is of manifold importance. The text itself is a valuable document, the introduction and notes a significant chapter, in the history of primitivism. Professor Chinard has supplied a French counterpart to Miss Lois Whitney's *Primitivism and the Idea of Progress in English Popular Literature of the Eighteenth Century*, and made a substantial contribution to the community project now being published by The Johns Hopkins Press. He has also published for the first time the variant text of the Leningrad manuscript, discovered by J. Victor Johansson (*Etudes sur Denis Diderot*, Goteborg, 1927), containing Benjamin

³ It should however be noticed that the editor has reprinted one master piece, Eugene O'Neill's profound and beautiful *The Great God Brown*. With this exception, to which should probably be added Paul Green's *The Field God*, a sincere if not very exciting local-color play, the best of the recent dramatists go unrepresented.

⁴ Not all these playwrights are represented in *American Plays*.

Franklin's now famous canard, "The Speech of Miss Polly Baker" This text, together with the variants of the printed editions and the notes full of suggestions of the sources and later developments of Diderot's ideas, forms what M. Chinard perhaps too modestly refuses to call a critical edition. And finally he has reopened certain interesting problems in the history of eighteenth century French thought, especially in regard to Diderot's influence on Rousseau's *Discourse on Inequality*

The most baffling problem presented by this document is to decide upon the author's intention. Was Diderot, the apologist of strong passions, suffering from nostalgia for a less complicated society and seeking an aesthetic escape? Pierre Heimand, in his *Les idées morales de Diderot*, stresses this aspect. Or was he merely using the customs of Tahiti to satirize French society? All critics agree, I believe, that he was delighted in this opportunity to castigate again monkish celibacy, the prevailing ethics of sex and marriage, also, less seriously here perhaps than Rousseau, the capitalism and imperialism of modern societies. Or was Diderot seriously seeking to salvage for future societies some of the more primitive values suggested by Bougainville's account of Tahiti? Mr C, taking his lead from the subtitle *Sur l'inconvénient d'attacher des idées morales à certaines actions physiques qui n'en comportent pas*, has stressed this aspect, and has done so convincingly. He has attached the *Supplément* to Diderot's contemporaneous works, to Buffon's theory of physical love, and to Rousseau's *Discourse on Inequality*, and in his introduction and notes he has traced the history of this conception of love from Diogenes to Maupassant and D. H. Lawrence. Diderot, with his trust in the Law of Nature, his ethics based on the identity of man's organs and needs, is thus seen to be much more truly primitivistic than Rousseau, and Rousseau was never more primitivistic, more biological, than in his second discourse, where, by his own confession, he was most deeply subjected to Diderot's influence.

Rousseau praised, after Montaigne, the happy state of the Caribbees, and bemoaned the progression of the Iroquois towards the Hobbesian state of war. When the happy Tahitians were discovered, he was no longer in the combat, and it was left to Diderot to take up the theme that he had in all probability originally suggested.

The text of the Leningrad manuscript, itself apparently more primitive than the previously printed texts, is of special importance because it alone includes Polly Baker's "Plea for Bastards." Thus Franklin's joke not only helps to support Mr C's thesis, but links the document in a measure to the series of works that he has so successfully pursued on the subject of American exoticism in French literature. I regret that he did not follow up a clumsily

worded reference in my *Voltaire and the English Deists* (p 187) to a reproduction of the speech in Peter Annet's *Social Bliss*, in 1749. It seems very possible that this was the textual source of Raynal's and Diderot's versions, and perhaps of some of their ideas. For d'Holbach possessed several of Annet's works, as the published catalogue of his books indicates, and it was in his library that many of the advanced ideas of the age were developed.

The wealth of material in the introduction and notes, suggesting possible sources, literary allusions, and probable influences, testifies to Mr C's exceptional command of his subject. Amidst such riches, only a carping reviewer would point out the omission of the parallel between Diderot's lyrical passage on change and flux in nature, as contrasted with man's vows of marital constancy, and several of the more striking stanzas of Musset's poem, "Souvenir." Mr C criticises rather severely Diderot's unprimitivistic affirmation of the possibility of making man good through legislation, and believes that modern democracies are suffering from this attractive and dangerous doctrine (p 64). But even Prohibition had its Repeal, and besides, Diderot insisted on *good* laws, seeing, I believe, a very true relationship between these and man's happiness in society. And can it be the fault of poor Democracy? "Méfiez-vous," wrote Diderot in the *Supplément* (p 193), "de celui qui vient mettre de l'ordre, ordonner, c'est toujours se rendre le maître des autres en les gênant."

It is indeed good news that Mr C will continue the theme of primitivism and exoticism down to the present time, and thus complement his long list of distinguished publications in that field.

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Chateaubriand, Les Natchez, publiés avec une Introduction et des Notes par GILBERT CHINARD, avec l'assistance de Chandler B. Beall, Charles R. Hart, Meta H. Miller, Louis H. Naylor, et J. Van Ness Smead. Paris: Droz, 1932. Pp. 557.

French scholars of the present generation have a singularly definite ideal of what constitutes a good edition, and Professor Chinard's edition of *Les Natchez* may best be described as possessing in a high degree the merits which that ideal requires. One is at first inclined to regret that so much diligence and learning should have been squandered on editing a book of such questionable value. *Les Natchez* is conspicuously a youthful production. The description of savage life is confused and conventional. The author relied upon authorities who were for the most part untrust-

worthy, and some of whom are, in Macaulay's phrase, "liars by a double right, as travellers and as Jesuits" Chateaubriand himself viewed all things through his imagination, and there is no reason to believe that a longer sojourn in the New World would have contributed materially to the accuracy of his account. His romance is of a type which was already passing out of vogue when he wrote, and was archaic by the time the book appeared. Thus, if anyone undertakes to re-read *Les Natchez*, it must be either for the sake of the style (as confused and wavering as the narrative), or because he has a strong interest in literary archeology.

If, however, we actually have any occasion to read the book, the necessity for editorial aid is at once apparent, and we are very grateful for it. Confronted by the text alone we do not know what to make of it, or from what angle to approach it. Professor Chinard's introduction and notes make the pleasure of *understanding* the book much greater than any pleasure we are likely to draw from *perusing* it. The section on "Le Style des Natchez" (pp 84-96) is particularly helpful. Like the poetry of Racine, the magic of Chateaubriand's style is peculiarly elusive for foreigners. Professor Chinard's illustrations of it seem to me very convincing, although I was unable to verify his sanguine statement that "Bien des pages des *Natchez* réservent des découvertes semblables." Hidden away in an appendix (p 523) there is a further note on style that deserves fuller treatment. After noting that Chateaubriand's punctuation is in some places more English than French, Professor Chinard goes on to say:

En d'autres cas, on constatera que Chateaubriand a ponctué, non selon les règles ordinaires, mais selon le rythme de la phrase, pour indiquer des repos ou des sortes d'accents oratoires, comme s'il avait lu son texte à haute voix. Je me permets d'attirer sur ce point l'attention des spécialistes. Nulle étude du rythme de Chateaubriand ne saurait être faite d'après les éditions modernes, alors que l'édition originale peut fournir les plus précieuses indications sur la façon dont Chateaubriand coupait et lisait ses phrases.

Professor Chinard suggests (p. 99) that we have no better clue to the inner life of Chateaubriand before 1802 than the tangled narratives and confused reflections of *Les Natchez*. This consideration alone seems to me important enough to justify the thoroughness with which he has prepared his edition. He would not, of course, maintain that it is a *safe* clue—that the Chateaubriand who appears here is the real Chateaubriand. Still, we may learn a great deal about such a *Problematische Natur* by studying the ways in which he has chosen to imagine and to dramatize himself. It is to be hoped that Professor Chinard's suggestion may stimulate some scholar to re-interpret the character of Chateaubriand. It remains one of the most obscure problems in literary history.

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FREDERICK ANDERSON

L'Œuvre de Jean Renart Par RITA LEJEUNE-DEHOUSSE Liège et Paris Droz, 1935 Pp 470 (Bibl de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Univ de Liège, LXI)

Jean Renart and His Writings. By P H BEEKMAN, Doctor of the Columbia University N Y [sic?]. Paris Droz, 1935. Pp. 147.

The monograph of Mlle Lejeune-Dehousse is a richly rewarding book for students of medieval narrative and its technique. Many of her views can not fail to rouse new discussion in connection with one of the most interesting successors of Chrétien de Troyes. She divides her treatment into two parts. In the first (pp 15-261) she studies in turn the three works which she recognizes as the authentic production of Jean Renart: the *Roman de la Rose* ou de *Guillaume de Dole*, the *Escoufle*, and the *Lai de l'Ombre*. In respect to each she discusses the literary themes and their possible sources, the author's method of presenting his characters, the dating as far as it may be determined from the allusions to historical persons or events, and the geographical and literary knowledge which Jean Renart displays. In the second part (pp 263-375) she makes a synthetic study of his language, style, and individual conception of the *roman*, concluding with a résumé of what his work tells us of his life and personality, together with remarks on his literary influence. In an appendix she edits, with notes and glossary, the two poems *Du Plais Renart de Dammartin contre Varron, son roncun*, and *De Renart et de Pseudoué*, which she qualifies as "mimes" and attributes to Jean Renart himself. A second appendix lists all the verbal similarities which scholars have noted as existing between the *Rose*, the *Escoufle*, and the *Lai*.

Foremost among the points which she makes is that Jean Renart is not the author of *Galeran de Bretagne*. She compares the work with the two *romans* and the *lai* from the linguistic and stylistic point of view, and in all cases finds justification for refusing to accept *Galeran* in the canon of Jean Renart's work. M L Foulet, in his edition of *Galeran* (Cfma, 37), had noted several individual peculiarities of its language and versification which seem to her more conclusive than the more general resemblances it shows to Jean Renart's works. Its unmistakable connection with the *Escoufle* she explains as borrowings by the author of *Galeran*. Finally, she contrasts the mentality of the two authors and says of Jean Renart "[il] observe et suggère c'est un réaliste et un sensible," and of the author of *Galeran* "[il] énumère et commente c'est un théoricien raisonneur." On the other hand, she suggests the possibility of identifying Jean Renart with the "Jehan" of the fabliau *Auberée*, and lists similarities between *Auberée* and Jean Renart's poems. This identification, however, is not part of her main thesis.

Mlle L-D devotes much care to an accurate dating of Jean Renart's works and reaches the following conclusions: *Esconfie* 1200-02, *Rose* 1212-13, *Lai* 1221-22, *Plaint* and *Renart et Prandouze* 1235-50. She uses these dates as a basis for her treatment of Jean Renart's life, to which she assigns a period approximately between 1170-80 and 1250.

One of the most interesting sections of her work is that in which she studies R's original contributions to the *roman*. She shows him to have discarded the "merveilleux" and the common rhetorical devices of the schools in favor of a realism extending even to the choice of names for his characters—a realism which in its irony and lack of moral fervor links R in spirit to the authors of the *fabliaux*. Instead of type characters he gives us a series of individuals, depicting them less through the medium of direct narration or psychological monologue than by showing their minds in action by means of dialogue. Naturally all these points suggest a comparison with Chrétien, and in concluding her remarks on the literary influence of R she well sums up the difference between the two writers. The influence of Chrétien "fut immédiate et décisive parce qu'il sut admirablement pénétrer et dominer l'esprit de son temps," while Jean Renart "resta longtemps, non pas un inconnu, mais un méconnu, parce qu'il fut, dans toute la force du terme, un novateur—un dissident de génie."

We must be grateful to Mlle L-D for having collected in one volume the results of the research of which Jean Renart has been the subject, and for having added new and suggestive material of her own. Naturally, all of her conclusions are not equally weighty, and in her effort to extract the last trace of significant information from her material she admits some tenuous evidence. An extreme example of this can be found in her discussion of R's life. Quoting the *Lai de l'Ombre* (ll 28-9):

Amis muert et on est tost mis
Fors de l'avoir

she says: "Il fait allusion à une perte d'argent qu'il aurait subie et à la mort d'un ami," and then seeks to identify the friend who has died. In general, however, her main points are well taken and are substantiated by enough testimony to give them a high degree of probability.

Miss Beekman's thesis also studies the work of Jean Renart in its relation to the literary development of the thirteenth century, and points out his original contribution and his personality as shown in his writings. In a note to her introduction (p 15, n 1) she suggests doubt as to the authorship of *Galeran*, and in an appendix (pp 134-39) she gives as her opinion that *Galeran* is not by Jean Renart. In the main part of her book, however, she accepts the work on an equal footing with the *Rose*,

the *Escoufle*, and the *Lai*, and derives from it the principal support for some of her arguments—particularly for the *courtois* element in Jean Renart. Such unscientific procedure naturally renders her findings of dubious value. The style is throughout diffuse and repetitious, and in addition the errors in proof-reading reach a total unparalleled in my experience. It is regrettable that American scholarship should run the danger of being made ridiculous by works which show lamentable ignorance of the principles of true scholarship, lack of adequate background and training, and carelessness of expression. If this danger were not grave, I should have preferred to ignore Miss Beekman's well-intentioned study.

BATEMAN EDWARDS

Princeton University

Syntaxe du français moderne, ses fondements historiques et psychologiques. Par GEORGES LE BIDOIS et ROBERT LE BIDOIS.
Tome I. Prolégomènes—les articles—les pronoms. Théorie générale du verbe. Les temps. Les modes. Paris: Picard, 1935. Pp. xvi + 546.

Works on French syntax have never been more numerous than in the last few years. Although, at least since the days of Tobler, syntactic phenomena have been studied more and more extensively, new and original interpretations of the modern tongue have appeared since the publication of M. Brunot's *La Pensée et la Langue*. As the movement originated among philologists, the historical method had been prevalent up to that time. It is therefore natural that, as a reaction, French syntax should now be interpreted according to the very precept of the great historian of the French language, in function of the actual present thought of the modern French speaker which this syntax must serve. This work by MM. Le Bidois belongs essentially to this latter class. It is an attempt to present the phenomena in their complexity and to analyze and explain them psychologically. The presentation, as far as the ground covered by the authors is concerned, seems to be quite complete. Great care is taken to mention the newest uses and to determine thus the trend of the evolution of the language in numerous cases, if not in its ensemble. Not only do the authors present and explain the facts of French syntax, but they often judge and weigh them. In controversial cases they indicate what in their opinion is the normal or better usage. They also point out popular uses which should be avoided. The book should therefore have a great practical value, especially for teachers of French in foreign countries, who in difficult cases feel the need of an authoritative statement based on a thorough discussion of the mooted point.

The reading of the work is agreeable the authors have known how to bring out the interest of the fascinating subject that French syntax can be when interpreted in function of the mind that produces it Their style is personal, lively, often pointed For instance, to indicate that the use of *en* before a masculine noun of country is not advisable in spite of some great authorities, they quote Voltaire "On plaint ce pauvre genre humain qui s'égoïge dans notre continent à propos de quelques arpens de glace en Canada" (Corresp. 27 mars 1757) with the comment "Cette malencontreuse phrase à tous égards si regrettable, n'a rien apparemment pour autoriser le tour" The paragraphs (150, 151) where the partitive in the expressions *du beau drap*, *de beau drap* is discussed, (208,) on the choice between *c'est* et *ce sont* followed by a noun in the plural (224, 225), on the omission or the repetition of the pronoun subject—compare "Il le commande, le boit, le paye" (A. Hermant, *Train de Luxe* 48) and "Il dit cela puis il pencha la tête sur le côté, il ouvrit la bouche peu à peu et il mourut sans faire d'histoire" (Duhamel, *Civilisation* 23)—, are quite remarkable by their excellence See also in paragraph 409 their interesting discussion of *rien moins* which tends to be used only negatively, and *rien de moins*, which tends to have only a positive meaning Many others exhibit an equal penetration and feeling for the language The book abounds also in well selected examples which will enable the reader to form a judgment not only about normal French usage, but also about the vagaries, curious and often incorrect, of various French writers

However, the work so far is more of an elegant reference book for practical purposes than a synthetic picture of French syntax The organic system of concepts out of which a philosophical view of the whole may be constructed is not yet apparent. The authors, intent on giving the present state of the language and shunning what is now called "historicity," have, however, felt that a retrospective glance at the origins was imperative, but the historical paragraphs are usually more or less perfunctory. They do not connect intimately with the others Their authorities are not always up to date. Somewhat arbitrarily, and according to their information, the authors will see the origin of the indefinite article in a sentence of Cicero, but the origin of the partitive will be put in the French period An uncertain background is thus created at times It might have been better to have recognized that no adequate understanding of the present is possible without comprehension of the past. A language is inherited: it may be bent and fashioned for new needs, but the material is the creation of the ancestors, and it is precisely the change between the past and the present that indicates the particular action, and therefore the particular linguistic nature of the generation making the change The historical paragraphs in a complete and illuminating picture of the

language must not be separate but should form an intimate part of it, and it is absolutely imperative, if the work is to be at all historical, that for every syntactical phenomenon the point of departure whether, Latin, pre-Romance, or French, should be as far as possible clearly set and the reason or conditions of the change indicated. A pointed comparison with other related languages might even complete the exposé without unduly increasing the bulk of the volume. But these remarks must only be construed as pointing towards a goal to be attained, not as criticism of a really remarkable study.

H F MULLER

Columbia University

Voltaire as an Historian of Seventeenth-Century French Drama.

By ROBERT LOWENSTEIN. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1935. Pp 195. (The Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages, xxv.)

Mr Lowenstein has abundantly and with scholarly acumen proved his thesis, namely, that Voltaire is of little value as literary historian of the seventeenth-century drama. For purposes of comparison he has enjoyed the great advantage of Professor H C Lancaster's incomparable contributions to the history of that period, and he has proceeded methodically in the analysis of Voltaire's use of sources and pronouncements derived from those sources. No one who has had the misfortune to be misled by Faguet's unqualified praise of Voltaire's historical accuracy will be able again to consider him an authoritative literary historian. Mr L. should be commended for his use of primary rather than secondary sources. Perrochon's *Voltaire juge des classiques* is referred to very rarely, and Vial et Denise not at all. On the other hand, Mr L. has been far from satisfied with Voltaire's correspondence as collected in the Moland edition, and has made abundant use, among other more recently published primary materials, of the valuable but scattered contributions made by F. Caussy.

It was both fortunate and inevitable that Mr L. should be forced into a treatment much broader than his title would indicate. He has indeed patiently tracked down Voltaire's sources, and has shown how even inadequate materials were often mishandled. In his conclusions, however, he shows that "as a literary historian he (Voltaire) never attained the heights he reached in other fields."

Literary history he held in too low esteem to attempt a like achievement. Voltaire's critical preconceptions were much too strong. Mr. L. was thus forced to treat Voltaire as critic and judge of the seventeenth-century drama, and his findings here

form a valuable part of his work. For example, he has convincingly refuted the charge that Voltaire tried to belittle Corneille from motives of petty personal jealousy, the author of *Polyeucte* had simply been born too early in the century. Yet a certain degree of confusion arises from this double treatment. Mr. L prepares us for the comment on Racine by stating "He is almost entirely the literary critic, rarely the historian, in his approach to him." No such warning is offered, however, with the similarly introductory statement that "Quinault fared exceptionally well at the hands of Voltaire," where the critic is meant, and not the historian.

Whatever changes and contributions Voltaire made to the writing of history, he certainly did not invent "scientific" history, which was a child of the nineteenth century. For this reason another confusion arises, not of course in Mr. L's mind, but in the minds of his readers. We wonder at times whether he is not proving that Voltaire was not so accurate an historian of French seventeenth-century drama as a twentieth-century scholar should be. If Mr. L had treated Voltaire solely as literary historian, he would have written a more unified thesis, and a less interesting and valuable work.

NORMAN L. TORREY

Swarthmore College

Tite, tragi-comédie de Jean Magnon (1660) Edited by HERMAN BELL. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1936. Pp. 139. \$1.25 (Johns Hopkins Series in Romance L. and L.)

The first fourteen pages (11-24) of the Introduction give a succinct, but in every respect satisfactory, biography of the poet who seems to have made some impression upon his contemporaries and particularly upon Molière. One reads his name in connection with the Illustre Théâtre for which he produced a play in 1644. Fifteen years later Molière persisted in performing Magnon's *Zénobie* seven times although the fourth performance is graphically characterized as a *four* in the *Registre* of La Grange. The rest of the Introduction (pp. 24-38) is concerned chiefly with the play and its possible influence upon contemporary poets and especially upon Corneille and Racine. The text of the play is printed as it was "originally published" except for the correction of some "obvious errors in printing." Dr. Bell finds no evidence that the play was ever acted and 'tis small wonder. A play in which the heroine masquerades as a man without arousing the suspicion of her lover or her mortal enemies for over 1700 lines before *estallant les appas d'un sexe adorable* (l. 1791), would have taxed the credulity even of an audience susceptible to the attractions of the *tragédie*.

romanesque which was in vogue in 1660. Not frequent, but occasional metrical ineptitudes betray Magnon's status as a finished poet. For example, line 316 with its twelve monosyllables *En mit plus dans mon cœur qu'il n'en mit dans mes yeux*. Line 190 appears to have fourteen syllables, but this is due to a misprint in B's text, *genereuse* for *heureuse*.

What gives the play its interest and makes the publication of it important, is its relation to the *theme* of *Bérénice*, which was eventually fashioned into one of the masterpieces of French classic drama. In his Introduction (pp. 24-38) Dr. Bell discusses the "dramatic problems"—in dealing with the historical sources—"common to Scudéry (*Les Femmes Illustres*), Magnon, Racine and Corneille," all of whom treated this theme directly in their plays. Dr. Bell sees little evidence of any influence of Magnon upon the *Bérénice* of Racine, although he is inclined to admit the possibility that Racine may have received from his obscure contemporary some suggestions for the character of Antiochus. The possibility seems to me very remote. He sees much more evidence of influence on the *Tite et Bérénice* of Corneille, notably in the treatment of historical details. In addition Dr. Bell quotes in the footnotes to the text many parallel passages from Corneille's play. While the resemblances do not seem to me very convincing, there is considerable similarity in the general thought and tone.

In sum, what is most important in this almost unknown play by an obscure, but somewhat notorious poet, is the unconscious collaboration which is revealed or suggested as going on between the minor poets, the imagination of the public, and the supreme poets in the creation of a masterpiece of dramatic art. Here this collaboration consists in a gradual idealization of the character of the heroine (cf. pp. 29 ff.). Racine, it will be recalled, appeals frequently in his *Préfaces* to the popular conception of his heroines and heroes as a justification for certain traits which he has ascribed to them. This popular conception was, in all probability, much more quickened by plays which the public saw presented or which it read, when allured by a dedication to some noble personage,¹ than it was by its researches in Tacitus, Suetonius, Plutarch, or Coeffeteau.

It is to be hoped that the Johns Hopkins Press will continue to produce, under the direction of Professor Lancaster, editions and studies of the works of other poets in the category of Magnon, Du Ryer, Gilbert *et al.*, which have appeared in *The Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages*. Such publications are of inestimable value to American scholars in this field.

COLBERT SEARLES

University of Minnesota

¹ Charles Emanuel, Duc de Savoie, in the case of *Tite*

Italy in English Literature, 1755-1815 Origins of the Romantic Interest in Italy. By RODRICK MARSHALL New York
Columbia University Press, 1935 Pp xiii + 432 \$3.50
(Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative
Literature, No 116)

In this book Mr. Marshall takes the first step towards the execution of a larger enterprise, namely, a thorough study of the influence of Italy on English literature from 1642 to 1900. In a future volume he hopes to go back to the earlier date, which marks the hither limit of well-explored ground, in this one he plunges into what he regards as the most obscure part of the subject, which he defines as "the origins of the romantic interest in Italy" (1755-1815). "Italy" is a term that for any foreign people covers a wide variety of cultural interests: the Latin classics, medieval and modern literature, art, music, history, the land "Wo die Goldorangen glühen," the Italians themselves. Mr. Marshall deliberately excludes the classical interest and music. By the romantic interest in Italy he means the frequent resort of such English poets as Byron, Shelley and Keats to Italy as just defined for measures, themes and color, and for heroic examples of rebellion.

Only two generations before their day it would have seemed absurd and would have been unnatural to find such an Italy inspiring, for by the middle of the eighteenth century post-classical Italy had come to be regarded in England with almost universal indifference or contempt. Then a revolution began, which Mr. Marshall follows stage by stage. In 1815 the new generation of English writers were thoroughly interested in the Italians, knew and understood their literature and, to some extent, their art, what was more they had begun to imitate them and to draw on them for themes, which the English reading public was prepared to appreciate.

Searching out in detail the history of such a change requires enthusiasm, erudition and patience, qualities which Mr. Marshall displays. He has had to examine and report a multitude of writings that are of very unequal intrinsic interest. Indeed, for the reader who is, like the author, "a tracker of origins," the bulk of these could be presented more effectively in a classified and annotated bibliography. But Mr. Marshall's abounding enthusiasm has whipped them into a coherent and readable book. With as much zest as if he were directing a campaign, he deploys his masses of material on each of the fronts on which a knowledge and appreciation of Italy were advancing and he keeps them marching. Sometimes his enthusiasm has betrayed him into rashness, as when he imagines the contents of writings that he has not seen (for example, p. 136) and reconstructs the whole plot of a play by Landor which that author burned. Regarding one detail that happened to excite

my curiosity, his zeal did not carry him far enough. On p. 303 he regrets having failed to discover the Christian names of "Galignani," whereas he might have found them by simply turning to that surname in the *D N B*. Mr. Marshall has zest and diligence; he also shows a wide familiarity with the two great literatures concerned in his study. To at least one great Italian, Parini, he fails to do justice, nor was Parini's "giovane signore" a Roman (p. 139); but the quality of appreciation that transpires in such a phrase as "the cryptic pungency and asperity of Dante," and in his characterizations of such writers as Tasso, Ariosto and Goldoni, commands respect.

Mr. Marshall seems to believe that he has "sufficiently explained" the origins of the romantic interest in Italian literature. Hardly that, nor could it have been expected of him, for that would have been to undertake an explanation of the origins of "romanticism" itself. What he has done successfully is to describe, not explain, them. His study makes it clearly apparent that with the revolt against classical standards in England went an increasingly intelligent and enthusiastic regard for Italy, which as it grew was consciously promoted by writers who wished to evoke a literature in England similar in spirit to that of the exuberant Elizabethans. They turned naturally to the source from which the Elizabethans had drawn so much inspiration. What they found was an Italy rich in the treasures of the past, still producing good literature, and ready, as they romantically believed, to rebel against its oppressors.

KENT ROBERTS GREENFIELD

The Johns Hopkins University

Fatalism in the Works of Thomas Hardy By ALBERT PETTIGREW ELLIOTT. Philadelphia 1935. Pp. 136 (University of Pennsylvania Dissertation)

The author states (p. 7) that, since "so much has been written about Hardy's philosophy," he will not attempt "to expound its tenets," but will concern himself "with Hardy the artist." Forgetting this restriction, he expounds Hardy's philosophy for the next fifty pages. On page 53 he again reminds us that "it is not the intention of this essay to treat the philosophical ramifications of Hardy's conception of the Immanent Will," but, again ignoring Hardy the artist, he pursues Hardy the philosopher for another fifty pages. Nothing of any great value emerges. Chapter I states that Hardy "had certain consistent well formed views of life" (p. 11), the conclusion reached (p. 108) is that Hardy "was never able to subject his ideas to a clearly consistent sys-

tem." It seems a laborious journey to arrive only at the realization that Hardy told the truth when he declared "I also repeat what I have often stated on such occasions, that no harmonious philosophy is attempted in these pages—or in any bygone pages of mine, for that matter" (*Winter Words*, p. vi). One quarter of Mr. Elliott's book (pp 109-136) is devoted to a very ambitious bibliography. I know of none so extensive. Nor do I know of any so inaccurate and slovenly. Not one of its 28 pages is free from error. Books are listed as magazine articles (e.g., p. 135), and magazine article are listed as books (e.g., p. 109). Dates are commonly omitted, and when given are often wrong.¹ No one will find the references to page and volume of much help in looking up the citations, for they too are so often wrong.² The treatment of proper names and titles³ is in the style which one is accustomed to associate with indifferent undergraduate performances, but which is certainly out of place in a publication intended as a contribution to literary scholarship. It seems unfortunate that the name of a great university should be attached to a work so unlikely to help and so certain to mislead and confuse.

CARL J. WEBER

Colby College

John Gibson Lockhart, a critical study By GILBERT MACBETH.
Urbana, Illinois. University of Illinois Press, 1935. Pp 229.
\$2 25. (Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, xvii,
3-4)

This is a sound and comprehensive survey. It affords ample

¹ For example 1885 (p 111, read 1805), 1903 (p 112, read 1906), 1905 (p 124, read 1925), 1907 (p 125, read 1904), 1917 (p 113, read 1897), 1924 (p 121, read 1904), 1924 (p 118, read 1909), 1928 (p 117, read 1931), 1928 (p 121, read 1902), 1928 (p 120, read 1926), 1933 (p 120, read 1923).

² For example 11 (p 130, read 100), 87 (p 120, read 89), 141 (p 121, read 144), 212 (p 131, read 1212), 296 (p 122, read 796), 298 (p 121, read 278), 397 (p 121, read 297), 423 (p 124, read 223), 636 (p 130, read 656).

³ The following list is not complete. *Beerholm* (p 116, read *Beerbohm*), *Bolvin* (p 109, read *Bowin*), *Braybrook* (p 109, read *Braybrooke*), *Centres* (p 116, read *Cendres*), *Clark* (p 117, read *Clarke*), *Countless* (p 135, read *Countess*), *Dickenson* (p 118, read *Dickinson*), *Domccilium* (p 136, read *Domccilium*), *Dorcet* (pp. 111, 135, read *Dorset*), *Earnest* (pp 109, 116, read *Ernest*), *Hain* (p 117, read *Hsn*), *Jarhesbucher* (p. 117, read *Jahresbucher*), *Lebraud* (p 112, read *Larbaud*), *Monstrosity* (p 129, read *Monstrosity*), *Pall Wall* (p 135, read *Pall Mall*), *Rolli* (pp 113, 125, read *Ralli*), *Romlinson* (p 125, read *Tomlinson*), *Roman* (p 131, read *Ramon*), *Scholl* (p 113, read *Sholl*), *Sentence* (p 126, read *Sentence*), *Symonds* (p 113, read *Symons*), *Trouwde* (p. 135, read *Frowde*), *Valokis* (p 114, read *Valakis*).

evidence of careful and well-directed study, and while its primary object is a critical analysis of Lockhart's writings, it correlates the author's life and work with conspicuous sanity and good judgment. This is no small matter in connection with a writer around whose reputation the smoke of ancient controversies still hovers.

Mr Macbeth lays particular stress upon two characteristics of Lockhart's literary character. One of these, his predilection for German literature, is perhaps unduly emphasised, with something of the special pleading that belongs to an academic thesis. Much of the evidence is undoubtedly conjectural. It is true that Lockhart travelled in Germany and was well-versed in its literature, but it is equally true that others in Maga's service were ready to undertake similar work, even if their equipment was not so adequate. The permanent and insurmountable difficulty in the attribution of doubtful articles in Maga is the frequency with which its staff engaged in a kind of Puckish collaboration. It is never certain where North ended and the Scorpion began.

On the question of Lockhart's dissatisfaction with his own achievement Mr. Macbeth is again, perhaps, inclined to be too emphatic. To be editor of the *Quarterly* and the biographer of Scott would have satisfied any ordinary ambition, and Lockhart's expressions of regret are merely a commonplace in all literary biography. He was a man of great reserve and modesty, despite his reputation in early days as a literary sabreur, and his moments of depression were due far more to personal sorrows than to foiled ambition. His distrust of his powers was in truth an engaging and unexpected trait in his character, and not the least charm of the *Life of Scott* is its combination of ability, loyalty and noble diffidence. In dealing with Lockhart's treatment of Keats, Mr Macbeth takes an eminently sane view, and he is equally sound in his criticism of Lockhart's portrayal of the Ballantynes. He strikes the right note when he suggests that Lockhart was more interested in life than in letters. In other words his criticism was intensely human. In his literary estimates Lockhart, like Johnson and Scott, is always willing to make full allowance for the personal circumstances of his author.

Lockhart, says Mr Macbeth, abandoned the novel through lack of success, he "could never be a poet of first rank", his work as a translator "ends upon a note of unfulfilled ambition", "he never became wholly reconciled to his lot of journalist and editor." Surely it would have been a superhuman Lockhart who would have succeeded in every branch of literature. The deep humanity of his "Adam Blair," the charm of which Mr Macbeth seems somehow to miss, was stressed by Henry James, he was the author of at least one immortal lyric, his position as a great biographer has never been challenged, and he was, as the *Times* expressed it (Dec 9, 1854), a "fervent lover" of English literature. Outwardly cold

and austere in manner, he had a warm and generous nature, sound judgment and taste, a genuine love of learning, and that rarer quality—the touchstone of all true criticism—sincerity and honesty of expression

M CLIVE HILDYARD

London

Oxford Lectures on Poetry By E. DE SELINCOURT Oxford [and New York]. Oxford University Press, 1934. Pp 256. \$3 75.

Twenty-five years ago the reviewer and an American colleague, sole men in an Oxford audience of women, listened to Mackail, him of the *Epigrams*, discoursing eloquently on the beauties of the Greek Anthology, while resounding echoes of "Bumped!" and "Well rowed, sirs!" floated into the open windows from the not-distant Isis. The *Oxford Lectures on Poetry* of Ernest de Selincourt is, fortunately for the lecturer, not the product of Eights Week, but of various times and seasons. The volume is therefore a collection of scholarly contributions of a distinguished teacher, writer and editor, whose judgments are long-considered and whose words carry weight.

The *Lectures* represent a very happy blending of deliberation and delight. The initial discourse on "Poetry" follows the footsteps of craftsmen and critics, classicists and pseudo-classicists, professors and academicians, romantics and rationalists, to attain the satisfying conclusion that "pure poetry, the essentially poetic quality in a poem, must be sought in the perfect rightness of its language to convey a passionately felt experience." The lecturer is fortunate in his illustrations of this perfect union of form and idea, this mating of sense and spirit, and of the permanent life that only beauty can give to the poet's creation. The critic's own language is at once graceful and simple, and is ever admirably adapted to the gravity and vitality of his theme.

The subtle irony of Chaucer's attitude to his world and its characters is a theme of far wider and deeper implications than the lecturer's casual comment in his second paper suggests. The code of courtly love is duly considered in de Selincourt's discussion of *Troilus and Criseyde*, and the debt of Shakespeare's dramatic version of the story to popular tradition is apprehended, if not as fully realized as in W. W. Lawrence's recent volume. The lecture on Spenser shows few obvious traces of our Handbooks or Variorums, but it is everywhere sensitive to the poet's fusion of the pictorial and the musical, and to his saturation of the narrative with his own thought and feeling. "We love his story less for its own sake than for what he makes of it."

The lecturer turns deliberately from the art of the eighteenth

century which drew its chief inspiration from contemporary life to the vision of William Blake. In his verse as in Spenser's he marks the mating of music and pictures, and discovers the man's true self in his lyrics. The centenary discourse on Keats before the British Academy duly stresses the wealth of material for the study of the poet's life and art, his relation to his age and his recognition by his peers, his temperament, education and self-criticism, and above all, the quality of his genius. Comprehensive is the comment that "the Odes of Keats, like all great poetry, reveal to us no striking novelty of thought. The emotions that pulse through them are as old as man's aspirations and man's aching heart." Like many things in the volume this is finely and feelingly said.

The reviewer recalls an afternoon hour in the summer of 1922 with Robert Bridges over the teacups at Frascati's on Oxford St. A little group of American readers at the British Museum, forewarned and forearmed, had spent the morning under "the cloistered moss-grown trees" and on "the bold majestic downs" of the laureate's sonorous verse. We came primed with poetry and found our poet riding, not Pegasus but the hobby horse of reformed spelling as hard as ever did Henry Holt or Brander Matthews. In two admirable lectures Professor de Selincourt has revealed far more of the poet than did the poet himself on that early July afternoon. In his citations he reproduces such supposedly sovereign aids to simplicity as "thatt" and "wer" and "natur," but his concern is not with the letter but with the spirit. The lectures on "Robert Bridges" and "The Testament of Beauty," view the great poem as "the reflection of his alert interest in the intellectual movement of his time, of his deep knowledge and love of nature and the arts, of his lyrical ecstasy, of his pregnant humor and of his fastidious taste—all that went to make up his lofty distinguished personality." He was content with beauty in its many phases, with "the delicate moods of the English landscape, with gracious aspects of human love, and with quiet delights of contemplation."

Such happy appreciations as this of an Oxford bred poet, later its neighbor too, by an Oxford professor can hardly hope to vie with the echoes of shrill cries from bank and barges.

FREDERICK TUPPER

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English Literature and Culture in Russia (1553-1840). By ERNEST J. SIMMONS. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935. Pp xii + 357. \$3 50 (Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature, xii.)

This volume is the only comprehensive study of its topic in any language, since Russian students of the English influence on their country and its literature have dealt only with single phases of the problem. Dr. Simmons has not only utilized the various studies of Russian investigators, but has gone to the sources and has made valuable contributions of his own. He documents his work at every point. He has produced a book that is careful in detail and clear and interesting in its account of general tendencies.

One may perhaps quarrel with the proportions of the volume. The first four chapters (99 pp.) deal with the non-literary contacts between Russia and England from 1553 to 1796. The remaining six chapters (206 pp.) deal primarily with literary material, while the "various other contacts of a cultural nature" (p. 103) from 1796 to 1840 receive scanty attention. And in his last chapter Dr. Simmons devotes only nine pages to the relations between Lermontov and Byron. Now by general consent Lermontov is after Pushkin the greatest of the Russian poets, and he is also the only important Russian writer who was really dominated by the English influence, in his case that of Byron. A reader feels like Oliver Twist, he would welcome, as the climax of this excellent book, a more extended study of the most outstanding instance of English influence on a great Russian writer.

A dutiful reviewer must needs make some strictures on details. Space permits of only the two following trifles, which are chosen from a scanty collection. Dr. Simmons states (p. 143) that Tatyana's mother (in *Eugene Onegin*) "well-nigh goes out of her mind reading the works of Richardson," and that Pushkin represents her as preferring Lovelace to Grandison. In support of this last statement he cites some badly translated lines:

She so adored her Richardson,
Though not because she'd read him through,
Nor did she like his Grandison,
Because his Lovelace was untrue.

In reality the good dame was far from being a great reader of Richardson. Pushkin's words about her are "His wife herself [Tatyana's mother] was daft on Richardson [not, "was out of her mind owing to Richardson"] She did not love Richardson because she had read him through or because she preferred Grandison to Lovelace, but in old times the Princess Polina, her Moscow cousin, had often talked about them [Grandison and Lovelace] to her." Dr. Simmons makes the vigorous assertion (p. 262):

"It is certain that in the complete subordination of the love element in *Taras Bulba* Gogol learned much from Scott's novels" Surely Scott by no means completely subordinates the love element And Gogol's handling of the love theme, not only in *Taras Bulba* but in all his works, is scanty and absolutely mechanical simply because love played no part in his own life

G R NOYES

Berkeley, California

Poe and the Southern Literary Messenger By DAVID K JACKSON.
Richmond The Dietz Printing Co, 1934. Pp 120.

In the Preface of this volume we learn that the present study represents the first attempt to discuss in detail Poe's connection with the *Southern Literary Messenger* The only prior attempt at developing Poe's relation with the *Messenger* is that of B B Minor in his book *The Southern Literary Messenger*,¹ in which Minor traces the history of the *Messenger* from its beginning in 1834 down to its death in the closing years of the Civil War The present volume, which has to do with Poe's connection with the *Messenger* during the years 1835 to 1837, devotes a total of 88 pages to the subject, to which is added an appendix giving a list of Poe's chief contributions to the magazine during these two years together with a number of letters largely concerned with articles in the *Messenger* during Poe's connection with it

The author discusses his subject in four chapters, dealing first with the subject in its larger and more comprehensive aspects, then with Poe's actual contributions to the *Messenger*, next with his editorial policies during the period of his employment by the *Messenger*, and finally setting forth certain conclusions that his inquiry would seem to warrant—a chapter which he too vaguely entitles "Conclusions" His last forty pages Mr Jackson devotes to his appendix, giving some thirty pages to a very brief bibliography (pp. 91-92) of the more important of Poe's publications in the *Messenger* of 1835-37,² and presenting finally a selection of T W White's letters to Lucian Minor and some of his letters to Beverley Tucker and J. M. Speed³

¹ *The Southern Literary Messenger, 1834-1864* By Benjamin Blake Minor New York The Neale Publishing Company, 1905 Pp 252

² He here unwisely, the writer will feel, omits to mention all save a very few of Poe's critical reviews in the *Messenger*, giving at most a bare page and a half to a list of his contributions to the *Messenger*, in which his poems and tales are listed, but very scanty mention is made of his editorials and his miscellaneous papers

³ Some of them now published for the first time only in part (see pp. 93 and 108 of this study).

The volume probably had its origin in the discovery made by the writer of this book that the paper "Some Ancient Greek Authors Chronologically Arranged"⁴ is indubitably the work of Poe, and it also paved the way for Mr Jackson's recent publication in *Modern Language Notes* of certain critiques of the *Messenger* which Poe published at the time in the Baltimore newspapers⁵

Mr Jackson makes no reference to the passage in the Ellis-Allan Papers in the Congressional Library at Washington under date of August 19, 1835, from which it appears that Poe, in coming to Richmond, was moved not alone by the desire of obtaining a position on the *Messenger*, but also by the possibility of obtaining employment on the staff of the Academy then conducted in Richmond by a Mr. Persico⁶

The volume, so far as I have observed, is carefully done, the only indiscretions that have caught my eye being the substitution of the homely form "pled" for "pleaded" on p 77 of the book and the faulty punctuation of the sixth item on p 120. Some acknowledgment would not have been out of place (on p 83) of the author's indebtedness to Miss Margaret Alterton's study of Poe's indebtedness to *Blackwood's*. The volume, it may be added, is well supplied with illustrations and has an altogether attractive appearance.

KILLIS CAMPBELL

University of Texas

Matthew Arnold and France The Poet. By IRIS ESTHER SELLS.
Cambridge The University Press [New York. Macmillan],
1935 Pp xv + 282 \$3 50.

The author of this book speculates with profuse learning about the influence on Arnold's poetry of Senancour and other French writers (e g George Sand, Vigny, Leconte de Lisle). For her story she brings to bear some five orders of material

(1) novelistic passages where she takes wing in her imaginative reconstruction of the Nohant visit and the 'Marguerite' idyll, (2) less poetic,

⁴ First pointed out by Mr Jackson in *American Literature* for November, 1933 (v, 263-267), where it is shown conclusively that this article,—first attributed to Poe by B B Minor in his book on the *Messenger* (p 42) but later held by sundry students to be of uncertain authorship—is beyond any question the work of Poe

⁵ *Modern Language Notes*, April, 1935 (L, 251-256)

⁶ A "Professorship," as it is put in the Ellis-Allan Papers, "in the Academy" kept by a Mr Persico. See the copy of a letter from Mrs Margaret K Ellis (wife of Charles H Ellis, Allan's partner in the conduct of his business) in the letter-files of Ellis and Allan under the date of August 19, 1835, in which this sentence appears "Edgar Poe is here, & I understand has applied for one of the Professorships in the Academy"

but still speculative biographical narration, necessarily strewn with *must have* and *might have*, but eked out by a faith that every stage of Arnold's moral and literary evolution 'is explained by its predecessor and linked on to the next just as naturally' (p xii), (3) actual sources, which (p 252) she finds interesting in themselves, and related biographical research in a wealth of episodic notes, (4) parallel passages, requiring the quotation or summarizing of much original text and the reprinting of a quantity of Arnold's poetry, (5) matter peripheral to the *mise-en-scène*, such as 'portraits' of the French writers, and the elaborate topographical apparatus, supported by seven photographs of Swiss scenes

Mrs. Sells is biographer and not critic, but she realizes (p 218) 'that the reader can have no interest in the degree of originality of a piece of literature, but only in its aesthetic completeness'. Her difficult task is to show the 'refashioning of character' that distinguishes Arnold the poet from other similarly affected readers of Senancour (p 252). If as she says 'it is not necessary to desire exact correspondence in every detail between the events of the poems and the real happenings' (p 124, n 1), what is the status of biographical hypotheses based on poetic subject matter? Biographical arrangement gives us only sources which, whether avowed or hypothetical, are biographically and not critically interesting, and 'psychological experiences' recreated from the poetry but unconvincing aside from their precise expression in that form. In view of Mrs. Sells's sympathy for French thought it is to be hoped that her complementary study of Arnold as critic will either provide the history of ideas rather than of people, or else blossom out as a completely imaginative portrait. Moreover, in order to unify her French sources she should not find it necessary (p xi) to override Arnold's claim on Goethe as one of the four masters (among whom Senancour is not included) from whom, as he said, he learnt 'habits, methods, ruling ideas,' 'a very different thing from merely receiving a strong impression'. In the absence of a discussion of non-French sources, parallel passages, despite their cumulative effect in suggesting an atmosphere, are not the 'evidence' that Mrs. Sells thinks.

In the appendices are five unimportant letters to Madame Blaze de Bury and a forty line poem that Arnold wrote at the age of thirteen.

OWEN E. HOLLOWAY

Princeton, New Jersey

Furumbras and Otuel and Roland, Edited from MS Brit Mus Addt 37492. By MARY ISABELLE O'SULLIVAN Early English Text Soc., Original Series, No 198 London [and New York] Oxford University Press, 1935. Pp lxxxviii + 191

Here at last we have the texts of *Furumbras* and *Otuel* according to the long lost Fillingham Manuscript, edited with considerable industry and published with full apparatus of introduction and glossary To place these versions accurately Miss O'Sullivan has made extensive comparisons with other forms of the narrative, and in many ways shows thoroughness and expert guidance Misprints or inaccuracies, however, here and there disturb our sense of the reliability of what she has done In the Preface (p. ix) *Carlton* should be *Carleton*, change *Consevateur* to *Conservateur*, *underserved* to *undeserved* Page xviii, six lines from the bottom, F 656 should be 657. Page xix, second and third lines from the bottom, the *o oo* correspondence does not show a scribal error Page xx, seventh and eighth lines from the top, *all halle*, F 6-7, the rime is not a case of a word "in which the final *e* has been dropped" riming with one where it is retained, "all" is entitled to an *e* here and the scribe has omitted it In the case of *stode blod*, F 542-543, "stode" is not entitled to the *e*, the scribe has added it In general the study of linguistic problems is not very satisfactory in this introduction Only Wyld¹ is used for an authority, and the evidence for date or dialect in comparison with that of other documents is not adequately considered The stemma on page lx is not, I infer from the discussion, properly made out the common source of IO, HO, and PO, is not necessarily the source of *RO, HO and PO are not identical, and so a common source for them should be indicated Page xxii, n 4, surely Griscom's edition of Geoffrey might have been cited here Page lxii, n 2, the page-numbers for the list of books should be in Roman numerals These and other points of varying importance make us wonder a little about the accuracy of the text as Miss O'Sullivan has read it But there can be no doubt that the book represents much work, and it will be useful in its field.

H R PATCH

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¹ The Wrights and Morsbach are cited

Epicurus in England (1650-1725) By THOMAS FRANKLIN MAYO
 Dallas, Texas The Southwest Press, 1934 Pp xxviii + 237
 \$4 00

English book-making witnessed a distinct Epicurean vogue between 1650 and 1725, a vogue all the more startling because of the consistent lack of interest in Epicurus and his followers before and after this period. In these illuminating pages Professor Mayo enumerates and analyzes the chief documents by which Epicurean thought was spread (pp. 1-104), examines Epicureanism in its intellectual (pp 105-144) and literary (pp 145-182) setting, and concludes with the reaction against Epicureanism (pp 183-224). While Professor Mayo has unearthed most of the pertinent references, he is manifestly a better critic and philosopher than he is an investigator. His study of the documents is, therefore not so valuable nor so inspired as is his study of the intellectual and social currents of the century. Here his obvious interest in materialism and pragmatism has found congenial soil, and he writes with assurance and, as always in this book, with ease and grace.

Errors and misstatements are scarce except in the Index and Bibliography, both of which needed more careful checking. Turning casually through I noted the absence of page references to Cyril Bailey, and a wrong date (1920 instead of 1926) for Mr Hayward's *Rochester*. It was of course Sedley's daughter, Katherine, who was "so blandly obliging" to James II, and not Dorset's sister (p 181). Professor Mayo has written, however, an able and appealing account of the English flurry over Epicurus—a good book, which deserves a better medium than the Southwest Press has accorded it.

For supplementing and checking, the student of Epicurus and Lucretius should examine Dr Charles Harrison's two studies of the same material in the Harvard *Studies in Classical Philology* (xlv, 1-79) and *Studies and Notes in Philology* (xv, 191-218). Working contemporaneously but independently, these scholars have agreed surprisingly often.

The Henry E Huntington Library

BRICE HARRIS

BRIEF MENTION

Sir Philip Sidney and the Arcadia By MARCUS SELDEN GOLDMAN (Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, xvii, Nos. 1-2) Urbana University of Illinois Press, 1934. Pp 236. \$2 25. Mr Goldman evidently did not intend this volume for the specialist, for he finds it necessary to provide "a proper background" for his study by devoting one long chapter to a critical review of well-known Sidney biographies and another to a survey

of criticism of the *Arcadia*. His attempt to analyze "the formative influences which shaped Sidney's character as boy and man" is always interesting but sometimes rather subjective, this is particularly true when he attempts to psychoanalyze Languet "To understand exactly what it was that Languet feared [when Sidney went to Rome]," he says, "we must turn to *Maria Stuart*"—whereupon he quotes thirty-nine lines from Schiller's drama (Pp 95-96)

In his chapters on "The *Arcadia* as Heroic Romance" and "The Contemporary Scene in the *Arcadia*," Mr Goldman gives further support to the theory long held by Greenlaw and others that the *Arcadia* is a work of "Aristotelian high-seriousness" in which Sidney is "turning into didactic fiction his reaction to the affairs of his native land." No reference is made to W. Gordon Zeeveld's "The Uprising of the Commons in Sidney's *Arcadia*" (*MLN*, XLVIII, 209-217)

The most original chapter is Chapter VIII, which attempts to establish Malory's *Morte D'Arthur* as a source of the *Arcadia*. Scholars have long realized that "the spirit of Malory is the spirit of Sir Philip Sidney," but Mr Goldman makes it very probable that "Malory was one of the truly great influences that wrought to form the perfect and chivalric unity of Sidney's life and writings." (P 193) When he attempts to demonstrate direct borrowings by listing parallel passages, the author is less convincing.

Besides adding to our understanding of Sidney and his works, this volume presents, in unified and interesting form, the valuable *index rerum* and *index locorum* on Sidney which Mr Goldman has gathered during many years of study. It will certainly become the standard Sidney handbook.

Valparaiso University

WALTER G. FRIEDRICH

CORRESPONDENCE

SIR ORFEO AND DE NUGIS. My attention has been drawn to Mr R. S. Loomis's article on *Sir Orfeo and Walter Map's De Nugis* in *MLN*, LI (1936), 28-30. In it he states that the connection between *Sir Orfeo* and the story of the Breton knight in Map's *De Nugis* (Dist 2 cap 13 Dist 4 cap 8) "has been completely overlooked." May I point out that this is incorrect? I noted this parallelism in a letter published in the *Times Literary Supplement* of November 29th, 1934. Mr Loomis and I have obviously come to quite independent conclusions with regard to this *De Nugis* material, but insofar as I am about to publish a fuller treatment of the question in the *MLR* (the proofs had already gone to press before I read Mr Loomis's article), I should be much obliged if you would kindly publish this letter in your next issue of *MLN* in order to avoid any misunderstanding.

CONSTANCE DAVIES

Modern Language Notes

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CONCERNING THE *NOCTES AMBROSIANAE*

For over a dozen years, from March, 1822, to February, 1835, appeared in *Blackwood's Magazine* the *Noctes Ambrosianae*, a series of which Stevenson asserts, in one of his earliest essays, "Here is a book full of the salt of youth, a red-hot shell of animal spirits, calculated, if anybody reads it, to set up a fine conflagration among the dry heather of present-day Phariseism. Touch it as you will, it gives out shrewd galvanic shocks, which may, perhaps, brighten and shake up this smoke-dried and punctilious generation."¹

Who wrote the first *Noctes Ambrosianae* of March, 1822, is not absolutely certain. So early as the *Chaldee Manuscript*, printed in *Blackwood's Magazine* of October, 1817, the veiled editor had appeared, and "the street of Oman, and the road of Gabriel, as thou goest up into the land of Ambrose" had been mentioned. In another article in the magazine entitled "Observations on *Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk*" of February, 1819, moreover, "Mordecai Mullion" describes the bi-weekly meetings of the contributors to *Maga*, "at five o'clock to a hair" in Ambrose's hostelry in Gabriel Road, Edinburgh, where, following the proposal of Odoherly, the duty of reading and reviewing the various works in the magazine is decided by lot-drawing. This ingenious notion, which may be called the germ of the *Noctes*, receives expansion in "Two Reviews of a Military Work, Minutes and Proceedings at Ambrose's" of the following August, in which Odoherly and Tickler, at the Editor's decision, both review *Letters from Portugal, Spain, and France*, "by a British Officer," from diametrically opposite standpoints. "It is quite impossible," the article begins, "to find any where a finer specimen of independence, than may be met with in

¹ Quoted in John Skelton's *The Table-Talk of Shirley* (1895), p. 112

the monthly meetings of the Contributors to this Magazine, at Ambrose's tavern " In Wilson and Lockhart's "The Twelfth of August" of the same number, and "The Tent" of the succeeding September, also, Hogg and various other characters, many of whom later appear in the *Noctes*, issue forth on an informal picnic In this number of September, again, on the page opposite the table of contents, appears as first of the "Books Preparing for Publication, by William Blackwood," *The Autobiography of Christopher North, Esq Editor of Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* . "Timothy Tickler" had already addressed various letters to the magazine, and "Odohertry," originated by Captain Tom Hamilton but later absorbed by Maginn, had contributed frothy articles, interspersed with verse, since the first year of the periodical Just as "Christopher North" gradually grew from "the veiled editor," so the *Noctes Ambrosianae* gradually grew from these beginnings, and especially from "The Twelfth of August," and "The Tent" of September, 1819,—the mythical characters thus built up apparently surprising and delighting their creators as much as they did the reading public in general

According to the American N P Willis, Lockhart began the *Noctes* On his visit to Wilson in 1834, Willis learned from his host how he and Lockhart "used to sup together with Blackwood, and that was the real origin of the 'Noctes' "

"At Ambrose's?"

"At Ambrose's"

"But is there such a tavern, really?"

"Oh, certainly Anybody will show it to you It is a small house, kept in an out-of-the-way corner of the town, by Ambrose, who is an excellent fellow in his way, and has had a great influx of custom in consequence of his celebrity in the *Noctes* We were there one night very late, and had all been remarkably gay and agreeable 'What a pity,' said Lockhart, 'that some short-hand writer had not been here to take down the good things that have been said at this supper' The next day he produced a paper called '*Noctes Ambrosianae*,' and that was the first I continued them afterward" ²

Willis, an unreliable witness at best, has been vigorously refuted by R Shelton Mackenzie, who remains convinced that the honor of originating the series belongs to William Maginn Mackenzie's claim that parts of the first *Noctes* are certainly Maginn's

² *Penicillings by the Way, Complete Works of N P Willis* (1846), p 199

does not necessarily affect the argument regarding Lockhart's inception of the series, for the *Noctes*, at first, were largely of a communal character, and Lockhart may simply have included some part of Maginn's MS. in the first number. Nor does the fact advanced by others, that the motto was the selection and translation of Maginn, have any importance, for the motto does not appear until the sixth issue. Mackenzie is indeed justified in attributing the fourth of the series to Maginn,³ yet because he wrote the fourth it does not necessarily follow that he wrote the first three. On the other hand, the internal evidence seems to me overwhelmingly to indicate Maginn's authorship, or part authorship, of the first of the *Noctes*.⁴ Since, however, I happen personally to be extremely skeptical of the use of internal evidence for establishing authorship, I prefer to let the case rest at this point as "non-proven," even though Dr. Miriam M. H. Thrall, the latest authority on the subject, writes, "It is beyond question that

³ See Mackenzie's edition of the *Noctes Ambrosianae* (1866), I xvi, II xxi, v viii. In a letter to Blackwood of June 25, 1823 (Mrs. Oliphant's *William Blackwood and His Sons*, 1897, I 396) Maginn confesses that he wrote the fourth of the *Noctes* (July, 1822) "out of Alario's [A. A. Watts's] notes."

⁴ I doubt very much, for example, if anybody but Maginn would, in the first number, have called Tennant's *Thane of Fife*, "mere humbug—quite defunct." William Tennant, personal friend of the *Blackwood* group, twice receives favorable notice elsewhere in the early *Noctes*.

Maginn, as the preceding note shows, wrote the fourth *Noctes*. The fourth resembles the first in the following respects:

1) In each Odoherly claims that he wrote the article against Hogg, and in each Hogg and Clare are compared.

2) In each Byron's "Irish Advent" [I e., the poem "The Irish Avastar"] is mentioned, and in each Byron's works are defended. Moreover, in the first Odoherly mentions "the parsons about Murray's shop," and in the fourth he refers to Murray, "surrounded with rums and buzzes of parsons as he is."

3) In each Odoherly asserts that he writes all the puffs for Day and Martin, in each he satirizes Colburn's *New Monthly Magazine*, in each he refers to Hope's *Anastatus*. In each, moreover, occurs a joke about Odoherly's numerous illegitimate children.

4) The songs in the first number are pretty certainly Maginn's, especially the Italian take-off, "Signor Le Hunto, gloria di Cocagna", so are the lyrics of the fourth number, especially the Latin parody of "Back and Side". This single point proves fairly conclusively that Maginn took at least a part in writing the first *Noctes*.

Maginn wrote the entire first *Noctes* . . .⁵ The matter has the less importance in that not until John Wilson took over their composition in 1826 did the greatest of the series, with North, Hogg, and Tickler as the principals, appear

The *Noctes* of 1822 are, indeed, entirely experimental In the first, of March, Christopher North speaks with Odoherty, in the second, of April, with Buller of Brasennose and Timothy Tickler, in the third, of May, with Odoherty, Tickler, and a variety of miscellaneous characters, including Dr Scott the Odontist, and Sir Andrew Wylie and Pen Owen, heroes taken from contemporary novels Maginn's fourth number, of July, "transferred (by poetic license) to Pisa," has only Odoherty and Byron as speakers, but the fifth issue of September, celebrating George IV's visit to Scotland, introduces into the first scene North, Odoherty, Tickler, Seward, Buller, Highland Chieftain, and Mr Blackwood, and in the various scenes thereafter a great variety of characters In October, instead of the *Noctes*, "Boxiana" appears in a Noctean form Not until the sixth number of December, 1822, is Hogg introduced, a faint foreshadowing only of Wilson's later characterization He is omitted, moreover, in July and August, 1823, and in March and August, 1824 Thus he appears in only seven of the first sixteen numbers Except for his excellent presentation in October, 1823, moreover, he is only faintly amusing In the early *Noctes*, indeed, Odoherty rather excels the Shepherd

Yet even these early numbers possess the highest vitality In the drunken huffiness and quarrel among the characters at the end of the number for May, 1822, in the elimination by tobacco smoke of three of the "seven young men" (callow Whigs already met with in the "Chaldee Manuscript" and in the "Pilgrimage to the Kirk of Shotts") in September, 1822, in the hilarious resurrection into life of Leddy Grippy of Galt's *Entail*, in June, 1823, in Mordecai Mulhon's ingurgitation of certain grains of opium absent-mindedly left by De Quincey on his plate, in October, 1823, and in Hogg's swallowing of the fly or fishhook in April, 1824—in such scenes we have the full flavor of the famous series, and from

⁵ *Rebellious Fraser's* (1934), p 239 (Blackwood's letter mentioned by Dr Thrall on pp 239-40, in which, as Mrs Oliphant absurdly suggests, the *Noctes* may first have received mention, was written a year and a half after the series began, in August or September, 1823)

them we can understand the delight of the readers of *Maga* one hundred years ago. The first number, like many a later, ends by the Editor's saying, "I see the daylight peeping down the chimney." And in the first a popular element, the eating, commences also.

Editor Will you have some supper?

Odoherly Excuse me, I never eat supper

Editor (*rings*) Waiter, Welsh rabbits for five, scolloped oysters for ten, six quarts of porter, and covers for two

More subtle is the touching remark of Mr. Ambrose, in the closing lines of the second number. "I am so happy to see Mr. Buller in Scotland again, that I cannot think of making any charge for a few hundred oysters, and a mere gallon of gin." Here are hints, at least, of the Ettrick Shepherd's later voracity. . .

Needless to say, the idea of the *Noctes* was a happy one, for by this means the gay young Tory wits established an even more intimate relationship between their readers and *Maga*, most intimate of magazines. Here, for the first time, Wilson could write as well as he talked, passing from subject to subject with his extraordinary gusto. Inconsistent and contradictory always, here was no need for consistency—here, above all, was afforded him an opportunity to pour out, by the bucket, his "flamboyant vitality." From the first the *Noctes* possessed personality. Yet personality comes with better grace from imaginary characters in a jovial setting. Attacks on the Whigs, the "Cockneys," and other enemies or supposed enemies of the magazine—"I am intolerant to nobody but Quacks and Cockneys," exclaims Christopher North in April, 1822—equally vigorous puffs for themselves and friends—Henry Mackenzie "will live as long as our tongue, or longer," says North again in the same number—comments good-natured or fustigatory, friendly or withering, on contemporary affairs, literary, political, and general,—make the *Noctes*, with their combination of local and national interests, in miniature an autobiography of the early *Maga*, a Tory kaleidoscope of the years 1822 to 1835. It is no wonder that they were imitated in dozens of periodicals.

Once established, material flowed in from every side and the early *Noctes* show a remarkably heterogeneous character. Various passages in Lockhart's letters printed in Mrs. Oliphant's *William Blackwood and His Sons* illustrate how he was in the habit of

combining material of his own with that of others. Thus in a note to William Blackwood, probably of about August, 1823, Lockhart writes.

Your idea of the "Noctes" is most capital, but the thing must be done at leisure, and I rather think when Wilson and I are together Meantime trust it to the Doctor [Maginn], and let me have his hints This would be the far best vehicle for discussing the Periodical Press Hogg told me he had been editing a "Noctes" Let me see it when it is in type, that I may put in a few cuts at himself

And again:

I enclose what I have been able to do I have all but omitted Hogg, according to the Professor's [i.e., Wilson's] request, leaving him to fill up that character as he pleases Hogg's song is very good, and if Cheape sends anything, Wilson will easily interweave that also

The letter refers I think to the eleventh *Noctes* of August, 1823 it is interesting that thus early Wilson should have taken the Shepherd to himself In his next letter Lockhart unquestionably refers to the eleventh *Noctes*:

I can't do anything to speak of in the "Noctes" this month I think Wilson's article on King Leigh [Hunt] quite *magnifique*! quite inimitable He will feel the fun more than a ton of bitterness from the Doctor or me My notion is that it should be a part of the "Noctes" after Maginn's part in the little bit I have sent, then this lecture of the Professor's, then the other little bit of mine, and the song with which "Maga" concludes But if you don't like this, anyway you like I have corrected a word or two in Maginn's "Noctes," but not the article throughout Don't think of sending me any more proofs Correct the song yourself

In another letter, which I think belongs to November, 1823, Lockhart writes again

Nothing delighted me more than to see the way Hogg is treated—and next "Noctes" will perhaps lift him yet higher by being partly his own As for the letter of the Goth [Alaric A. Watts], 'tis excellent, and will be of use in the "Noctes" of next number The Suicide is really a man of talents You should request him to write you letters on the Alaric plan as material for "Noctes"*

Finally in a communication which I am unable to date Lockhart

* Watts's letters appear to have been constantly employed by the *Blackwood* wits in the *Noctes*, as were the letters also of Crofton Croker, see Mrs. Oliphant, I 499, 515-16

informs Blackwood "I enclose the rest of the 'Noctes' The Professor may add what he likes. We have of late had so much of Hogg's talk that I have made him say little this time, but if Wilson pleases he can stuff out the porker with some of his own puddings " "

Even after 1826 Wilson appears to have been by no means averse to introducing the material of others into his own *Noctes*, as Mrs Gordon's bibliography of her father's writings in Appendix III of her *Christopher North* conclusively proves

July, 1826	Noctes [Wilson], 15- Moir or Hogg, 3 ⁸
October, 1826	Noctes [Wilson], 16½- Hogg, 1¾ Mr C Croker, 1¾
May, 1828	Noctes [Wilson], 10, L[ockhart] 13, with pieces from Hogg, C Croker
October, 1828	Noctes [Wilson], 20½- 17- White, 3- Hogg, 1

The discussion of *Retzsch's Illustrations of Hamlet* in the *Noctes* of November, 1828, comes from the hand of Hartley Coleridge;⁹ two of the songs in the numbers of January and February, 1831, from that of Robert Macnish.¹⁰ In the latter number also North sings a poem "by my friend Robert Folkestone Williams—written, he tells me, especially for the *Noctes*"; and a year later, in February, 1832, he quotes "The Forging of the Anchor" by Samuel Ferguson, the first published poem of a youth whom "Maga will be proud of introducing . . . to the world" Two books and innumerable articles have been written on the authorship of the "Canadian Boat Song," most famous of Noctean lyrics, which appeared in the number of September, 1829 It may be added that Lockhart and Maginn contributed largely to the series in later years also In June, 1829, the latter introduced Rabbi Moses Edrehi, an acquaintance "whom," a contemporary writes, "we ourselves remember going about Cambridge in dirty robes, selling bad cigars, and asking subscriptions to a book on the river

⁷ Lockhart's various letters appear in Mrs Olphant, I 202, 203, 203-4, 209, and 221

⁸ The numbers stand for pages To the *Noctes* of July, 1826, Wilson contributed 15 pages, Hogg or Moir 3 pages, etc

⁹ *Essays and Marginalia of H Coleridge*, ed by D Coleridge (1851), I 172

¹⁰ D M Moir, "Life of R Macnish," in *Tales, Essays and Sketches by R Macnish* (1838), I 179, 182

Sabbatyon"¹¹ This number, as well as the numbers for July and September of the same year, were composed by Lockhart and Maginn "at the Salopian," in London¹² Nor is this the last of Lockhart's contributions to the series.¹³ On August 8, 1831, Wilson sent him the following hitherto unpublished letter, now in the National Library of Scotland

I am going to Windermere on the 23^d and hope that you will enable me to do so with some comfort, by writing a *Noctes* I advise you to leave out the Shepherd altogether, who is a stumbling block in such a dialogue as the last,¹⁴ and well out of the way North & Tickler are sufficient No Macrabin I beseech—nor Dr Wodrow¹⁵ I hope you will go on with the whole House, but do, to please me, be kind or at least civil to all good fellows on our side, if any such there be—and do not, by slight but sharpest sneers make them hate life I see myself complimented in the *Spectator* as the author of the *Noctes* and *Unimore*—which shews at least that one person does not think me a weak brother Two or three such *Noctes* will verily promote the sale, & relieve me (another consideration) from the monthly misery of imagining new matter for that popular series There are some touches in the last very hellish You must not disappoint *Ebony* [Blackwood] in a *Noctes*, for if you do, I must remain here, which would be very unpleasant I wish you would keep your eye for a day or two on the war, with which, thank God, Providence is about, seemingly, to favor us forthwith, and explain its principles in the *Noctes*

It was perhaps natural that outsiders, who knew nothing of the highly unsystematic character of the *Noctes*, should have been ready to build up a legend Thus a former student of Wilson's wrote in the year of the professor's death, 1854 "The gentlemen in question did meet every month, perhaps oftener, at Ambrose's tavern, in Gideon Street, a narrow Edinburgh lane . . . and there concocted the topics for the next month's *Noctes*, allotting to each member of the coterie that class of a subject which generally fell to his share"¹⁶ The absurdity of such a statement needs no com-

¹¹ *Fraser's Magazine*, October, 1855, LII 370

¹² Mrs Oliphant, I 243

¹³ *Ibid.*, I 244, 247-8, 252 See also Mackenzie's edition of the *Noctes*, III xlii

¹⁴ That is, in the *Noctes* of August, 1831, where the Shepherd is completely subordinated to North and Tickler Lockhart followed Wilson's suggestion and included only the two characters, North and Tickler, in the *Noctes* of September

¹⁵ Referring to Maginn and Lockhart's *Noctes* of September, 1829

¹⁶ Angus B Reach, "Life and Characteristics of the late Professor Wilson," *Bentley's Miscellany*, xxxv. 583

ment Yet there is no reason why certain of the early *Noctes* may not have resulted from such meetings. R P Gillies indeed expressly declares that

These "Noctes," instead of being merely invented, as may have been supposed, were at first adaptations of what actually took place at tavern-meetings in Gabriel's Road, before the landlord shifted his quarters to Picardy Place,—meetings which took place naturally enough, when Blackwood, in the joy of his heart, invited a successful contributor to "bread and cheese" at the house where he had his own refreshments,—the so-styled bread and cheese soon changing into beefsteaks, porter, and port, and these in time giving way to venison, claret, and champagne I will give one instance I think it was in the year 1824 or 25

The party at dinner was not a large one It consisted of Hogg, president, his "twa grand Americans," young men of respectable demeanour (who personally knew several of the Transatlantic authors, and who wore frills and hand-ruffles, in the style of 1794), Blackwood, Timothy Tickler [i.e., Robert Sym], and my friends,—to wit, a brother lawyer and two Leith merchants Of the three last, none had been at a "Noctes" before, and they were, consequently, much amused and surprised, as were, of course, the "twa grand Americans" Indeed, one main charm of such jovial meetings depended on the introduction now and then of a *fresh man*, sufficiently intelligent to enjoy the broad humour of the scene And the greatest attraction of all consisted in the complete *sans gêne* and comfort of the place, contrasting with the humility of the apartments

The cheer that day was excellent, and Hogg in enormous glee, as usual with him on all festive occasions, denouncing the use of wine, and mixing jug after jug of Glenlivet punch, in which the Leith merchants willingly joined him About half-past ten, when our "mirth and fun" had begun to "grow fast and furious," arrived Messrs L[ockhart] and G[alt], the former glad to escape from the theatre, where he had been assisting at a benefit, the latter somewhat tired, having walked all the way from his country-house, near Musselburgh They were received with shouts of welcome I directed their attention to the store of champagne and claret which had been left in the ice-pail, and, to their great satisfaction, ordered a supper of devilled lobsters and Welsh rabbit Blackwood, who had for the last hour been fast asleep, tried to awake on the entrance of supper, and flopping of champagne corks, and opening half of one eye, helped himself to an *entree* Finnan haddock The conversation, the songs, the practical jokes of that night, were all so extravagant and ridiculous, that it would have been impossible for any sober man to have *invented* the like Within two days thereafter, the proceedings were fairly written out by Mr L——, and printed by James Ballantyne But of all the "Noctes" hitherto exhibited, this production looked the most unlike to truth, and yet was nothing more than a faithful sketch from real life¹⁷

¹⁷ "Some Recollections of James Hogg," *Fraser's Magazine*, October, 1839, xx 428-9

Luckily we are in this instance able to check at least a small part of Gillies' account by the account of Hogg himself. In *Songs, by the Ettrick Shepherd* of 1831, the author's prefatory remarks to the pieces are frequently more entertaining than the pieces themselves. Thus he writes on page twenty-eight that "The Noctes Sang" (which may be found in the nineteenth *Noctes* of March, 1825)

was made one day in Edinburgh, for singing in Ambrose's at night, on a particular occasion, when a number of foreign literary gentlemen were to be of the party. I did not sing it till late at night, when we were all beginning to get merry, and the effect on the party was like electricity. It was encored I know not how oft, and Mr Gillies ruffed and screamed out so loud in approbation, that he fell from his chair, and brought an American gentleman down with him. I have lost a verse of it, but it is likely to have been preserved in the *Noctes Ambrosianae*. It has been always the first song of our jovial meetings ever since. The air is my own, and a very capital one. I believe it is preserved in the *Noctes*, and nowhere else.

Other strangers no doubt attended similar meetings from time to time. So late as May, 1832, Samuel Ferguson wrote his brother John from Scotland: "I spent ten days delightfully in Edinburgh, receiving every kindness and compliment that I could have possibly desired. Wilson asked me to Ambrose's, where I had a 'nox Ambrosiana,' and introduced me to his family, with whom I spent two very pleasant evenings."¹⁸

When James Hogg, an actual living person, suddenly found himself presented, for some thirteen years, as a fictitious character in a highly popular magazine, what, we may ask in conclusion, was his attitude towards the presentation? It may be summarized in a sentence: if he sometimes grumbled, undoubtedly his pride in his public appearance outweighed his momentary irritation. He wrote William Blackwood from Mount Benger on March 28, 1828:

I am exceedingly disgusted with the last beastly "Noctes," and as it is manifest that the old business of mocking and ridicule is again beginning, I have been earnestly advised by several of my best and dearest friends to let you hear from me in a way to which I have a great aversion. But if I do, believe me, it shall be free of all malice, and merely to clear my character of sentiments and actions which I detest, and which have proved highly detrimental to me.¹⁹

¹⁸ Lady Ferguson, *Sir Samuel Ferguson in the Ireland of his Day* (1896), I 25.

¹⁹ Mrs. Oliphant, I 355-6.

This is the strongest expression of disgust with which I am acquainted In contrast may be quoted the following anecdote

That Hogg was not so *very* indignant at being put into the *Noctes* may be judged from an anecdote related to me by one who knew him very well, and loved him dearly as a brother "One autumn," he says, "while Hogg lived at Mount Benger, I spent some days with him One of said days was a rainy Saturday, during which we were put to our in-door resources Having exhausted songs and stories, puns and punch, we went to the parlor-window, on the look-out for the Peebles carrier, who was expected to bring some bales of literary ware for the Shepherd The man and his cart appeared in sight, slowly zig-zagging from side to side down the steep hill After fifteen minutes' delay, which seemed fifty to us, the packages were landed and cut open, and we were deep in books, pamphlets, and newspapers,—but the *gleg* eye of the Shepherd singled out Blackwood, just issued for the month The *Noctes* were laid open in a moment, and presently Hogg's mirth exploded in a loud guffaw, as he exclaimed, slapping his thigh, 'Gad, he's a droll bitch, that Wulson' an' as wonderfu' as he's droll!' He had alighted upon one of Wilson's raciest personifications of himself, and could not restrain his appreciation of its skill and genius" ²⁰

The last third of a description of Hogg, "from the Course of Lectures about to be delivered in Manchester by J. M. Wilson," in November, 1831, runs as follows.

There is no likeness in James Hogg to the Ettrick Shepherd in the *Noctes Ambrosianae* This is a subject of continual uneasiness to himself, and of complaint to his family To me he said—"The using of my name in that manner vexes me vera much Particularly, ye see, because Margaret [Mrs Hogg] and her friends are aye complaining about it Now Wilson wad na for the world do me ony ill, but when I tell him about it, he just laughs at it, and although that, as I say to him, he makes me say things that he drurna say himsel And though it is a' well enough for people who ken me, yet, sir, he has sae mony o' my phrases, and the form o' the expression is sae often mine, that I dinna wonder at the public believing me to be such a person as is represented And it is chiefly through that, that the folk in London say I have plenty o' genius but I want taste" ²¹

Within only a month or two the Shepherd was to show "the folk in London" his true and not his merely fictitious self Cyrus Redding met him early in 1832, and has given a picture of his timidity in the London streets

²⁰ Mackenzie's edition of the *Noctes*, IV xviii

²¹ *Westmoreland Gazette*, November 5, 1831, quoted from the *Manchester Courier*

Hogg was a much quieter man than Wilson made him out and was reported to say things he was too well informed to utter. His writings are eminently Scotch, and were not adapted to make a sensation in this country. I confess in all I ever saw of Hogg, which was not much, I was greatly prepossessed in favour of his abilities. He complained to me that Wilson made a show of him in "Blackwood." This was coquetry, he did not really dislike it, he was eager for notoriety. I told him that but for Wilson, we Southerners should scarcely have known anything about him.

"Aye, but Wilson is too bad, for he makes me say things I could not dream of uttering" ²²

The ever quotable N. P. Willis wrote in September, 1834

I spoke of the "Noctes"

He [Wilson] smiled, as you would suppose Christopher North would do, with the twinkle proper of genuine hilarity in his eye, and said, "Yes, they have been very popular. Many people in Scotland believe them to be transcripts of real scenes, and wonder how a professor of moral philosophy can descend to such carousings, and poor Hogg comes in for his share of abuse, for they never doubt he was there and said everything that is put down for him."

"How does the Shepherd take it?"

"Very good humoredly, with the exception of one or two occasions, when cockney scribblers have visited him in their tours, and tried to flatter him by convincing him he was treated disrespectfully. But five minutes' conversation and two words of banter restore his good humor, and he is convinced, as he ought to be, that he owes half his reputation to the Noctes" ²³

Hogg himself has rendered the highest tribute to the series, for Maginn declared in *Fraser's Magazine* of July, 1833

The Shepherd has sent us a couple of the most admirable articles that can possibly be conceived, which he wishes us to publish under the title of *Noctes Ambrosianae*. Nothing can be better than the dialogue, but we have our own reasons for doing what the grammarians deem impossible, viz declining the article. Hogg thinks that we are wrong. He writes to say, that

"You cannot imagine the sensation the very advertisement will create, for there never was as popular and as happy a plan projected in the world for vending all sorts of sentiments and ideas" ²⁴

Does not such eulogium nullify his occasional grumblings elsewhere?

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²² C Redding, *Fifty Years' Recollections* (1858), III 18

²³ See Note 2

²⁴ "The Shepherd's Noctes, and the Reason why they do not appear in *Fraser's Magazine*"

CHARLES MACKLIN'S LOST PLAY ABOUT HENRY FIELDING

In the Larpent Collection of plays at the Huntington Library is a manuscript copy of *The Covent-Garden Theatre or Pasquim Turn'd Drawcansir*, a play about Henry Fielding written by the actor Charles Macklin. It was performed only once, on April 8, 1752 at a benefit for Macklin, who played the chief rôle. It was never printed, and all trace of it was lost¹. The only direct information about it was copies of the playbill which appeared in a number of the papers (including Fielding's *Covent-Garden Journal*),² and an enigmatic review by Bonnell Thornton in *The Drury-Lane Journal* which gives no clue to the nature of the play. A number of conjectures have been made about it and about Macklin's reasons for presenting such a play at this time³. These have assumed, for one reason or another, that it is an attack on Fielding, but it turns out to be, instead, a thoroughly sympathetic portrait of Fielding in the rôle of public censor—a rôle he had assumed in his own play *Pasquim* sixteen years before, and was now playing, as Sir Alexander Drawcansir, in the columns of *The Covent-Garden Journal*.

Fielding was never more actively in the public eye than during the years 1751-2. He was at the height of his career as a magistrate, and in that capacity he was principally occupied with problems of social reform. He was the proprietor, with his brother John, of the Universal Register Office. He published *Amelia*. He started *The Covent-Garden Journal*, and he engaged in the absurd but vigorous battle with Dr John Hill and the other wits known as the newspaper war. The public was watching his activities, and commenting freely on them in the press and elsewhere. He was taunted by anonymous pamphleteers who tried to drive him into political controversies. His paper was ridiculed, satirized, and

¹ Like most of the manuscripts in the Larpent Collection this one is in a copyist's hand. The play is listed in Allardyce Nicoll's *Eighteenth Century Drama, 1750-1800*, but Professor Nicoll apparently did not see the text.

² A copy of this playbill may be found in G. E. Jensen's edition of *The Covent-Garden Journal*, I, 71-2.

³ W. L. Cross, *The History of Henry Fielding*, II, 410-413, G. E. Jensen, *op cit*, I, 70-72, M. G. Godden, *Henry Fielding*, Appendix B.

imitated. His articles were copied in monthly journals and discussed in the daily press

Much of the attention centered, in the early months of 1752, around the newspaper war in which Hill was Fielding's chief enemy.⁴ In the course of it Fielding was the subject of many of the leaders in *The London Daily Advertiser*, written by Hill, and he took pains to reply to them at length. Smollett took a brief part in the battle. Bonnell Thornton, in *The Drury-Lane Journal*, kept up a running parody of *The Covent-Garden Journal* for nearly three months. Pamphlets, poems, newspaper articles about the war were endless. Fielding was receiving a great deal of attention—much of it unfavorable.

During these months two plays were written with Fielding as their subject. The first was *Fun: A Parodi-tragi-comical Satire* by William Kenrick, who had many times before wielded a venomous pen against Fielding. Like most of the offspring of these controversies it satirized Fielding's part in the newspaper war, picturing him as a sorry figure who is finally ignominiously destroyed by Dr. Mountain (Dr. John Hill) and Roxana Termagant (Bonnell Thornton). The satire extends to his activity as a magistrate, and pictures him deciding unjustly in even the most obvious cases. The play was banned just as the first curtain was about to rise, but it appeared in print some weeks later (March 5, 1752).

The second was *The Covent-Garden Theatre*, performed at that house as an afterpiece to *The Provok'd Husband*. No author is mentioned in the published playbills, although several contemporary references name Macklin⁵ and one of Macklin's biographers mentions it among his works.⁶ Cross, Jensen, and Miss Godden accept him as the probable author. The manuscript itself is anonymous, but a passage in the text names Macklin. Marforio, assistant to Pasquin, after presenting a list of offenders to the Censor says

⁴ This Newspaper War has been described at length by Cross, II, 386-437, and by Jensen, I, 29-98.

⁵ *The Inspector in the Shades*, a burlesque of Dr. John Hill's *Inspector*, published July 13, 1752, p. 15, G. A. Stevens, *Distress upon Distress*, 1752, pp. xiii-xiv.

⁶ J. T. Kirkman, *Memoirs of the Life of Charles Macklin*, London, 1799, and Wm. Cooke, *Memoirs of Charles Macklin*, London, 1806, do not list this among Macklin's works, but Chas. Parry, *Charles Macklin*, London, 1891, does.

“ here is a presentment against one Charles Macklin, Comedian, of the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden ” The company demand that the statement be read.

Pas The substance of it is, That he hath written a strange hotch potch Farce, and puff'd it upon the Town as written after the manner of Aristophanes and the Pasquinades of the Italian Theatre—Gentlemen, This is an affair entirely Cognizable to the Town, All I can say upon it is, That, if you Condemn him, I will take care the Blockhead shall never trouble you agam—In the manner of Aristophanes

In the absence of any description of the play, Jensen (I, 70-1) was led, by the title and the advertisements in the newspapers, to write of Fielding's attitude toward the paper war “ The comical side of the affair evidently came home to him very quickly, for in his *Journals* previous to the 8th of April we find him printing advertisements of a burlesque skit on his quarrel with Hill,—*Pasquin turn'd Drawcansir* ” ⁹ Cross (II, 410-11) also suggests it must have some part in the war with Hill, but assumes principally that it is an attack by Macklin in revenge for real or fancied slights, and for Fielding's attitude toward the Covent-Garden Theatre in his *Journal*

But the play makes only the most casual references to the war, and was certainly not written, as these critics have assumed, in support of Fielding's enemies. It pictures him as a critic who, for his very love of the town and its people, undertakes the task of censorship. The play has no plot. Pasquin stands before his audience, and a procession of people symbolizing the frivolities, follies, and vices of the town pass in review. These had engaged Fielding's interest for many years, now more than ever. Many of the people and the pastimes satirized in this play appeared also for judgment in the pages of *The Covent-Garden Journal*. The play exhibits Fielding's hatred of vanity and vice in Fielding's own language, and it argues at length against the evil of gambling, only recently the object of a vigorous campaign by the magistrate. In fact the language in Pasquin's attack on gamblers and sharpers is so like Fielding's own in the *Enquiry on the Late Increase in Robbers* that it is not impossible he had some hand in it. The whole, indeed, is much more like Fielding than like Macklin who, if he did write this with no help from Fielding, succeeded in

imitating him with remarkable faithfulness. It is certainly likely that Fielding saw the manuscript before the production of the play. Although *The Covent-Garden Journal* carried few theatrical advertisements, notices of this play appeared in it on March 14, 17, 21, and 28, and it is difficult to suppose that, in the light of all the attacks levelled against him, Fielding would have admitted them without knowing the text of the play.⁷

The only review of the play that has turned up is the one by Bonnell Thornton. Taken alone the review conveys nothing, but with the text of the play in mind his comments and criticism become clear. He makes nine charges against it. The first is that it is new, and hence bad (as the common run of plays are bad because they are *not* new). Second, it was "a foolish affair" because he could not "at once see into the contrivance," but the stupid author kept him in suspense all the while. Third, the playwright made the audience play a part and "converted our very marks of disapproval into an applause of his design." Moreover, he admitted the whole audience as critic, "a right by usage and custom belonging solely to me and my grumbling fraternity, the Critics." Thornton here refers to Pasquin's opening speech to the audience.

My scene I have laid in the Common Theatre, which is my usual place of exposing those Knaves and Fools, who despise the Moral, and those who are too great or too Subtle for the common Law, and as my whole design is new, I hope You my Gracious Patrons, will not be Offended if I Assigne you a part in this Pasquinade which is this,—You are to act as a Chorus to the whole. When you behold a Fool pleasantly exposed You are to laugh, if you please, not else,—When a Knave is satyrized with Spirit and Wit, You are to Applaud,—and when Pasquin is dull you are to explode, which I suppose will be the Chief of Your Part. I'll engage the Pit, Boxes, and Galleries perform their parts to a Numerous and polite Audience, and with Universal Applause. As soon as they shall hear the Cue depend upon it you'll hear them Speak.

Obviously a hiss could be taken as the rejection of a character rather than of an actor or of the play. Thornton's fifth objection is that the "Satire was too home, and abused me in particular

⁷ During the month of March only three theatrical performances were advertised in the *Journal*. Like Macklin's, the other two were benefit performances. Fielding carried little general advertising of either books or plays. During this month all the books advertised, with a single exception, issued from the press of Andrew Millar, Fielding's publisher.

and was levelled at his betters, and ridicul'd fine gentlemen and fine ladies, and gamesters, and lords, and maids of honour" *The Town* was the signature Thornton used. Pasquin in the play describes the character of *The Town*.

a Monster made up of Contrarieties, Caprice steers your Judgment—Fashion and Novelty your Affections, Sometimes so splenitic as to damn a Cibber, and even a Congreve, in the Way of the World,—And sometimes so good-natured as to turn out in Crowds after a Queen Mab, or a Man in a Bottle^s

Sixth, it made "some very polite people in the boxes decamp in a hurry" in the face of the attacks. Seventh, "it was too long and too short, too witty and too dull, had too much art and too little, was too plain and too unintelligible, meant too much and meant too little"—all of which explains nothing. Eighth, in the Exordium and Peroration "he behaves like a thief who, instead of confessing his own faults, with malice prepense exposed those of his judges" Pasquin had said

To Conclude, my Business in this Land may be sum'd up in a few Words, it is to get your money and cure you of your Foibles, for wherever Pasquin comes the Public is his Patient, its folly his Support

Lastly, Thornton ends, "I don't like it"^s

It seems clear that, although he had often raised his own pen against Fielding, Thornton felt some sympathy for this play and for the censorship of Pasquin. Certainly the review is no ill-natured blow against either author or subject. Supposing the play to be an attack on Fielding, Cross says of the reviewer, "Evidently to his discomfort he saw the piece completely damned." If his objections to Fielding were as strong as this implies they were, he should have been glad to see the play damned.

The play is in two acts, the scene the stage of a theatre. Pasquin enters and delivers an oration. He addresses his public,

Nobles, Commons, Belles, Wits, Critics, Bards and Bardlins, and ye my very good Friends of Common Sense, tho' last, not least in Merit—Greetings and Patience to you all

^s "Queen Mab" and the "Man in a Bottle" were current entertainments. See also Fielding's discussion of the word "Town" in *O G J* for Jan 14, 1752.

^o *Drury-Lane Journal*, April 9, 1752

His opening speech over, he calls Marforio,¹⁰ his assistant, who is to bring before him the offenders against Common Sense. Marforio cautions him not to be harsh, but to "strive to gain the favor of the Public by Morality and Panegyrick" But Pasquin scorns this.

You might as well advise a Soldier to make his fortune by Cowardice, No, Sir, he who would gain the Esteem of a Brave, a Wise, and a Free people, must lash their Vices, and laugh at their follies

Pasquin retires and watches the smart set of the town enter There is Miss Brilliant, who knows all the celebrities, Bob Smart, "a professed Wit and Critic, no Man knows the Intrigues of the Court, the Theatres, or City better", Sir Conjecture Possitive, a typical Virtuoso of the period,

a gentleman who was never in error in his life and consequently was never convinced He understands Politics, and Butterflies, Whale fishing and Cricket, Fortifications and Shuttle-cock, Poetry and Wolf Dogs, in short ev'rything in ev'ry art and science from a Pin's head to the Longitude and the Philosopher's Stone better than any man in Europe

Pasquin re-enters and undertakes to question these "Infallibles who preside at all public Diversions" His first subject is Hydra "I am, Sir, for my Taste in Public Diversions, Honored with the appellation of the Town—but My real Name is Jack Hydra"

Hydra in turn introduces the characters of the town to Pasquin Each describes himself in the most favorable terms, and then they turn and rend each other Miss Diana Single-Life, Miss Bashful, and Miss Brilliant indulge in an orgy of defamations until none has a shred of character left When this display is finally ended Hydra introduces Solomon Common-Sense—Fielding's typical common-sense character.

This, Mr Pasquin, is a plain honest Citizen He is called honest Solomon Common Sense, If you can please him, and make him your Friend, he can influence a large number in your Favour which will be of more Service

¹⁰ The names "Pasquin" and "Marforio" were frequently used as symbols, usually by political writers They refer to the two statues supposed to have stood in Rome They were credited with having engaged in sharp verbal combat, Pasquin challenging Marforio and the latter making reply John Rich made use of the device in a play written in 1736 called *Marforio*, which was a reply to Fielding's attack on his pantomimes in *Pasquin*

to you than the Approbation of all the petti Maitres, Critics, and Wou'd be Witts, from St James's to White Chappel

Common Sense makes a speech commending Pasquin, and the first act closes

The second act opens with Marforio bringing in a new batch of culprits He has gone to "the other theatre," that is, to Drury Lane, and captured Miss Giggie, who had been sitting in a box witnessing a tragedy, laughing, creating a disturbance "because several of the audience were ridiculous enough to cry at it"¹¹ On his way back he picked up Lady Lucy Lovett, a woman of Fashion, who was about to step into her chair to go to the masquerade at Lady High-Life's, and who promises to let Pasquin into "the Secrets of every Intrigue, Family, and Character, from Pall Mall to Grosvenor Square" All the fine ladies again launch into an exchange of abusive speeches.

In all this there is only the briefest reference to Fielding's skirmish with the Grub Street wits, and, although there is evidence enough that Macklin knew what was going on, he is definitely not taking sides In his opening speech Pasquin describes London

This Magazine of all the World! this Nurse of Trade! this Region of Liberty! this School of Arts and Sciences Mother Midnights, Termagants, Clare Market, Robin Hood Orators, Drury Lane Journals, Inspectors, Fools and Drawcansirs, daily Tax the Public of Virtue of the Strangeness and the Monstrosity, or Delicacy of their Nature or Genius

Mother Midnight was the keeper of a booth in Clare Market where she exhibited animal shows and other entertainments, and Christopher Smart adopted her name as his pseudonym, Orator Henley's booth was also in Clare Market, and it was there that the Robinhoodians met, "Roxana Termagant" was the signature Bonnell Thornton used in his articles on Fielding in the *Drury-Lane Journal*, the Inspector was Fielding's chief enemy John Hill, who so signed his leaders in the *Advertiser*, "Fool" was the signature used by the author of the *London Gazetteer* Macklin again avoids taking sides in the controversy when he introduces Miss Brilliant as the lady who "is intimate with Garrick, is known to

¹¹ P 38 Fielding mentions a number of times in his writings the people who interfere with performances by laughing aloud in the wrong places, and drawing the attention of the audience from the play He has a paper on the subject in C G J, February 15, 1752

the Fool, Corresponds with Sir Alexander Drawcansir, and had writ several admird Inspectors," thus connecting her impartially with all the principal parties to the quarrel. Miss Brilliant then offers to present Pasquin to these gentlemen

Even more closely connected with Fielding's current activities is the closing episode of the play, which involves the gambler, Count Hunt-Bubble. The Count storms behind the scenes, and when Pasquin goes out to investigate, the irate man of fashion beats him up for daring to censure people of quality. Pasquin charges that he is a sharper and a common gamester, and reads a petition against him and his kind. Common Sense approves the censor's action.

Mr Pasquin, your bringing such men to justice is a Public Good and deserves Public thanks. They are characters that all men detest, and that all men wish to see punished.

Pas. Sir you don't know half the villainy of these men. Play, in its most honorable commerce, is a pernicious vice, but as Luxury, Fashion, and avarice have improved it all over Europe, it has now become an avowed system of Fraud and Ruin. The virtuous and Honorable who scorn advantage are a constant prey to the vicious and dishonorable who never Play without one, nor does the Vice Stop here, for the Sharper having stripped his Bubble of his estate, he next corrupts his mind by making him a Decoy-Duck in order to retrieve his Fortune as he lost it. And from an indigent Virtuous Bubble, the Noble Youth becomes an affluent vicious Sharper.

Com. The Observation is but too true, and it is a pity the Legislature do not contrive some speedy Method to put an Effectual Stop to such impious Practices.

Pas. Thus, instead of Virtue, Honour, and Noble Sentiments being sown in the minds of Youth, they are tainted with Fraud and Treachery, and those who should be the Support and Ornament of their Country, are the Confederates of Men, who would be a disgrace to the worst of Countries in the worst of Times.

Count Hunt-Bubble accuses him of uttering a libel, to which Pasquin replies

Sir it is you that libel by your application. My charge is not against any particular Person, Degree, Rank, or Set of Men but against known profess'd Sharpers who, under the Mask of Honour, Amusement, and Friendship, daily Commit Crimes that deserve the Hangman's lash rather than the satyrists's.

This is the kind of attack on hypocrisy we find throughout Field-

ing's works, and this is his customary way of defending his rôle of satirist and critic.

In January, 1751, Fielding had published his *Enquiry into the Causes of the Late Increase of Robbers*, and in the same month the King, in a speech from the Throne, recommended legislation against these "outrages and violence" Parliament adjourned without taking action, but public opinion was stirred and it was obvious that something must be done Fielding's pamphlet attracted a good deal of attention.

Macklin was certainly familiar with the pamphlet. Its third section was entitled "Of Gaming among the Vulgar; a Third Consequence of their Luxury" Fielding says he has "only the inferior part of Mankind" under consideration, but he lashes those great men who indulge in the vice, and who, by their power "are beyond the reach of any, unless Capital Laws," and begs that they keep this popular vice to themselves, and not admit Sharpers to their society.

I am well apprized that this is not much the case with Persons of the first Figure, but to Gentlemen (and especially of the younger sort) of the Second Degree, these Fellows have much too easy an access Particularly at the several public places (I might have said Gaming Places) in this Kingdom, too little Care is taken to prevent the Union of Company, and Sharpers of the lowest kind have frequently there found admission to their superiours, upon no other pretence or Merit than that of a laced Coat, and with no other Stock than that of Assurance ¹²

His picture is very much like Pasquin's in the play

Some few of these Fellows, by luckily falling in with an egregious Bubble, some thoughtless young Heir, or more commonly Heiress, have succeeded in a manner which, if it may give some Encouragement to others to imitate them, should, at the same time, as strongly admonish all Gentlemen and Ladies to be cautious with whom they mix in Public Places, and to avoid the Sharper as they would a Pest ¹³

The Covent Garden Theatre was first advertised on March 13 and performed on April 8 Between these dates, on March 26, Parliament passed "An Act for the better Preventing Thefts and Robberies and for regulating Places of Public Entertainment and punishing Persons Keeping Disorderly Houses" The provisions of this act duplicate the preventive measures outlined by Fielding

¹² *Enquiry*, London, 1751, p 22

¹³ *Ibid*, p 24.

in the *Enquiry*, and Macklin made as much use as he could of the public interest in the problem

The play ends with a peroration in which Pasquin defends himself as a critic of society and a satirist

Gratitude and public Spirit, are the two Noblest Passions, that ever warm'd the Heart of Man, or fired the Poets Imagination They should be the Springs of every Public Character, and are this Night of Pasquin, Inspired by them he has dar'd to laugh at Female Folly and to lash a Noble Vice that Lords it in Our most Polite Assemblies For which, he who was late a Judge and Public Censor in Turn, now trembles at your Dread Tribunal The first and last appeal of Players, Poets, Statesmen, Fiddlers, Fools, Philosophers and Kings If by the boldness of his Satyr, or the daring Novelty of his Plan and Fable he has Offended, He ought to meet with some degree of Candour as his offense was the effect of a Noble Gratitude, and an Over-heated Zeal to please His Noble Guests and Patrons, whom he scorn'd to treat with Vulgar Cates—Season'd and Serv'd up with Flattery and Common Dramatic Art For this boldness of his Satyr, this is his Defense

The play has little to recommend it as a play. There is no plot, and the author, sensitive to this lack, makes his characters call attention to it on several occasions. There is little action Pasquin stands upon the stage, permitting these people, who personify the vices and follies of the fashionable world, to pass in review and betray themselves, commenting on them and censuring them Then with a bow to the audience he retires.

However, the sketches of people are shrewd, and drawn with spirit. Moreover, Pasquin is justly and significantly portrayed—the acute and usually benign critic who believes that a complete portrayal of the follies of the world is the first step toward curing them. Macklin may have had cause, as Cross suggests, to be annoyed with Fielding at this time. If so it is to his credit that, in spite of provocation, he portrayed Fielding, Pasquin, and Drawcansir sympathetically in their most familiar rôle

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JOSEPH WARTON'S CLASSIFICATION OF ENGLISH
POETS

An interesting feature of Joseph Warton's *Essay on Pope* (1756) is a classification of English poets into four groups according to poetic merit. The first and highest group includes "our only three sublime and pathetic poets"—Shakespeare, Milton, and Spenser. The second includes "such as possessed the true poetical genius, in a more moderate degree, but had noble talents for moral and ethical poesy." In the third are placed "men of wit, of elegant taste, and some fancy in describing familiar life," and in the lowest class are ranked "the mere versifiers, however smooth and mellifluous some of them may be thought."

The definitions of these classes remain substantially the same through the *Essay's* five editions, but Mr. MacClintock has shown ¹ that in Warton's second edition, 1762, so many poets are shifted from one class to another that the character of the grouping is radically changed. Mr. MacClintock tabulates these changes as follows:

	1756	1762
Class I	Spenser Shakespeare Milton "And then, at proper intervals," Otway Lee	Spenser Shakespeare Milton
Class II	Dryden Donne Denham Cowley Congreve	Dryden Prior Addison Cowley Waller Garth Fenton Gay Denham Parnell
Class III	Prior Waller Parnell	Butler Swift Rochester

¹ W. D. MacClintock, *Joseph Warton's Essay on Pope, A History of the Five Editions* (Chapel Hill, 1933), pp. 57-8.

Swift
Fenton

Donne
Dorset
Oldham

Class IV Unchanged

Mr MacClintock includes this revision among those which imply "a genuine growth in taste, in critical acumen or range, and in the use of new information to modify preceding points of view." The first version, he says, contains critical mistakes which "are many and reveal sad limitations in his critical attainments. It will be seen, however, that he shows marked improvement in his revision six years later"²

It is interesting that this revision, the most striking example Mr MacClintock is able to provide of the growth of Warton's critical ability, should exactly follow suggestions made in a magazine review of the *Essay's* first edition. Mr MacClintock mentions this review—in the *Monthly Review*, xiv (1756), 528-54, and xv (1756), 52-78—and quotes a sentence from it,³ but he seems not to have noticed two most interesting facts: first, that a dozen or more of its critical judgments are plagiarized from a review by Dr Johnson which had appeared a month earlier in the *Literary Magazine*, and secondly, that its criticism of Warton's classification of the poets was the basis for his revision in 1762.

A few examples will show the dependence of this reviewer upon Johnson's earlier notice.

Warton, on Pope's *Windsor Forest*: "Rural beauty in general, and not the peculiar beauties of the forest of Windsor, are here described" (*Essay*, 1756, p. 20)

Johnson

Monthly Review

"He must inquire, whether Windsor Forest has, in reality, any thing peculiar" (*Works*, London, 1816, II 359)

"But it ought first to be inquired, whether Windsor-Forest has in reality any peculiar beauties, and whether Pope has omitted these" (xiv, 546)

Other parallels: The mind, not the ear, is offended by repeated rhymes on the same vowel (Johnson, 363, *Review*, xv, 56). Somerville's *Chace* is more detailed than the chase passage in *Windsor Forest* because that was Somerville's whole subject (Johnson, 359, *Review*, xiv, 545).

The identity of these remarks with Johnson's would lead one to suspect that Johnson had written both reviews, were it not that

² *Ibid.*, pp. 57-8.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 24-7.

Griffiths, editor of the *Monthly*, ascribed the notice to Dr James Grainger, author of *The Sugar Cane* ⁴ Furthermore, the reviewer says in making one of his borrowed criticisms, "as another writer words it," thence continuing with Johnson's remark ⁵ He also speculates on the possibility that Warton may be the author of the anonymous *Essay*, concluding that he probably is not, ⁶ Johnson knew that Warton was the author ⁷

Grainger's notice is not entirely plagiarized Johnson's review is twelve pages long, that in the *Monthly*, expanded by quotation from the *Essay* and by several original criticisms, is fifty-two pages long Its most valuable original comment is on Warton's classification of the poets The review suggests five possible changes, involving eight poets, all of these changes, and no others, are made by Warton in 1762 These suggestions and Warton's changes in response to them are here summarized

1 The reviewer objects to placing Otway and Lee in Class I, where they are ahead of Dryden In 1762 the two dramatists are dropped from the list

2 The reviewer remarks that in one place Warton refers to Donne as a mere man of wit or man of sense, but that in the classification of poets he is ranked in Class II In 1762 Donne is demoted to Class III

3 Denham, the reviewer says, ought certainly to be ahead of Donne, though below Prior and Fenton In 1762 Denham is allowed to remain in Class II, but Donne is moved down and Prior and Fenton are moved up into Class II, so that Denham is below them

4 The reviewer thinks Congreve much overrated by inclusion in Class II Warton removes him entirely in the second edition

5 Finally, Parnell ought to be higher, but not too high He is raised from third place in Class III to the last place in Class II ⁸

Warton's indebtedness to his critic seems to be demonstrated by a sentence he adds to the classification in the second edition The reviewer had said that Warton was not only unfortunate in his arrangement of the poets but had also left out many of the most important ones, in 1762 Warton replies to this charge, saying, "This enumeration is not intended as a complete catalogue of

⁴ Nichols, *Illustrations*, VII (1848), p 226, note Confirmed by B C Nangle, *The Monthly Review* (Oxford, 1934), p 18

⁵ *Monthly Review*, XIV, 548

⁶ *Ibid.*, 536

⁷ John Wooll, *Biographical Memoirs of Joseph Warton* (London, 1806), pp 238-9

⁸ *Monthly Review*, XIV, 534-6

writers, and in their proper order [i. e., within the classes, although they are now in fact exactly in the order suggested by the reviewer], but only to mark out briefly the different species of our celebrated authors”

That Warton's revision should so exactly follow the reviewer's suggestions may be thought to imply a commendable willingness to take advantage of criticism, but such a growth in taste and critical acumen as Mr MacClintock finds is certainly dubious. The revision is interesting too as it illustrates Warton's lack of independence, one may almost say of respect for his own abilities and judgments, which appears with almost equal clarity elsewhere in the *Essay* and in his other writings.

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JONSON'S "ODE ON MORISON" AND SENECA'S *EPISTULÆ MORALES*

An interesting example of Ben Jonson's borrowing from the classics is found in his "Pindaric Ode," addressed to Sir Lucius Cary upon the death of their friend, Sir Henry Morison, and included by the poet in *Underwoods*. The central idea of the poem and many of its actual lines are taken from the ninety-third epistle of Seneca's *Epistulae Morales*, the theme of which is that life should not be measured by length of years but by accomplishment of worthy deeds. The better to illustrate Jonson's borrowings, I am reprinting from his poem stanzas 3 to 7 inclusive, paralleling them with the significant passages from Seneca.¹

<i>Actu illum [vitam]</i>	<i>For what is life, if measur'd by the space,</i>
<i>metamur, non tempore</i>	<i>Not by the act?</i>

Or masked man, if valued by his face,
Above his fact?

<i>Quid illum octoginta</i>	<i>Here's one outliv'd his peers,</i>
<i>anni vivant per inertiam</i>	<i>And told forth fourscore years</i>
<i>exacti? Non vivit iste,</i>	<i>He vexed time, and busied the whole state,</i>
<i>sed in vita moratus est,</i>	<i>Troubled both foes and friends,</i>

¹ The text of Seneca is from the Loeb Classical Library edition. The text of Jonson's poem is taken from Gifford's edition, I have omitted the stanzaic markings. strophe, antistrophe, etc.

*nec sero mortuus est, sed
dum*

But ever to no ends
What did this sturrer but die late?
How well at twenty had he fallen or stood!
For three of his fourscore he did no good

Octoginta annis vivit
Interest, mortem eius ex
quo die numeres

He enter'd well by virtuous parts,
Got up, and thriv'd with honest arts
He purchased friends, and fame, and honours then,
And had his noble name advanc'd with men,
But weary of that flight,
He stoop'd in all men's sight
To sordid flatteries, acts of strife,
And sunk in that dead sea of life,
So deep, as he did then death's waters sup,
But that the cork of title buoy'd him up

*At ille obit viridis
Sed officia boni civis,
boni amici, boni filii ex-
catus est, in nulla parte
cessavit Licet aetas eius
imperfecta sit, vita per-
fecta est*

Alas! *but Morison fell young*
He never fell,—thou fall'st, my tongue
He stood a soldier to the last right end,
A perfect patriot and a noble friend,
But most, a virtuous son
All offices were done
By him, so ample, full, and round,
In weight, in measure, number, sound,
As, *though his age imperfect might appear,*
His life was of humanity the sphere

Go now, and tell our days summ'd up with fears,
And make them years,
Produce thy mass of miseries on the stage,
To swell thine age

Octoginta annis vivit
Immo octoginta annis
fuit, nisi forte sic vixisse
eum dicis, quomodo de-
cuntur arbores vivere

Repeat of things a throng,
To shew thou *hast been* long,
Not *lw'd*, for life doth her great actions spell,
By what was done and wrought
In season, and so brought
To light her measures are, how well
Each syllabe answer'd, and was form'd, how fair,
These make the lines of life, and that's her air!

*Quemadmodum in mi-
nore corporis habitu po-
test homo esse perfectus,
sic et in minore temporis
modo potest vita esse
perfecta*

It is not growing like a tree
In bulk, doth make men better be,
Or standing long an oak, three hundred year,
To fall a log at last, dry, bald, and sear
A lily of a day,
Is fairer far, in May,
Although it fall and die that night,
It was the plant and flower of light
In small proportions we just beauties see,
And in short measures, life may perfect be.

Most of the parallels are sufficiently obvious. Each author compares an octogenarian who has passed a profitless existence to a young man who has led a good life during his brief span of years. Jonson's line, "His life was of humanity the sphere," reproduces the meaning of Seneca's "*vita perfecta est*," since the sphere is considered the most perfect of forms. His description of the old man who dies late but has long been "sunk in that dead sea of life" is an interesting paraphrase of Seneca's lines on the man who "has not lived but has tarried in life, who is not lately dead but has been dead for a long time." In a similar vein is his borrowing of Seneca's ironic distinction between verbs: "He has *lived* eighty years! Rather he has *been* (existed) eighty years." In the latter part of the same sentence the comparison of such "living" to the insensate existence of a tree gives Jonson the theme of the finest stanza in his poem, the introduction of the perfect but short-lived lily is his own addition. In the last two lines of the stanza he returns to Seneca, one line being a paraphrase and the other an exact translation from that author.

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"MEMORANDUMS OF THE IMMORTAL BEN"

Herford and Simpson have printed, among "Contemporary Notes and Records" concerning Jonson, a document known as "Memorandums of the Immortal Ben."¹ The "Memorandums" are written on the last leaf of a copy of Jonson's *Catiline* printed in 1674. Dr. Bang of Louvain, who owned the volume, published in 1906 a facsimile of the page of "Memorandums," together with a transcript and commentary.² He believed that the entries rest on notes in Jonson's own hand. Mr. Simpson called attention, in the same place, to another version of the "Memorandums," printed by Edward Pugh in 1807.³ Pugh introduced them into a description of the Devil Tavern with the following statement.

¹ C. H. Herford and Percy Simpson, *Ben Jonson*, I (1925), 188-189.

² *MLR*, I, 111-115.

³ David Hughson [Edward Pugh], *London*, IV, 40.

In an antient manuscript preserved at Dulwich college, are some of this comic writer's memoranda, which prove beyond dispute, that he owed a great part of his inspiration to *Old Sack*

In the Oxford *Ben Jonson* Mr Simpson has printed a full collation of the two versions, following Dr Bang's manuscript except where words have been clipped away, but recording all Pugh's variations. Rather surprisingly, the document is treated as though it were to be accepted at its face value, with no warning to the reader that it does not stand on the same footing as the notes of Drummond, Aubrey, and Plume. Sir Edmund Chambers in a review commented with his usual acuteness: "In the interests of controversy, I venture to suggest to the learned editors that this is a palpable eighteenth-century fake." Mr. Simpson replied in defense of the document, holding that "it seems to echo traditional gossip and even to convey some scraps of Jonson's talk crudely reported in the first person."⁵

The "Memorandums" uphold a very simple thesis: that when Jonson drank good claret or sack, he wrote good plays, and that when his wine was bad "the Tale of a Tub, the Devil is an Ass, and some others of low Comedy, were written by poor Ben Johnson." This purely physiological theory of dramatic inspiration suggests rather a literary exercise than personal reminiscences by Jonson. At my first reading of the "Memorandums" the style struck a familiar chord in my mind, it reminded me, not of Jonson, but of the imaginary recollections common in eighteenth-century essay-periodicals. Accordingly I resolved to look through the numerous periodicals that followed the *Spectator*, and in the very first to which I turned, the *Censor*, I found the source of the "Memorandums."

The *Censor* was written by Lewis Theobald under the assumed name of "Ben Johnson."⁶ The first number, dated April 11, 1715, begins: "Being lineally descended from *Benjamin Johnson* of surly Memory, whose Name as well as a considerable Portion of his Spirit, without one Farthing of Estate, I am Heir to, I took

⁴ *The Library*, September, 1925, p. 181.

⁵ *Ben Jonson*, III (1927), 608.

⁶ Peter Whalley in editing Jonson used Theobald's copy of Jonson with his notes, and Theobald answered questions on Jonson for Thomas Birch (Richard Foster Jones, *Lewis Theobald* [1919], pp. 212, 246).

up a Resolution to let the world know, that there is still a poor Branch of that *Immortal* Family remaining . . . " The author writes in the third number "I can assure them that my Great *Ancestour*, throughout the Scene of his Life, preserv'd a just Notion of Religious Duties," a statement illustrated by two anecdotes Number fourteen, under date of May 11, 1715, is devoted to proving that "None are more indebted to the *Grape* than Poets" Horace, says Theobald, asserts the poet's "*Hereditary Right* to drinking," handed down from Homer and Ennius "That my Reader may see, our *English Poets* have used the same Privilege with as good Success," the essayist continues, "I shall present him with a few short Memorandums of my great Ancestor *Ben Johnson*, which have been preserved with great Care in our Family" The original text of the "Memorandums," from which both Dr Bang's manuscript and Pugh's inaccurate version are evidently copied, is as follows ⁷

Mem I laid the Plot of my *Volpone*, and wrote most of it, after a Present of Ten Dozen of *Palm Sack*,⁸ from my very good Lord T—r, That Play I am positive will last to Posterity, and be acted, when I and Envy are Friends, with Applause

Mem The first *Speech* in my *Cataline*,⁹ spoken by *Scylla's* Ghost, was writ after I parted from my *Boys* at the *Devil-Tavern*, I had drunk well that Night, and had brave Notions There is one Scene in that Play which I think is Flat, I resolve to mix no more Water with my *Wine*

Mem Upon the Twentieth of *May*, the *King*, Heaven reward him, sent me one Hundred Pounds, I went often to the *Devil* about that Time, and wrote my *Alchymist* before I had spent *Fifty* Pounds of it

Mem At *Christmas* my Lord B— took me with him into the Country, There was great Plenty of excellent *Claret-wine*, a new *Character* offered it self to me here, upon which I wrote my *Silent Woman* My Lord

⁷ *Censor* (1717), I, 102-103

⁸ The name of this wine in itself indicates the date of the document The first quotation in the *NED* for "palm" as a variety of sack is from William King's *Art of Cookery* in 1708 I find in the *Daily Courant* for August 13, 1716, the following advertisement "Just Bottled off, True PALM SACK, perfectly fine, genuine, and of an excellent racy Flavour, no Canary imported this Year to compare with it" As late as December 31 the same advertisement announced the wine as "Just Bottled off"!

⁹ Theobald may have known the verses cited by Simpson from Robert Baron's *Pocula Castalia*, referring to *Catiline*

How could that Poem heat & vigour lack
When each line oft cost BEN a glasse of sack

smiled, and made me a noble Present upon reading the first *Act* to him, ordering at the same time a good Quantity of the *Wine* to be sent to *London* with me when I went, and it lasted me till my Work was finished

Mem The *Tale* of a *Tub*, the *Devil* is an *Ass*, and some others of low Comedy, were written by poor *Ben Johnson* I remember that I did not succeed in any one Composition for a whole Winter, it was that Winter *honest Ralph* the Drawer¹⁰ *died*, and when I and my *Boys* drank bad wine at the *Devil*

"I think," the essay ends, "that these *Memorandums* of the immortal *Ben* are sufficient to justify the Opinion of *Horace*, and I do assure my Reader that they are faithfully transcribed from the Original" Theobald, of course, did not expect that anyone would take his innocent fictions seriously But some eighteenth-century reader happened to copy them into his quarto of *Catiline*, and Pugh or some informant of his pretended as their source "an antient manuscript preserved at Dulwich college" Thus fortified by the apparent authority of manuscripts, which often win a suspension of disbelief not accorded to printed books, the "Memorandums" succeeded in imposing upon even some of the best of modern scholars

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CALDERON, BOURSALT, AND RAVENSCROFT

A curious example of French literature as an intermediary between Spanish and English is offered by Boursault's *Ne pas croire ce qu'on voit, histoire espagnole*, a satirico-romantic novel published in 1670, 1672, 1677, and 1739. I have some suggestions to make in regard to its sources and to its relation to a prose work and a play written in English

Judging by the title and the dedication, M Martinenche¹ sup-

¹⁰ As Simpson pointed out (*MLR*, I, 115), Ralph is mentioned in Aubrey's manuscript account of Jonson and in the actor George Powell's epistle before *The Treacherous Brothers* (1690), where Ralph is described as "the honest Drawer that drew him good Sack" Theobald could obviously have read of Ralph in Powell

¹ *Molière et le théâtre espagnol*, Paris, 1906, pp 204-5 Alfred Hoffmann, *Edme Boursault*, Metz, 1902, pp 76-80, refers to the work as a Spanish translation, but makes no attempt to identify the original

posed that Boursault had translated a Spanish novel, though he admitted that he had been unable to discover the original Boursault, indeed, calls his work

une Traduction Espagnole, que je ne garentis pas trop fidelle Je n'ose vous dire où j'ay pris ce que je vous presente, de peur que l'Original ne vous fasse avoir du dégoût pour la Coppie j'en ay mesme déguisé le Titre, & transposé quelques-uns des Incidens Autorisé par l'exemple du plus habile Traducteur de nôtre Siecle, (j'entends habile pour faire beaucoup de besogne en peu de temps) je n'ay point fait de difficulté de sauter tout ce que je n'entendis pas ²

But he does not state that his original was a novel, or deny that it may have been a play or even two plays Now most of his work is devoted to two stories closely intertwined a mantilla-tale in which Elvire pursues Gusman, makes him fall in love with her both when she is disguised and when she is not, becomes her own rival, and finally induces him to marry her, and a tale concerned with Diego and Blanche, who are constantly quarreling and have to contend with the opposition of Blanche's father and the rivalry of Elvire's brother ³ Both of these tales had been employed and similarly combined by Thomas Corneille in his comedy entitled *les Engagemens du hazard* Except for certain amplifications in the first part of his novel, Boursault follows Thomas so closely that there can be no doubt about his having used his play or its sources, two comedias by Calderon In his preface Thomas Corneille had stated that most of his comedy was taken from *Los Empeños de un Acaso*, but that his fourth act came from *Casa con dos puertas*, a play that resembles *Los Empeños* closely If Boursault read the preface of *les Engagemens*, he must have received from it a suggestion for turning to the two Spanish plays, while Thomas Corneille may

² This passage was copied for me by Dr Chandler Beall from the dedication of the 1670 edition The dedication is lacking in the edition of 1677, which I have followed elsewhere

³ There is also a brief subordinate plot, the most comic portion of the novel, in which avaricious Francisque, Elvire's temporary fiancé, misled by his uncle into believing that the latter is dead, seeks to force the older man to be as good as his word and leave him his fortune This episode became the source of a French play, *l'Héritier imaginaire*, composed by the actor Nanteuil and published at Hannover in 1674 when he was acting at the ducal court, cf my *History of French Dramatic Literature*, Part III, pp 797-800

well be the French translator mentioned in the passage just cited as doing much translating in a short time ⁴

When *les Engagemens* and *Los Empeños* differ, Boursault follows his French colleague,⁵ but he leaves him when he is adapting *Casa con dos puertas*. In the latter play the lover and the veiled lady meet early in the morning, she subsequently overhears his conversation with her brother, reproaches him with having talked about their meetings, and assures him that she is not the woman her brother loves. These details are not in Thomas Corneille's play. Moreover, in *Casa con dos puertas*, the young man says to the girl, "antes que galán vuestro Fuí de Don Félix amigo" (II, 3), while the corresponding character in the novel says (p. 80), "j'étois redevable à Dom Ruis avant que de vous avoir jamais vue," and there is no equivalent of this passage in Thomas Corneille's play. Boursault must, then, have used *Casa con dos puertas*. Let us see whether his remarks in the text of the novel about his Spanish original apply to it. On p. 73 he declares that he learned from the Spanish original that Elvire entered her closet when she wished to listen to her brother's conversation, and so she does in *Casa*, I, 5. On p. 128 Boursault points out that the Spanish original does not contain a comparison that he makes, and, indeed, no such comparison is found in Calderon's play. On p. 232 he writes, "Je me donne au Diable, disoit-il en luy-mesme, ou l'Original Espagnol a menti, si je vois . . ." In this situation Thomas Corneille's lover cries, "O regret! o douleur!", the lovers in *Los Empeños*, "¡ay de mí!"; the lovers in *Casa con dos puertas*, "¡Fuego de Dios en el querer bien!" The fourth allusion is found in the remark, "où l'Original Espagnol dit le plus honnêtement qu'il peut qu'un grand cours de ventre rendoit sa presence necessaire." No such situation is suggested by Calderon, but it is quite likely that Boursault is merely laying the blame on the Spaniard for the inelegant situation that he wishes to create, but not to be held responsible for.

⁴ He had recently composed two adaptations of Spanish plays, *le Baron d'Albikrac* and *la Comtesse d'Orgueil*.

⁵ Elvire is engaged to a man she does not love at the beginning of both French works, but not in *Los Empeños*. A maid is named Béatrix in the former, but not in the latter. A valet is stabbed in the Spanish play, but beaten in the corresponding situation in the French works.

It seems, then, that, when Boursault talks of his Spanish original, he is either joking, as in this last case, or is referring to *Casa con dos puertas*, and that, when he declares in his preface that he is translating from Spanish, he means that he has done so in part directly, in part with the help of Thomas Corneille's comedy and "autorisé" by this dramatist's example. His statement that his translation is not faithful may be due to the fact that he added the minor plot of *Elvire-Francisque*, a little historical background, certain humorous comments, and a few episodes, especially those of the rendezvous that the veiled lady does not keep, of the valet's search for the veiled lady, the bath incident, and *Elvire's* excursion with her brother into the country. It is most improbable that there is a Spanish novel that was Boursault's source, not only because it has never been discovered, but because it would have to include just the parts of *Los Empeños* and of *Casa con dos puertas* that Thomas Corneille utilized. No scholar would suggest that a Spanish author, in the 1660's, derived a novel from a French dramatist, nor could the unknown Spanish novel have been Thomas Corneille's source, unless the French dramatist made an entirely erroneous statement about the origin of his own play. The resemblance between a passage in Boursault's novel and *Pourceaugnac*, which M. Martinenche considers significant, can readily be explained as an instance of Boursault's borrowing from Molière.

Ne pas croire ce qu'on voit was translated into English with the title, *Deceptio Visus* or *Seeing and Believing are Two Things, a Pleasant Spanish History, Faithfully Translated*.⁶ "Faithfully," perhaps, in intent, but not in fact, for the translator lacked a sense of humor and his French was insufficient for his task. At times he misunderstands.⁷ For instance, Boursault's cowardly valet, when struck in the face, makes no effort to draw his sword and two very devout friars call his attention to his weapon, whereupon the valet tells them to mind their own business and threatens them with the Inquisition for inciting him to revenge. The English-

⁶ London, John Starkey, 1671. That this work was a translation of Boursault was indicated by F. P. Rolfe, *PMLA*, XLIX (1934), 1081.

⁷ *Brouillon*, brisk, *tout au plus*, as good or better, *estoit déjà debout*, got up on one end, *soubrette*, virgin, *fontaine attendant un égoût*, fountain throwing up water into the air, *baissa*, bowed very low, *vieux gargon*, ancient blithe gentleman; *se donna cinq ou six coups de peigne*, knocks at the door with it (a sword). Cf. *D. V.*, pp. 3, 50, 58, 148, 75, 108, 121, 191.

man translates (p 36) *Deux tres-dévots Religieux* by "Two or three persons of the reformed Religion," attempting to explain the reference to the Inquisition by turning friars into Protestants! Now Langbaine⁸ held that *Deceptio Visus* was the source of Ravenscroft's *Wrangling Lovers*. It is certainly nearer to the latter, as Dr E. T. Norris⁹ has shown, than is the *Engagemens du hazard*, but it remains to be determined whether Ravenscroft followed Boursault directly or used *Deceptio Visus*. The only way to settle the question was to compare the three texts. This I did, with the result that, although Ravenscroft, writing a play, altered his source freely, there is now enough evidence to establish the fact that he based his comedy directly on Boursault.

The joke about the Inquisition is transferred by Ravenscroft to a servant-girl, but is used with the same comic effect as by Boursault, whereas the point was missed by the translator. One of Boursault's heroines (p 58) is said to have asked her lover "ce qu'il avoit", *Deceptio Visus* (p 44) gives this as "what he would have," but Ravenscroft understands the French and writes, "what is the matter, Sir?" *Profiter de* becomes in *Deceptio Visus* "inform of," in Ravenscroft's play "profit by." *M'est venu embrasser* (p 248) is given in *Deceptio Visus* (p 195) as "embrace me about the knees" [*venu = genou?*], by Ravenscroft as "embraced me"¹⁰

⁸ *English Dramatic Poets*, Oxford, 1691, pp 423-4. He thought that the play was derived from a "Spanish Romance in 8° translated and called *Deceptio Visus*." He added that Thomas Corneille wrote a play on the same subject called *les Engagemens du hazard*. Ward, in his article on Ravenscroft in the *DNB*, rejected Langbaine's theory, apparently because he had not himself read *Deceptio Visus*, but accepted his suggestion of Thomas Corneille's play and concluded, as Langbaine had not done, that it was Ravenscroft's source. I am obliged to Dr E. T. Norris for indicating to me that there is a copy of *Deceptio Visus* in the Newberry Library and for lending me his own copy of the *Wrangling Lovers*.

⁹ *The Plays of Edward Ravenscroft*, an unpublished Johns Hopkins dissertation, 1932.

¹⁰ I have found only one case in which R seems at first to be nearer to the translation than to the original, that in which (p 88) the valet offers to tell the names of "tous les parens de mon Mastre, depuis son grand Pere, dont on ne peut voir la fin, jusqu'à un petit garçon qu'on mit sur sa porte." *Deceptio Visus* (p 69) translates *grand Pere* by "great grandfather," omits "dont on ne peut voir la fin," and turns *petit garçon* into "Bastard." Ravenscroft also has "great grandfather," but he adds "and the Lord knows how much further," which seems to be a mistranslation of "dont on ne peut voir la fin," and he makes no mention of a bastard. It seems to me probable that the two English writers independently took

I conclude that when, in his text, Boursault refers to a Spanish original, he means Calderon's *Casa con dos puertas*, that he justifies himself for calling his work an *Histoire espagnole* and for using the expression, "traduction espagnole," by the fact that Thomas Corneille, whom he also followed, was, as he admits, combining *Los Empeños* and *Casa con dos puertas* when he wrote his *Engagemens du hazard*, and that *Ne pas croire ce qu'on voit* was directly imitated in England, not only by the author of *Deceptio Visus*, but by Ravenscroft in his *Wrangling Lovers*. When the fact is added that a minor episode in the novel became the source of a French play that was acted and published in Germany, one sees France in this business serving as an international clearing-house, not for ideas, but for entertaining situations.

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

THE GENESIS OF ALEXANDRIN AS A METRICAL TERM

There has been scant discussion of the genesis of the term "alexandrin" to designate the French twelve-syllable verse. The treatises on versification and the histories of French literature contain, at most, an allusion to its being derived from the name of the *Roman d'Alexandre* and an early example of the use of the word.¹

parens in the sense of "ancestors," misunderstood the clause that followed, and thought that a mere grandfather would not be sufficiently impressive. Hence the "great." It is improbable that R. used both texts, for *Deceptio Visus* does not mention Boursault and passed for 250 years as the translation of a Spanish tale.

¹ See for example Träger, E. E. (*Geschichte des Alexandriners*, Leipzig, 1889) whose earliest example is 1560, Tobler (*Vom französischen Versbau*, 5th ed., Leipzig, 1910) mentions the earliest known example but does not discuss, Kastner, L. E. (*A History of French Versification*, Oxford, 1903) cites Baudet Harenc and vaguely suggests that the word comes from a late refashioning of the *Roman d'Alexandre*, Voretzsch, K. (*Introduction to the Study of Old French Literature*, translated by du Mont, Halle, 1931) gives the derivation from the *Roman d'Alexandre* and in a paragraph outlines the history of the verse, the following contain data on the dodecasyllable, but no discussion of the genesis of the word "alexandrin". Lanson, *Histoire de la littérature française*, Paris, 1909, Davidson, F., "Origin of the French Alexandrine" in *MLN*, xvi, 78-83, Chatelain, H.,

Moreover, there are early examples of the term not mentioned in any of the standard dictionaries.² Thus it seems worth while to assemble and analyze the pertinent early material.

The dodecasyllable makes its appearance at the beginning of the twelfth century in the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*, composed in assonanced *laisses*. Helped, perhaps, by the extension of classical learning in the twelfth century and by its resemblance to the hexameter, it gradually replaced the decasyllable as the epic measure. During and after the last third of the century its triumph was decisive,³ it is in this period that in the dodecasyllabic verse rhyme appears instead of assonance, which it almost completely supplants. Although the gravity and sonorousness of the twelve-syllable make it definitely an epic line, it is found in compositions of a type for which the octosyllable is the more frequent medium.⁴

In the course of the thirteenth century, the dodecasyllable gained so rapidly that not only was it standard for new epics, but many older ten-syllable poems were recast in the new meter. The few thirteenth-century epics in decasyllables seem to retain this obsolescent form because they follow earlier poems dealing with the same characters.⁵

Recherches sur le vers français au XV^e siècle, Paris, 1908, deals only with rhymes, meters and stanza structure, Grammont, M., *Le vers français*, Paris, 1913, deals with the modern period. The latest work on the earlier French poetic theory, W. F. Patterson's *Three Centuries of French Poetic Theory, A Critical History of the Chief Arts of Poetry in France (1328-1630)*, Ann Arbor, 1935, 2 vols., makes no mention at all of the introduction or early occurrences of the term "alexandrin." For further bibliography, see Thieme, H. P. *Essai sur l'histoire du vers français*, Paris, 1916.

² Littré's earliest example is from Ronsard, the *Dictionnaire général* goes back no farther than Geoffroy Tory's *Champ fleury* (1529), Godefroy cites only Baudet Harenc (1432) and Fabri (1521).

³ Of the epics listed by Gautier (*Épopées françaises*, I, 335-36) slightly more than half are in dodecasyllables, the ten-syllable predominating up to the last third of the century, the twelve-syllable thereafter.

⁴ Jean Bodel's *Jeu de St. Nicholas*, rhymed quatrains in three passages, *Bible de sapience* of Hermann de Valenciennes, stanzas of eight lines, *Vie de St. Thomas le martyr* by Guernes de Pont-Ste-Maxence, five-line stanzas, an anonymous miracle story describing a cure worked by the Virgin upon a sick man at the tomb of St. Thomas (cf. *Grundriss*, II, 646), quatrains, *Vie de Ste. Euphrosyne*, ten-line stanzas, *Évangile aux femmes*, quatrains; *Ave Maria*, *Agnus Dei*, *Vie de Jehan*, couplets, *Orédo*, couplets.

⁵ Thirteen out of seventeen are cyclical or continuations of earlier poems.

In the thirteenth century as in the twelfth, the rhymed dodecasyllable appears not only in the epics, but also in works of varied character such as the *Roman de Jules César*, Adam de la Hale's *Jeu de la Feuille*, Rutebuef's *Miracle de Théophile*, the satirical poems of Robert Sanceriaux⁶ and Thomas de Bailleul⁷. It is found also in religious and didactic works⁸ to an extent even greater than in the twelfth century. It does not appear in the courtly lyric except in three semi-popular poems by Audefroy⁹.

In the epics, the *laisse* still has a varied number of lines, with rhyme more frequent than assonance. At the end of the twelfth century, rhymed dodecasyllabic couplets¹⁰ make their appearance in the *Vie de Jehan*,¹¹ and in a *Credo*.¹² Though the quatrain was general in religious and didactic poetry,¹³ we also find stanzas of three, five, six, eight, twelve, fourteen and twenty lines¹⁴.

From the middle of the fourteenth century until the middle of the sixteenth, the alexandrine fell into disuse, doubtless because prose largely took the place of verse in those types where the twelve-syllable had been used. Until the *Pléiade* it occurred only sporadically in a few works¹⁵. Jean Lemaire de Belges, who used it in a

⁶ Sermon on the death of Louis VIII, 1226, quatrains. Cf. *Hist Litt de la France*, XXIII, 416-420.

⁷ Poem against Jean d'Angleterre, ca. 1214. Cf. *Hist Litt de la France*, XXIII, 412-414.

⁸ Cf. Naetebus, G., *Die nicht-lyrischen Strophenformen des Altfranzösischen*, Leipzig, 1891, pp. 56-91 for a list.

⁹ Bartsch, K., *Altfranzösischen Romanzen und Pastourelles*, Leipzig, 1870, pp. 59-70, cf. Jeanroy, A., *Origines de la poésie lyrique en France*, Paris, 1925, pp. 355-57.

¹⁰ Patterson, *op cit*, p. 146 states that "the twelve-syllable couplet was little used after *Le Roman d'Alexandre* until the time of the *Pléiade*." The *Roman d'Alexandre* is in *laissez*, not in couplets, and none of the rare medieval examples of the couplet-form can be shown to antedate it.

¹¹ This, according to Gaston Paris (G. Paris and A. Bos, ed. *Vie de St Gilles*, Paris, 1881, p. v), is the earliest example of this form.

¹² Cf. Voretzsch, *op cit*, p. 119.

¹³ Cf. Naetebus, *op cit*, pp. 56-91. ¹⁴ *Ibid*, *passim*.

¹⁵ Cf. some of the poems of King René d'Anjou, *Œuvres*, ed. Le Comte de Quatrebarbes, Angers, 1845, III, 83, 88, 105, etc., rhymed couplets, Coquillard, *Œuvres*, ed. Héricault, C., 1857, I, 3, Jacques Milet's *Destruction de Troyes*, monorhymed *tirades* and rhymed couplets, some fourteenth century reworkings of earlier epics such as *Florent et Octavien* and *Lion de Bourges*, and particularly in the continuations of the Alexander: *Voëua du paon*, *Restor du paon* and *Parfait du paon*.

hundred-line passage of his *Concorde des deux langages* (1511),¹⁶ apparently felt that it was so unfamiliar as to need remark.¹⁷ Marot likewise found it expedient to tell his readers that he had used the Alexandrine in some of the poems forming the collection of *Épigrammes*,¹⁸ and Fabri¹⁹ calls it "une antique maniere de rithmer"

During the period we have been discussing, the epic caesura, which tended to break the flow of the verse by its treatment of the two hemistichs as almost independent lines, was being eliminated.²⁰ In *Brun de la Montagne*²¹ (14th century) only a few instances of it occur. However, the rejection of this caesura seems to have been stated for the first time in the form of a rule by Fabri in his *Rhétorique* (1521),²² though applied to the *chant royal*. It also occurs in Etienne Dolet's *Accents de la française* (1540)²³ and in the *Art poétique* (1555)²⁴ of Jacques Peletier du Mans.²⁵

The Alexandrine became prominent again about the middle of the sixteenth century. Ronsard²⁶ is justified in claiming the honor

¹⁶ *Œuvres de J. L. de B.*, ed. Stecher, J., Louvain, 1885, III, 131.

¹⁷ Accordingly, at the end of the piece he added the statement that he had "composé de rythme Alexandrine laquelle taille jadis avoit grant bruit en France, pource que les prouesses du Roy Alexandre le Grand en sont descrites es anciens Rommans dont aucuns modernes ne tiennent conte aujourd'hui."

¹⁸ *Œuvres de C. M.*, ed. G. Guiffrey, 1911, IV, 20 ff.

¹⁹ Cited by Godefroy under "alexandrin."

²⁰ For general studies see Kastner, *RLR*, 46 (1903), p. 289; Martinon, *RHL*, XVI (1909), 62 ff.

²¹ Cf. Paul Meyer, introduction to his edition of *B. de la M.*, *SATF*, 1875, XIV; Martinon, *RHL*, XVI, 64.

²² Ed. Héron, III, 101. "Item, il doit éviter les coupes féminines s'ilz ne sont synalimphes."

²³ Cited by Boulanger, ed. *Art poétique de Jacques Peletier du Mans*, 1930, p. 157, n. 18.

²⁴ Ed. Boulanger, 1930.

²⁵ Peletier in his discussion here (p. 156) seems to be the first one to use the word *césure* in French (cf. Kastner, *RLR*, Vol. 47, p. 7). Ronsard uses the word in his *Art poétique* (ed. Laumonier, VII, 47) in the sense of 'elision' and farther on (*Ibid.*, 60) in the modern meaning. The *Dictionnaire général* for *césure* cites only Ronsard's use of it as 'elision'.

²⁶ Cf. *Œuvres*, Laumonier, VII, p. 59. "Si ie n'ay commencé ma Franciade en vers alexandrins, lesquels j'ay mis (comme tu sçais) en vogue et honneur, il s'en faut prendre à ceux qui ont puissance de me commander et non à ma volonté."

of having brought it back into popularity²⁷ The recrudescence of this poetic form closely corresponding to the classic hexameter coincides with and is no doubt due to the general trend of the century toward classical antiquity²⁸ The Pléiade looked upon its use as a continuation of the ancient tradition, for Ronsard in his *Art poétique*²⁹ compares it to the hexameter "Les vers alexandrins," he says, "tiennent la place en nostre langue telle que les vers héroïques entre les Grecs et Latins."

During the Middle Ages the dodecasyllable is simply termed "verse of twelve syllables."³⁰ The first known occurrence of the name "alexandrin" is in the anonymous *Regles de la seconde rethorique*³¹ which can be dated between 1411 and 1432³² Here it is stated "Rime alexandrine, pour faire rommans, est pour le present de douze silabes chascune ligne en son masculin et de xii ou féminin"

The term next occurs in Baudet Harenc's *Doctrinal de la seconde rhetorique*³³ (1432), where the author says that this verse is called alexandrine "pour ce que une ligne des fais du roy Alexandre fu faite de ceste taille . . et doit avoir la ligne masculine .xii. sillabes et la ligne feminine .xiii. sillabes."³⁴ Geoffroy Tory, in his *Champ fleury* (1529),³⁵ cites as his authority for the use of the term "alexandrin" the anonymous author of the *Livre des eschez amoureux*, the oldest manuscript of which M. Omont assigns to the middle of the fifteenth century This work has not been published, but M. Laurent³⁶ gives the citation in question

Et par especial les rymes de xii syllables sont a ce convenables dessus toutes les aultres, et pour ce est cele ryme appelee daulecuns alexandrine pourcee que l'histoire de Alexandre est presque toute par telle ryme exprimee

²⁷ Cf. Franchet, H., *Le poète et son œuvre d'après Ronsard*, Paris, 1923, p. 294

²⁸ Lanson, *op cit*, 1909, p. 280

²⁹ *Œuvres*, Laumonier, VII, 58

³⁰ Cf. *Las leys d'amors* (1323-1356), ed. Joseph Anglade, Toulouse, 1919, II, 70

³¹ Published by Langlois, E., in his *Recueil d'arts de la seconde rhétorique*, Paris, 1902, pp. 11-103, and cited by Kastner, *RLR*, Vol. 47, p. 5.

³² Langlois, *op cit*, pp. xxviii and xli

³³ Also published by Langlois, *op cit*, pp. 104-198 (cf. p. 197)

³⁴ This is the earliest known statement of the etymology.

³⁵ Published by G. Cohen Paris, 1931, III, v^o al. 5

³⁶ *Rom*, LI (1925), 33

Another fifteenth century treatise containing "alexandrin" is Molinet's *Art de rhétorique* (1493) ³⁷ "Vers alexandrins sont de .xii. ou de .xiii. sillabes . . . Ilz sont nommez alexandrins pour ce que l'ystoie d'Alexandre fut traitie en ceste forme" The word occurs so frequently from this point forward and has such wide acceptance during the sixteenth century that no further citations need be given

That the name is derived from the title of the *Roman d'Alexandre* is not subject to serious question The suggestion by Ménage, repeated in the Academy's *Dictionnaire historique de la langue française* (1884), that it may come from the name of Alexandre de Paris, author of a redaction of the *Roman d'Alexandre*, may be discarded, for, as we have seen, the early users of the term agree in deriving it from the poems

Since the first occurrence so far found of the term "alexandrin" belongs to the first third of the fifteenth century, the normal assumption is that it was introduced, at the earliest, not long before that date Its adoption at that time is not surprising when we consider the history of the Alexander poems From the last third of the twelfth century until 1340,³⁸ the *Roman d'Alexandre* was a living organism, continually reworked and added to in successive stages of development, beginning with Lambert le Tort, Alexandre de Paris, Gui de Cambrai and Jean le Névelon in the twelfth century, continued by the *Prise de Defur* and the *Voyage d'Alexandre au paradis terrestre* in the thirteenth, and finally given even wider extension in the first half of the fourteenth by several continuations, notable among them being the *Vœux du paon* The thirty-three surviving manuscripts ³⁹ and the numerous imitations of the *Vœux du paon* prove that this reworking of the Alexander story was the most widely read and influential fourteenth-century work in the twelve-syllable verse. While with the *Parfant du paon*, the period of new Alexander poems came to an end, the old ones continued to be read as is shown by the existence of three manu-

³⁷ Langlois, *op cit*, 214-252 (cf 223)

³⁸ Date of Jean de la Mote's *Parfant du paon*, which was not incorporated into the manuscript tradition of the *Roman d'Alexandre*, an indication that the interest in the Alexander material was decreasing

³⁹ Cf R. L. Graeme-Ritchie, *Book of Alexander*, 1921-29, I, xix ff., Thomas, A., *Hist Litt de la France*, xxxvi, 1924-1927, p. 19, Ham, E. B., "Three neglected mss," *MLN*, xlvI, 78-84

scripts copied as late as the fifteenth century.⁴⁰ It would, therefore, be natural for the inventor of the term, whether it was first applied in the fourteenth or the early fifteenth century, to have the Alexander romances and particularly the *Vœux du paon* uppermost in his mind whenever he thought of the dodecasyllable and to apply to it at the same time an adjective based on the name of their hero. "Alexandrin," then, was a normal term for the author who introduced it. The further question presents itself whether, from the standpoint of the literary history of the twelfth century, he was justified in choosing this term whether the Alexander poems have the priority in the field of the rhymed dodecasyllable.

The first dodecasyllabic Alexander poem, that of Lambert le Tort, can be approximately dated between 1170 and 1178. In the twelfth century, besides the Alexander poem, we have the following epics wholly or in part written in twelve-syllable rhymed verse: *Gui de Nanteuil*, *Mannet*, *Foulques de Candie*, *Fierabras*, *Destruction de Rome*, *Quatre fils Aymon*, *Siège de Barbastre*, *Sasnes*, and some of the Crusade cycle, but of these poems, no one has been assigned a more specific date than the second half or the last third of the century. Therefore, in the present state of our knowledge, we can not establish for any of them a claim to priority over the dodecasyllabic form of the Alexander. The *Roman de Rou*, which belongs to historical rather than to epic writing and which was partly composed in rhymed alexandrines, seems to contain the only narrative material in rhymed dodecasyllables of established priority to the Alexander, for it belongs to the sixth decade of the twelfth century⁴¹ and the Alexander to the seventh. Would there, however, have been any reason for naming the twelve-syllable after Wace's poem? Only one fourth of the *Rou* is in dodecasyllables, and the single manuscript of this part, compared to the twenty-one manuscripts, together with fragments of others, of the Alexander, indicates that the latter was by far the more widely read and influential. It is clear that Wace's earlier date constitutes no adequate ground for objecting to the term "alexandrin."

Such, then, are the more important phases of the early history of the twelve-syllable verse. We have seen that, after the popu-

⁴⁰ Cf. Paul Meyer, *Rom* XI, 288, Graeme-Ritchie, *op cit*, p. xxxvi and xxxix.

⁴¹ For the date of the *Rou*, see Voretzsch, *op cit*, p. 230 and Gaston Paris, *Rom* IX, 592 ff.

larity of the dodecasyllable in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries due to the esteem of the public for the Alexander poems it fell into almost complete disuse during the fourteenth and fifteenth. It was revived by Ronsard and his school after modifications had been made in the caesura, producing a line of twelve or thirteen syllables rather than one of twelve to fourteen. The adjective "alexandrin" was introduced into French to designate this verse form not later than the early years of the fifteenth century, in view of the continued popularity of the twelve-syllable Alexander poems it was the natural term to apply. Finally, since no poem exclusively in dodecasyllables can be shown to have preceded the Alexander, and since none could compete with it in the extent and duration of its popularity, the term is, from all standpoints, suitable.

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BYDDING BASE ("OCTOBER" 5)

In the October Eclogue of the *Shepherd's Calendar* Cuddie is reported to have spent the time "in rymes, in ridles, and in bydding base." Editors of the *Calendar* have taken the last phrase to refer to the game of prisoner's base.¹ C. H. Herford also pointed out that *to bid the base* was used in the 16th and 17th centuries in the general meaning of *to challenge* but concluded that "the phrase has here its more special reference to the game, since Mantuan in the corresponding passage . . . speaks of 'wrestling.'" ²

However, I believe that the challenge of "October" referred to a contest in poetry rather than to physical sport. *Bydding base* stands for the wit-battle between two poets such as the roundelay of Willye and Perigot in the August Eclogue.

Some contemporary occurrences of the phrase *to bid the base* explain the usage. In *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* Julia and Lucetta banter each other with terms drawn from a song-competition, the latter pleading for "love-wounded Proteus" with the following words, "Indeed, I bid the base for Proteus." *Bid the base* has the double meaning of the challenge and the *bass* or under-

¹ See W. L. Renwick, *The Shepherd's Calendar*, London, 1930, p. 216. "It [prisoner's base] is appropriate here, as it was evidently a country game."

² *Shepherds Calendar*, London, 1895, p. 172.

song of the roundelay.³ In *Christes Teares over Jerusalem*, 1593, Nashe mentions "sportiue base-bidding Roundelayes" along with "merry-running Madrigals" and "Ballad-singing daunces"⁴ *Base-bidding* refers to the challenges and responses of the competition in verse, the melody and the undersong—accompanied here with dancing⁵ Again, in Drayton's *Third Nymphall* Dorilon accepts Doron's challenge to verse-making thus:

Content say I, then bid the base
Our wits shall runne the Wildgoose chase⁶

In the Wild-Goose Chase one runner followed another, while in the roundelay one poet *bid the base* or named the dare and the other poet answered with his lines⁷

Even so Spenser's Cuddie had spent the time, not in playing prisoner's base, but in contests with other shepherds in the roundelay

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REVIEWS

The Proverb in Ibsen, Proverbial Sayings and Citations as Elements in His Style By ANSTEN ANSTENSEN. New York, Columbia University Press, 1936. Pp xi, 255 \$3.50.

This work, written under the direction of Professor R. H. Fife, offers much more than the usual "proverbs" study. Owing to the many-sided plan employed by the author for the presentation of the material it teaches a great deal about Ibsen as an author.

Dr Anstensen classifies his material as proverbs, proverbial phrases, allusions, citations, biblical sources, allusions to the Bible, and citations from the Bible. Beginning with *Catiline* he mentions

³ Act I, Scene 2, 97-8. In his notes to this line in the Arden Shakespeare edition of the play (1906) R. W. Bond raised the question whether the *bid the base* of the *Calendar* referred to "singing or piping competitions."

⁴ *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, ed. R. B. McKerrow, London, 1904, II, 73.

⁵ See also "the first Eclogues" in Book I of Sidney's *Arcadia*.

⁶ *The Works of Michael Drayton*, ed. J. W. Hebel, Oxford, 1932, III, 268.

⁷ See also *Romeo and Juliet*, Act II, Scene 4, 61-3 and the *Variorum* note on the Wild-Goose Chase.

these expressions as they occur in all of Ibsen's works and in the footnotes traces them to their sources. In the text Dr Anstensen gives a running commentary on the context in which the various *dramatis personae* employ these expressions and also discusses the manner in which they quote—sincerely, ironically, with pathos—or perhaps also misquote for a purpose. In the appendix he gives five tables: I Distribution of the 1160 quotations in the dramas, II Distribution of quotations by characters of the "Gyntish strain," III Distribution of quotations by the official clergy, IV Distribution of quotations by other important characters, V Distribution of conscious quotations in the entire writings of Ibsen.

A brief review can by no means even enumerate what the Ibsen student may gain from this work due to the intelligent manner in which the material is presented. First and foremost there is the vast paroemiæ material, collected and classified. The provenience of citations, e. g. from Holberg (20) and the Bible (374), throws light on Ibsen's literary interests. But as the subtitle implies, Dr Anstensen is interested very much also in a study of Ibsen's style.

He shows that the quotations are used to express moods, ideas, and sentiments—frequently those that Ibsen wishes to satirize. "By thus making a proverbial phrase of familiar connotation the target of attacks by characters who in greater or lesser degree command our sympathy, while it is being defended repeatedly by persons for whom we feel an instinctive aversion, Ibsen accomplishes his specific purpose to render suspect in our minds the traditional ideas which this phrase connotes" (p. 237). Another device is the use of quotations as a *leit-motiv*, e. g. in *When We Dead Awaken* the familiar phrase "all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them" (p. 234). Highly interesting is the use Ibsen makes of proverbial sayings in character delineation, and most strikingly in drawing the character of Peer Gynt. The speeches of this hero abound in quotations, while *The Pretenders* contains 47 and *A Doll's House* 5, *Peer Gynt* has 245. Peer in his egotism, hypocrisy, and cowardice indulges in quotations of every kind in order to flatter his vanity, to justify his selfish conduct, and to silence the voice of a guilty conscience. Whereas Brand employs Christ's word, "Get thee behind me!" when he refuses to yield to temptation, Peer employs these words hypocritically with an air of outraged innocence when the green-clad woman confronts him with his "brat". (p. 172). Very often too Peer excuses his weaknesses "pretending to be quoting Scripture when he is merely citing an everyday phrase to justify his taking the path of least resistance. "'dog, som skrevet står, lad gå!'" (p. 149). "But, as it is written, let 'er go!"¹ Dr Anstensen

¹ M. C. Wahl, *Das paroemiologische Sprachgut bei Shakespeare*, *Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare Gesellschaft*, XXII (1887), p. 105, says in speaking of the servant of the Capulets who has been ordered to deliver

shows that Stensgaard, Hjalmar and others of the "Gyntish strain" are likewise characterized by their use of proverbs, much as Ibsen's clergymen use uncritically precepts that they regard as an ultimate authority. The tables show that these two groups use 62% of the conscious quotations in all of Ibsen's works.

On p. 149 Dr. Anstensen gives as his opinion, without entering into any discussion of the subject, that the famous misquotation employed by Peer Gynt in excusing his carnal desires toward the fat and none too clean Anitra "das ewig Weibliche ziehet uns an," was intentional. The poet himself of course never made a statement on the moot point, but Dr. Sigurd Ibsen in a letter to Logeman, written more than a decade after his father's death, expresses the opinion that the neat substitution of "an" for "hinan" was consciously made for the effect attained. Logeman² reprints in facsimile the page of Ibsen's manuscript where the line originally read "Das ewig weibliche ziet uns herann" and, after careful consideration of all the evidence, comes to the conclusion that "far from Ibsen having introduced the mistake into the quotation to characterize Peer's half-culture as has been suggested, the wavering in spelling points to it being nothing but a slip of the memory." The most recent commentator on *Peer Gynt*, La Chesnais³ agrees with Logeman concerning the different readings. "Je crois avec lui, malgré l'opinion si autorisée de Sigurd Ibsen, qu'elles prouvent simplement que Henrik Ibsen n'a pas retrouvé

invitations "Um das Komische der Situation zu erhöhen, lässt ihn der Dichter die Betrachtungen über diesen schwierigen Auftrag mit dem Pathos biblischer Zitationen beginnen "it is written," welche Anführungsform um so drastischer wirkt, da er eine ganze Reihe ähnlicher Künstler mit einer gleichen Verwechslung der Begriffe bedenkt. So setzt er anstatt "the shoemaker should meddle with his last" in seiner Verwirrung "with his yard," das dem Schneider gebührt und so umgekehrt, während er dem Fischer anstatt der Netze des Malers Pinsel und diesem des ersteren Werkzeug zuweist. Diese clownartigen Spässe, die sich beim Dichter in mannigfacher Abwechslung vorfinden, lagen im Geschmacke der Zeit, um die allgemeine Belustigung der Zuschauer zu erhöhen, und mussten wie hier um so wirksamer sein, wenn sie sich auf dem Gebiete des Sprichwörtlichen tummelten, das, obgleich allgemein verständlich und uralte, im Munde des Clowns zu einer Behauptung von höchster Autorität wie derjenigen der Bibel emporgeschraubt werden sollte, während ihr eine solche gänzlich mangelte." This is strikingly similar to Ibsen's usage of proverbs and constitutes one of the few instances I have found in which the paroemiologist in any way discusses proverbs as an element in the author's style. Usually he is content in tracking down proverbs and pointing out parallels. It would be very interesting also to investigate how various authors, say Shakespeare, Cervantes, and Ibsen make use of conscious quotation. For example, Shakespeare characterizes Dogberry by letting him misquote, "Comparisons are odorous."

² H. Logeman, *A Commentary on Henrik Ibsen's Peer Gynt*, The Hague, 1917, pp. 218 ff.

³ *Henrik Ibsen Oeuvres Complètes*, traduites par P. G. La Chesnais, Paris, 1935, Vol. VIII, p. 456.

dans sa mémoire, pourtant très bonne, le texte exact de Goethe" At the time Ibsen wrote *Peer Gynt* he had spent only a month or so in Germany, even a quarter century later, after he had been living in Dresden and Munich for twenty years, his letters to Emilie Bardach (the only ones preserved that are written in German) show considerable uncertainty in regard to case endings. Much as I admire Ibsen's keen sense of humor and despite the fact that the words fit *Peer Gynt* so exactly, I feel on the basis of the evidence presented that, as Emerson puts it, our author was inspired and "builded better than he knew" when he had *Peer* say "Das ewig weibliche ziehet uns an"

For his list of Biblical allusions Dr Anstensen does not claim completeness. One has occurred to me that might be worth pointing out because it is such a droll item in the program of *Peer Gynt's* "grand tour." In his monolog before the Memnon Statue in Act IV *Peer* is speaking of the various places he is planning to visit and what he hopes to see there. He had heard of Socrates and he wants to see in Athens the prison where the philosopher had died; he wishes to examine "stone by stone" the pass defended by Leonidas, by the Red Sea he hopes to discover the grave of "King Potiphar" etc. He had likewise heard of the hanging gardens and, as a good Lutheran, of the Whore of Babylon (*Apocalypse* 17, 5)—therefore he sets out to see in Babylon "haengende Haver og Skjøger" (Archer harlots and hanging gardens). I shall quote Dr Anstensen once more to illustrate how the study of the proverbs used by *Peer Gynt* characterizes this figure whom George Brandes grouped "with the immortal Don Quixote." "In turning his quoting habit to account, he quite frequently displays the power of a superior intellect. He is quick-witted and keen, and a shrewd judge of human nature. His prodigiously fertile imagination, his delightfully roguish humor, and his way of winking slyly at himself very nearly succeed in making the rascal likable."

This book, the first number in the new series of Columbia University Germanic Studies, is a well-reasoned, well-written, and well-documented contribution to our Ibsen literature. It is likewise, so far as I have observed, singularly free from misprints, still no Columbia dissertation ought to speak of "the *hoi polloi*" (p. 3).

A. E. ZUCKER

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Heinrich von Kleist im Spiegel der Theaterkritik des 19 Jahrhunderts bis zu den Aufführungen der Meininger Von HANS ZIGELSKI Berlin-Charlottenburg Hoffmann, 1934 Pp 159.

Dr Zigelski's monograph supplements a number of other studies that deal with the reception accorded Heinrich von Kleist's dramas on the stage¹ With the exception of Walter Kuhn's book, which stresses adaptations of Kleist's dramas, these treatises confine themselves largely to the stage history of a single drama Zigelski covers a wider range within the time limits he has chosen He divides his investigation of press comments on presentations of the dramas into three periods, 1811 to 1830, 1830 to 1850, and from 1850 to performances by the actors of the Duke of Meiningen Considerable space is devoted to the training, point of view, ability and limitations of the critics who are quoted At the end of each period the author reviews the attitude of the time toward Kleist as a man and as a poet A conclusion presents a brief summary of the findings *Die Familie Schroffenstein*, *Der zerbrochene Krug*, *Das Kathchen von Heilbronn* and *Prinz Friedrich von Homburg* are treated in each of the three periods, in addition, *Penthesilea* and *Die Hermannsschlacht* appear in the third. No presentations of *Robert Guiskard* and *Amphitryon* are recorded for the time under discussion

Certain facts stand out from the wealth of comments and judgments cited From the very outset *Das Kathchen von Heilbronn* met with more favor on the stage than any other of Kleist's dramas The evaluation of Kleist's works, and particularly of *Der zerbrochene Krug*, was influenced to a considerable extent by the acting Wider acclaim for this comedy was due in large measure to the histrionic art of Döring and Hoppé. In the course of time there was a growing demand that Kleist's dramas be played without changes and emendations Even in the last period the public had no valid understanding of the character of Homburg, for patriotic interest centered largely about the elector as a bulwark of the state It is of interest to note the objections to the Meiningen presentation of *Die Hermannsschlacht* on the ground that emphasis upon mass scenes and accurate staging of the historical background detracted from concentration on the content.

¹ Walther Kuhn, *Heinrich von Kleist und das deutsche Theater* Munich, 1912 Gustav Buchtenkirch, *Kleist's Lustspiel Der zerbrochene Krug auf der Bühne* Heidelberg, 1914 Otto Fraude, *Heinrich von Kleist's Hermannsschlacht auf der deutschen Bühne* Leipzig, 1919 Egon-Erich Albrecht, *Heinrich von Kleist's Prinz Friedrich von Homburg auf der deutschen Bühne*. Kiel dissertation, 1921 Reinhold Stolze, *Kleist's Kathchen von Heilbronn auf der deutschen Bühne* Berlin, 1923 Rudiger Dorr, *Heinrich von Kleist's Amphitryon Deutung und Bühnenschicksal* Oldenburg, 1931

No abrupt changes marked the trend of the reception accorded Kleist's dramas, the gain in their appreciation was gradual and continuous. In the first period, 1811 to 1830, there was but little genuine understanding of Kleist's works, for the opinion of the public was determined to a considerable extent by stage effects, settings, the playing of some particular actor, and by adaptations which fell in with the predilections of the time. Critics repeatedly stressed the actual performances more than the author and his works. In the second period, 1830 to 1850, successful presentations were decidedly more numerous, and Kleist was ranked frequently with Lessing, Goethe and Schiller rather than regarded as a man and dramatist lacking in inner harmony. A comparison of the first and last period reveals how much the appreciative understanding of Kleist and his dramas had grown. Much of this growth is attributed by Dr. Ziegelski to the activity of theater critics. Although some commentators on theatrical performances were mere reporters and chroniclers, in time more of them were trained in literary history and literary criticism. Among the theater critics quoted are such authors as Willibald Alexis, Ludwig Borne and Theodor Fontane.

The arrangement and classification of so much varied material was a formidable task. Because of the diverse opinions quoted, it is difficult to obtain a clear-cut view of differences characteristic of the three periods. But though there are no sharp lines of demarcation, the chronological division into cross-sections seems reasonable as an aid to perspective.

The addition of an index of names would have facilitated the use of this book with its extensive documentation. Although the proof-reading is somewhat inaccurate, only one error of consequence was observed. A misprint (p. 109) gives the date of an early Dresden performance of *Die Hermannsschlacht* as 1816 instead of 1861. The monograph sheds considerable light not only on the reception of Kleist's dramas and the attitude toward Kleist as a man and an author, but also on German theater critics of the nineteenth century.

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Rainer Maria Rilke Ein Beitrag. Von KATHARINA KIPPENBERG
Leipzig Insel-Verlag, 1935. Pp. 202.

In the history of German literature there are few instances of a relationship between author and publisher comparable to that which existed between Rilke and Anton Kippenberg of the Insel-Verlag. The poet's *Briefe an seinen Verleger 1906-1926* reveal the encouragement, friendship, helpfulness even in small details, and

the frequent anticipation of Rilke's desires and needs on the part of his generous publisher. Since Rilke was a welcome guest in the Kippenberg home, Frau Kippenberg was in a position to write about the poet on the basis of a friendly relationship which extended over a long period of years.

Frau Kippenberg presents an analysis of Rilke's time of the pre-war period, the troubled years of the war, and its aftermath. Particularly searching is the characterization of the materialism prevailing before the World War, the restless tempo of living, the social climbing, the superficiality, and the lack of reverence for deeper values of an age in which the machine dominated rather than served man. The suffering of Rilke's childhood is depicted with subtle knowledge of sensitive susceptibilities. Briefly, but clearly, the author sets forth the significance of Rilke's journey to Russia and the important part played in his life by Rodin. Of interest is the rather late, but gradually growing appreciation of Goethe by the poet. In brief compass there is an illuminating account of Rilke's attitude toward things, solitude and death—conceptions which are of decided importance in his view of life. The reviewer knows of no interpretation of the term "ein eigener Tod" in *Malte Laurids Brigge* which is as lucid as the following statement:

Der Tod kann aber nur gross sein, wenn er ein eigener Tod ist, wenn er so zu dem Leben passt wie der letzte Akt des Dramas zu den vorhergehenden. Wenn der Persönlichkeit nichts mehr zuzufügen, aber auch nichts mehr zu nehmen ist, dann wird der eigene Tod gestorben. Er ist der Tod, der aus der individuellen Natur so hervorgeht wie die Mundung des Stromes aus der Quelle. Wenn ein gleichgültiger Tod gestorben wird, so ist es, weil ein gleichgültiges Leben geführt wurde (p. 51.)

With profound understanding of the poet's striving, the author writes of his living for his art, his consecration to poetry, his withdrawal from disturbing influences, his dependence on mood for creative productivity, and his deep suffering when his muse was silent. According to Frau Kippenberg, Rilke's art was nourished in the streets of Paris, in nights of loneliness and fear, in troubled contacts with men, in the wide expanses of nature, in antique sculpture, cathedrals of the Middle Ages, flowers, animals, and things.

The evaluation of Rilke's works is sympathetic; it stresses the recurrence of earlier motifs in subsequent works, takes cognizance of change and development in formal elements, and regards the *Duineser Elegien* as the high point of his writing. One might, however, wish for more detailed comparison of early and later poems, as to both form and content. An index and a table of contents would have facilitated the use of this excellent book. The aim of the writer was not to give a chronologically ordered biography of outward facts and events, but rather to afford insight into

the poet's very being. In this she has succeeded eminently. Although a biography stressing factual material about Rilke's life remains to be written, this volume must be regarded as a valuable contribution of its kind. Many of its judgments are well substantiated in Rilke's numerous, self-revealing letters.

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The German Language By R. PRIEBSCHE and W. E. COLLINSON.
London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1934. Pp. xvi + 434.

Priebsch und Collinson haben sich zum Ziel gesetzt, in handlicher Form eine brauchbare Zusammenfassung unseres germanistisch-sprachwissenschaftlichen Wissens zu bieten, um dem Studenten ein einführendes Werk in die Hand zu geben. Zu diesem Zwecke haben sie historische und beschreibende Sprachbetrachtung verbunden, indem sie Standardwerke wie Brugmann, Wilmanns, Behaghel, Hirt u. a. zusammenwarfen, einschmolzen und nach Beseitigung aller überflüssig erscheinender Einzelheiten in eine neue, gedrungene Form gossen. So gliedert sich das Werk in zwei grosse Teile, deren erster in gedrängter Weise die Entwicklung der Sprache vom Indogermanischen her aufzeigt (3-82), und deren zweiter in ausführlicher Weise den Werdegang des Deutschen in Phonologie, Morphologie, Wortschatz, Syntax, Dialekten und Schriftsprache behandelt (85-351). Diesem so geschaffenen Werk ist ein Kapitel über deutsche Schriftkunde (mit 15 Faksimiles) angeschmiebt, und ein sorgsam gefeiltes, abschliessendes Kapitel über den Genius der deutschen Sprache rundet das Ganze ab. Um dem Studierenden die Einführung zu erleichtern, sind zu Anfang des Buches die Fachausdrücke der Phonetik besprochen, um ihm den Weg zu selbständiger Einzelforschung zu erleichtern, findet sich am Ende fast jedes Kapitels ein kurzer bibliographischer Hinweis auf die in Frage kommenden Hauptwerke. Die Verfasser bemühen sich besonders, sprachgeschichtliche Darstellung mit einem historischen Hintergrund auszustatten, scheuen sich auch nicht, verschiedentlich auf Erklärung der Fachausdrücke und Bestimmung ihres Meinungsbereichs einzugehen. Die Darstellung der ahd. Verhältnisse zeigt einen zeitgemässen dialektgeographischen Einschlag.

Eine genaue Analyse lässt besonders in den Grenzfragen der Sprachwissenschaft des öfteren die Einzelbestandteile dieses Buches erkennen. Die Verfasser sind sehr zurückhaltend, Eigenes in ihr Buch aufzunehmen. Meistens übernehmen sie das in Loewes *Germanischer Sprachwissenschaft* (Goschen) Gebotene, so bei der Erklärung der Dehnstufe in der Vergangenheit der 4. und 5. Ablautklasse, dem Abschnitt über die Furchwörter, dem lingu-

tischen Material über die Fülle und das meiste des sprachvergleichenden Materials im Zeitwort. Bei den grossen, ungelösten Fragen bringen sie eine knappe Darstellung der verschiedenen Erklärungen, wie bei der Lautverschiebung oder dem umstrittenen germanischen *ē*. Zeitschriftenverweise bis zu 1934 finden sich überall dort, wo grossere Probleme nur angedeutet werden konnten.

Die im Vorwort durchaus anerkannte Schwierigkeit hinsichtlich der Zusammenarbeit der Verfasser, die zeitweise eine Entfernung zwischen Wien und Liverpool zu überbrücken hatte, hat, neben einigen Druckfehlern, auch einige Ungenauigkeiten in das Buch einschleichen lassen. S. 12, Z. 10 v. u. *prton* statt *brton*, 14, Z. 14 v. u. IE *q̑etuōres* statt *q̑etuores*, und öfter sind idg. Laugen nicht konstant bezeichnet, 16, Z. 2 und 15 v. o. Skt *ukṣā* Skt *śākhā*, wo, wie auch an anderen Stellen, Skt *ś* (= *ç*) und *s* (= *š*, *ś*) nicht auseinandergehalten sind, 16, Z. 3 v. o. Goth *auhsa* statt *auhsō*, 55, Z. 15-10 v. u. Das Auftreten des *e*-Vokals im Partizip des Perfekts der 5. Ablautklasse wird als Normalstufe gerechtfertigt durch die Behauptung, dass die Ablautform *a* eine Anomalie im Ablautsystem geschaffen hatte (Übereinstimmung des P P mit der Vergangenheit). Akzentuerwägungen sprechen gegen diese Annahme, auch erfolgt ja in nhd. Zeit der Ausgleich in gerade dieser Weise. Auch die Ansicht, dass die *e*-Stufe in P P eine Harmonie zwischen Kl. 5 und Kl. 6 und 7 geschaffen hatte, ist nicht aufrechtzuerhalten, da die Dehnstufe in der Mehrzahl der Vgheit die 5. Kl. viel inniger mit der 4. Kl. verbindet. Vorzuziehen ist, dass *e* in *gebana-* entweder Analogie zum Präsens ist (und nicht Normalstufe) oder dass *ɳ* vor Konsonant sich zu *e* entwickelt, 77, Z. 9 v. o. hinter *undēō* lies *moneō*, 93, Z. 21-3 v. o. Da die Dentalverschiebung allein am weitesten durchgeführt ist und am klarsten *hd* und *nd* scheidet, ist eine Verschiebungsordnung (1) dental (2) labial (3) velar viel wahrscheinlicher, 99 und öfter *ahd* *z* und *z* sind durcheinandergeworfen, 103, Z. 7-9 v. o. Bühnenaussprache für *w* ist labiodental; 129, Z. 11 v. o. *u* in *Urlaub* ist lang, 215, Z. 5 v. u. Unterscheidung zwischen *Gebrüll* und *Gebrulle* ist übertrieben.

Im Ganzen jedoch präsentiert sich das Buch als ein sorgfältig gearbeitetes Werk, zuweilen vielleicht etwas gar zu konservativ, immer jedoch sich auf dem Boden klar erschlossener Tatsachen haltend. Aus beiden Gründen aber sollte es sich als ein dem Studierenden uberaus nützliches Hilfsmittel erweisen.

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Deutsches Wörterbuch von HERMANN PAUL Vierte Auflage bearbeitet von KARL EULING Halle, Max Niemeyer, 1935 VII, 688 pp., lexicon octavo, M. 18.

From the very beginning, Paul disclaimed any intention to make his dictionary an approximately complete repository of the German *Wortschatz* words such as *Abbild*, *Admiral*, *Advokat*, *Almer*, *Alse*, *Alsem*, *Altar*, *althochdeutsch*, *Altkanzler*, *Altmeister*, *Amper*, *Amelmehl*, *Amethyst*, *Ammeister*, *Ammonshorn*, *Amnestie*, *Amulett*, *amüsieren*, *Ananas*, *Anarchie*, *Anchovi*, *Andante*, *Andorn*, *Andreaskreuz*, *Andrienne*, *Angster*, *Arsenal*, *Artillerie*, *Attentat*, all of which are discussed by Kluge, are omitted by Paul. Euling's task of keeping the book up to date did not involve a far-reaching re-working—the new fourth edition, in fact, has only six pages more than the preceding one. Nor does Paul always enter into a detailed discussion of the etymology and history of a word, at times contenting himself with a bare statement such as "*Allwater*, aus dem Anord aufgenommen, wo *Alfaðr* Bezeichnung Odins ist," whereas Kluge traces the complete history of the word in German, from Gottsched down to Campe. On the other hand, Kluge devotes only two lines to *also*, whereas Paul devotes a page and a half to the discussion of the various uses of this word. Similar detailed treatment is accorded words such as *ab*, *aber*, *all*, *an*, *auf* that is to say, whenever Paul has supplementary information to give, he expands his treatment of the word under discussion. Particularly does he stress unusual forms and meanings, when these can be illustrated by reference to the works of well-known authors. The exact passages, however, are rarely cited, the name of the author, as a rule, being merely mentioned. The following additions and corrections may not be out of place.

Concerning *bezeugen* the statement is made. "Im 17., 18. Jahrh. steht es öfters statt *bezeigen* (auch bei Goe u. Schi.), wie umgekehrt." Wieland, it may be added, in his original editions uses *bezeugen* almost exclusively, whereas in his *Ausgabe letzter Hand* the form *bezeigen* occurs exclusively. *Degen* = *Schwert*, "aus franz. *dague* im 15. Jahrh. eingeführt" this is not at all certain—in fact, the earliest example of the German word occurs in a document dated 1400, from Slavic territory, from which the immediately following instances likewise come. The form *fodern* (without *r* in the first syllable) is alleged to be "ostmitteldeutsch" it is also *südwestdeutsch*, however, as both Schiller (cf. PBB XXVIII, 234) and Wieland prefer this form. The secondary form *Keller* (for *Kellner*, *cellarius*) is the one exclusively used by Goethe in his earlier writings, for example, in *Die Mitschuldigen*, from which it was later removed, not by Goethe, but by the printer of one of the *Doppeldrucke*. The first use of the word *Schriftsteller*, in its modern meaning, is ascribed to Gottsched, but the word may

cited as early as 1660 in J W von Stubenberg's *Von menschlicher Vollkommenheit* (not recorded by Goedeke) "Es gibt viel Schriftstellere, die unter dem Namen der Naturkundigung . ." (p. 224), "Theils Schriftsteller sagen Wunder und Maher von alten Gemalden" (p. 303) Stubenberg likewise uses the forms *Schrift-Verfasser* (pp. 194, 195, 205) and *Schriften-Verfasser* (pp. 193, 216) In the case of the verb *versteinen*, see Wieland's apology for this form in his glossary to *Oberon* VIII, 488—The well-printed book deserves a place by the side of the dictionaries of Kluge and Weigand.

W. KURRELMAYER

A Study of the Themes of the Resurrection in the Mediaeval French Drama By JEAN GRAY WRIGHT A dissertation.
Bryn Mawr 1935 Pp vi+150

The recent publication of three O F Passion Plays has led to a reconsideration of the whole field of Mediaeval drama in France. After the brilliant synthesis of M Cohen and Mrs Frank's important contributions, Dr Wright, who recently edited the Anglo-Norman *Resurrection*, has made a close study of the plays dealing with the Resurrection, taking also into account the Latin and vernacular sources, and the relevant parts of the English and Cornish cycles. As a result of her investigations she establishes more firmly certain conclusions already advanced by scholars: the close relationship and dependence on the *Passion des Jongleurs* of the Palatine-Autun-Semur-Sion-Sainte Geneviève group described by Mrs Frank, and the similarity of certain parts of the Cornish plays to the French, especially the *Passion d'Arras*. She also shows reason to modify M Roy's statement that Arnoul Greban imitated Arras closely. Furthermore she has made it clear that the Anglo-Norman *Resurrection* depended for its order of events in part on the *Passion des Jongleurs*, and that the *Passion de Sainte Geneviève* was probably influenced by the *Roman de l'estoire dou Graal* and by the *Gospel of Gamahel*. And she has pointed out a parallel to part of the Provençal *Passion* in a Harrowing of Hell passage from the French poem in Bib nat ms fr 821. If these seem small results to come out of so long an analysis, it should be borne in mind that the absence of more parallels is in itself significant; and also that Dr. Wright's tabulation of data from this confusing series of episodes is a real convenience to scholars.

Some of her conclusions fail to convince, and some minor points are insufficiently verified. Her evidence that the English *Ludus Coventriae* and *Chester* depended on French plays is not conclu-

sive, though it is clear that both the Ludus Coventriae *Burial* and the Anglo-Norman *Resurrection* were influenced directly or indirectly by the *Passion des Jongleurs*, and that both Arras and the Chester *Harrowing of Hell* have some relationship to the *Legenda Aurea* account. Of course the exact connection between existing texts may well be doubtful when one thinks of the multitudes which must have disappeared. All the more is it incumbent on the investigator to consider relevant texts outside of England and France if the Benediktbeuern and Klosterneuburg plays had been consulted, statements would have been modified about the setting of the guard (pp 62, 79) and the incredulity with which the apostles received the news of the resurrection in the early plays (p 125). The accuracy of the proof-reading is not impeccable. And Dr Young's *The Drama of the Medieval Church* suggests a reconsideration of the passages on the Barking *Ordinale* (p 38, Young, I, 166), and the *Descensus ad Inferos* (p 84, Young, I, 150). In the matter of style perhaps the minute comparison of numerous details does not demand melodious rhythms, yet the pedestrian quality of Dr Wright's prose suffers in comparison with Mrs Frank's ease of perspective and especially with the luminous characterizations of M. Cohen.

FRANCES A FOSTER

Vassar College

England's Helicon Edited by HYDER EDWARD ROLLINS Cambridge Harvard University Press, 1935 Vol I, Text, pp. xiv + 228, vol II, Introduction, Notes, and Indexes, pp viii + 241 \$6 00

Lovers of learning and of beautiful books will regret, though Professor Rollins perhaps will not, that with these volumes he completes his series of Elizabethan anthologies. His edition of *England's Helicon* is quite equal to its predecessors, and that is, indeed, high praise. It is not likely that the bibliographer or textual purist can ask for more. Perhaps the unsophisticated amateur of poetry might desire additional light on the meaning of ambiguous or obsolete terms, though Mr Rollins's Index will give him a good deal. It does not, for example, explain the curious Elizabethan use of names like "Circes" (101 15) and "Daphnes" (108 18) as nominative or objective singulars. The latter case, "*Daphnes* ill betide," has momentarily misled Mr Rollins himself, for *betide* is here a participle, not, as the Index states, a substantive.

The 150 poems which make up the first edition of *England's Helicon* are really 149, for one item, which appears as no 72 with the initials of S(ir) E(dward) D(yer), reappears as no 141 with

slightly different text and with the signature "Ignoto" (This Ignoto is the real theme of the present discourse) Apart from the eminence of the authors represented and the exclusive devotion to pastoral themes, which must have seemed old-fashioned in 1600, the most striking thing about this anthology is perhaps the accuracy with which the editor (whom Mr. Rollins convincingly identifies with Nicholas Ling) has named the writers of the pieces collected Venial slips, of course, occurred For example, two poems out of Tottel's Miscellany are assigned to the chief author of that collection, Surrey, rather than to an "uncertain" contemporary, and there is the curious fact that four poems, which had previously appeared in Lodge's works or over his initials, are here assigned to Dyer The printer was doubtless responsible for the accident that, of three consecutive poems taken from a book by John Dickinson, the first is correctly initialled "I. D" and the other two "I. M", and mere inadvertence accounts for the only case in which a poem bears no note of provenance at all This is no 119, which, as Mr Rollins shows, came out of Dowland's *First Book of Songs and Aires* So did the next three poems, and to the last of these (no 122) Ling added the note, "These *three* ditties were taken out of Maister Iohn Dowlands booke of tableture for the Lute . . ." Change "three" to "four" and all is clear

One poem (no 96), a poor one, sung to the Queen on her Progress of 1592, is frankly signed "Anonimus," and remains so. Two others (nos 87, 90), which are of similar origin, are distinctly labelled "The Authors name vnknowne to me" or "The Author thereof vnknowne" Ninety-nine poems are assigned to specific authors including Sidney, Spenser, Shakespeare, Drayton, Breton, Greene, and Peele Professor Rollins has not been able in every case to validate the ascription by other testimony, but—save for the cases mentioned in the previous paragraph—he has found no reason to dispute it Twenty-one poems are marked only by the initials of their writers The most interesting of these are the four assigned to "H C" They are all excellent of their kind, and it grieves the reviewer that Mr Rollins has found such plausible bibliographical reason for transferring them from the poetical Henry Constable, to whom they have hitherto been credited, to the printer-playwright-prosateur whom Henslowe knew as "Harey Cheattell"

Thirteen poems correctly designated as coming from the music books of Byrd, Dowland, Morley, and N Young, and an equal number of others signed "Ignoto" complete the contents of the first edition of *England's Helicon* It is these thirteen "Ignoto" poems that most arouse questions concerning Ling's editorial policy Ignoto, Mr Rollins says, "of course means anonymous or unknown" But it is also glossed in Italian dictionaries as "concealed, hidden," and I do not think that Ling used it as a mere

equivalent of the 'Anonimus' which he attached to one of his poems or the frank notes confessing ignorance which he appended to others. Mr Rollins shows—what is certainly very interesting—that in two cases the "Ignoto" signature is a cancel pasted over the famous initials of S(ir) W(alter) R(alegh), and in two others it similarly hides the initials of M(aister) F(ulke) G(reville). Moreover, another of the "Ignoto" poems is the reply to Marlowe's "Come Live With Me" traditionally ascribed to Raleigh, and the additional poems in the second edition of *England's Helicon* (1614), which Mr Rollins also prints, include five more assigned to Ignoto, all of which have figured in the Raleigh canon.

Ling's preface to the first edition suggests that he apprehended some objection to his publishing of authors' names

No one thing beeing here placed by the Collector of the same vnder any mans name, eyther at large, or in letters, but as it was deliuered by some especiall copy comming to his handes. No one man, that shall take offence that his name is published to any inuention of his, but he shall within the reading of a leafe or two, meete with another in reputation every way equal with himselfe, whose name hath beene before printed to his Poeme

This is subtle, but by Elizabethan notions decidedly high-handed, and it may not be unfair to conjecture that Ling adopted "Ignoto" as a substitute not for names he did not know but for those which it was indiscreet to divulge. For Raleigh in particular, it could hardly have been thought wise to make unauthorized use of his name either in 1600, when he was a powerful statesman, or in 1614, when he was (by King James's definition) a convicted traitor.

TUCKER BROOKE

Yale University

The Life and Work of Henry Chettle. By HAROLD JENKINS. London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1935. Pp viii + 276. 10 s 6 d.

Mr Jenkins offers the usual apologia: we can get closer to the age if we observe the men of mere talent and let the geniuses go. That is a debatable proposition, but a valid excuse, once made it should be adhered to. The curious thing about Chettle's case is the possibility, remote perhaps but still the possibility, that he was some sort of frustrated genius. Rejecting Mr Dugdale Sykes's reasoning, Mr Jenkins joins him in casting doubt on Dekker's authorship of the charming songs in *Patient Grissell* ("Art thou poor, yet hast thou golden slumbers?" etc.), they are "at least as likely" to be Chettle's—a commendably cautious statement. If, as Professor Hyder Rollins believes, the "H C" of *England's Helicon* was not Constable but Chettle, and if it was the latter who wrote *Piers Plainness' Seven Years Prenticeship*, in which one of the *Helicon* songs appears, then Chettle was among the sweetest

voices in the Elizabethan choir and the *Grissell* lyrics would easily be within his range. But conclusive identifications are yet to be made, there may have been two "H. C.'s," though that is unlikely, or "H. C." may have been neither Constable nor Chettle but some very gifted amateur. It remains questionable, dubious indeed, whether Chettle was a poet at all.

He was certainly printer, pamphleteer, and playwright. In the last of these capacities everyone knows he was a hack, miserably harnessed to Henslowe's chariot. The complete absence of poetry, either of phrase or of conception, in the one extant play of his unaided composition puts a heavy burden of proof on those who think he wrote several exquisite lyrics. For *Hoffman* is devoid of merit of any kind, a revenge melodrama of unrelieved sensationalism, it is not even successfully macabre. Mr. Jenkins is impressed with the "originality" of Chettle's departure from the revenge pattern, there is no ghost (instead the hero rattles his father's skeleton), no "hesitation motif," no philosophizing. The last Chettle was probably incapable of transmuting into poetry and philosophically let alone, and since his game was to give his audience gory violence from the start, hesitation was out of the question anyway. Mr. Jenkins minimizes the influence of *Hamlet*, but it seems likely that the "originality" of *Hoffman* arises from the coarseness of the imitation.

Mr. Jenkins is not lacking in admiration for Chettle's "imagination" and "skill" as a dramatist. That tedious piece of stage carpentry *Patient Grissell* (by the way, has anyone noticed the pale reflection in Julia of Shakespeare's Beatrice?) has "an abiding quality", the Marquis's (arbitrary and unmotivated) dismissal of the courtiers whose sycophancy he has encouraged strikes "a note of rugged strength", the almost unconnected subplots are "very cleverly woven into the story". Mr. Jenkins admires everything, even the Welsh couple and Babulo, "who takes the [low] comic element into the tenderest parts of the play." The general estimate of Chettle's place is more realistic, but the treatment of the several plays can not be said to display much critical discrimination nor much sensitiveness to aesthetic considerations.

The book is far better on the bibliographical side and in its handling of sources and the (mostly insoluble) problems of disintegration, which after all are bound to be the major problems for the student of Chettle. Mr. Jenkins appears to have read and weighed everything that has been written about his subject and documents his study with admirable thoroughness. He has the courage and good sense to end many a paragraph with a *non probatum*. His remarks on the "copy" are always interesting. Scholars must be grateful to him for bringing the facts and hypotheses together in a well organized and lucid monograph. A regrettable defect of the index is the want of references to recent work on Chettle mentioned in the text.

HAZELTON SPENCER

Proof-reading in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries By PERCY SIMPSON London and New York. Oxford University Press, 1935. Pp xii + 252 \$15 00.

Though Mr Simpson concedes that "an author's direct supervision might be intermittent and haphazard," his opening chapter marshals an array of evidence which leaves the reader in no doubt that "Authors' Proof-reading" in the printer's shop was a regular practice even in Shakespeare's time. With few exceptions, however, the citations are from non-dramatic works, the acting drama of that period being represented by three authors. Jonson is the most important of the playwright proof-readers, his assiduity was due no doubt to the literary value he set on his plays and to his temperamental addiction to detail. Mr Simpson remarks that the unknown printer of *Cynthia's Revels* Q 1601 "must, unless he was a very earnest Christian, have made the printing-house ring with his curses when he got the proofs." In sheet F alone Jonson made 89 alterations in the outer form and 103 in the inner. Marston also read proof for at least two of his plays, perhaps Jonson's example inspired him. The reference in *The Malcontent* may, however, be discounted, since Marston gives a special reason for "my selfe . . . set[ting] forth this Comedy." The other reference is in *Parasitaster*, the first edition of which was not proof-read by the dramatist. The second (1606) was set up from a corrected MS, but while he "perused this copy . . . yet so vrgent hath been my busines, that some errors haue styll passed . . ." The Marston references, then, hardly strengthen Mr Simpson's case. The third dramatist is Massinger, a slovenly poet, whatever may have been his talents for proof correction, but with Massinger we are far into the seventeenth century.¹ Of pre-Jonsonian auctorial proof-reading of English plays Mr. Simpson offers no evidence. One is obliged, at any rate tentatively, to conclude that practice changed. Perhaps Johnson was largely responsible.

This tall and handsome volume is precisely documented, well illustrated, and as the quotation shows pleasantly written, no inconsiderable feat in view of the highly technical subject. Yet for students of the drama it hardly alters the picture, though it provides a wealth of welcome material. Not many scholars can afford to miss Mr. Simpson's first chapter, to say nothing of the rest of his book. But though he begins it by attacking a misstatement of the old Cambridge editors, on the vexing questions of Shakespeare bibliography it throws no new light.

Other chapters furnish information about printing-house routine

¹ In a later chapter Mr Simpson alludes to proof-sheets of William Cartwright's *The Royal Slave*, 1639, which the author apparently "oversaw."

from "Early Proofs and Copy" ("few points that come up in proof-reading are untouched"), and describe the calibre and methods of the "Correctors of the Press," who were sometimes learned men. The scholarly proof-reader appears on the Continent as early as 1468, but not apparently in England till toward the close of the sixteenth century. The fourth and final chapter deals with "The Oxford Press and its Correctors", an appendix gives their fees from 1691 to 1806, and another some amusing effusions of the "Musa Typographica". The printer's proof-reader has never been disposed to take auctorial oburgation lying down. Thus Cornelius Kiel, one of the Plantin correctors, ends his defense of the craft:

Posthac lambe tuos, Ardelio, catulos
Errata alterius quisquis correxerit, illum
Plus satis inuidiae, gratia nulla manet

HAZELTON SPENCER

Boswell's Life of Johnson, together with Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides and Johnson's Diary of a Journey into North Wales. Edited by G. BIRKBECK HILL. Revised by L. F. POWELL. 6 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press [N. Y.: Oxford University Press], 1934. Vols. I-IV, pp. xlviii + 556, viii + 544, viii + 542, viii + 558. \$28 00

The value of this thorough and enlarged revision of George Birkbeck Hill's edition of Boswell's *Life of Johnson* (1887) may hardly be questioned. Birkbeck Hill has been out of print for some years, and the abundance of fresh facts gleaned by Boswellians and Johnsonians in the last fifty years has long awaited incorporation into the definitive *Life*. The labor of revising the text and of absorbing this mass of new material into the notes has been done with distinction by Mr. L. F. Powell, Librarian of the Taylor Institution at Oxford, who has given twelve years to the heavy task.

Three principles, stated in the Preface, have been followed in making the revision. First, the pagination of Birkbeck Hill's 1887 edition, so far as it concerns Boswell's text, has been retained. This arrangement leaves undisturbed the system of page references which has grown up around the original Hill edition, long used by scholars as the standard. Second, the text has been carefully revised. By a complete and systematic collation of the first three editions Mr. Powell has been enabled to produce a much more perfect text than any yet published. As his basis the editor has adopted Boswell's third edition, the variants of the first and second

editions being recorded in the critical notes, which are a new feature of the work. Third, Birkbeck Hill's comprehensive and distinguished commentary has been retained, but revised, corrected, and supplemented wherever necessary in accordance with the discoveries of recent research. Typical of the editor's handling of Hill's commentary, which is treated throughout with genuine respect, is the Appendix on Johnson's first acquaintance with the Thrales. Here Mr. Powell more closely fixes dates, cuts out an irrelevant comment on Cowper, and adds a lively quotation from the *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, which more fully explains Hill's comment.

Ample justification for the revised edition is to be found in its valuable supplementary material, of which an extraordinary amount has been assembled. The labors of scholars and collectors on both sides of the Atlantic during the last half century have been levied upon to throw fresh light upon the life and times of Johnson and his circle. From his vantage point at Oxford Mr. Powell has been able to examine a large amount of original material and to call upon a corps of specialists to clear up queries left unanswered or unasked by the diligent Birkbeck Hill, who of course had not access to the *Boswell Papers* and many other important literary disclosures since his time. Of new matter it may be safely said that here is God's plenty. Some idea of the extensive collaboration necessary to the making of the editor's commentary may be gained from his long list of acknowledgements, a list which forms a veritable roll call of recent eighteenth century scholars, collectors, and booksellers. Behind this book is not a man, but many men.

The difficult editorial task of further lifting the shroud with which Boswell was wont to conceal the identity of many of his characters in the *Life* has been met by the present editor, who through his own researches and the collaboration of others has added about a hundred identifications to those already established by Croker and Hill. Of even greater importance is a considerable addition to the Johnson canon. On the evidence cited in his notes the editor names nine writings not included in the Bibliography of Courtney and Nichol Smith.

In order to preserve the pagination of Birkbeck Hill's text it has been necessary to print the bulk of the new notes in an Appendix at the end of each volume, an arrangement facilitated by ready cross references. It is in these Appendixes that the reader becomes fully aware of the extent of Mr. Powell's amplification, which is achieved in a manner pleasantly free from pedantry or prolixity. As an example may be cited the entirely new Appendix on portraits of Johnson, which describes all the known contemporary paintings and engravings mentioned by Boswell. This must have cost infinite labor and enquiry. Six of these portraits appear

among the thirteen full-page illustrations which add to the attractiveness of the edition, the format of which is uniform with the Oxford Johnson *Miscellanies*, *Lives of the Poets*, and *Letters*

It is, in truth, hard to quarrel with these volumes, which are indispensable to scholarship on their subject. There are those, perhaps, who will revive the charge levelled against Birkbeck Hill's edition, namely, that the text is over-annotated. "Notes are often necessary," wrote Johnson, "but they are necessary evils." Few students will deny this, but there are degrees of evil, and it cannot be said that the footnoting transgressions of the present editor ever become burdensome to the reader. On the contrary, they afford pleasure as well as profit. No judicious person will wish away, for example, notes revealing that "Johnson and Lord Chesterfield had common ties, including even one of remote relationship", or that "after seven years of comparative continence Boswell had persuaded himself that 'Asiatic plurality' was permitted to a Christian and had behaved accordingly." Mr Powell wears his editorship graciously. In his notes he records, nicely summarized the ferretings of A. L. Reade, R. W. Chapman, F. L. Pottle, and other distinguished scholars. Indeed, one of the chief values of the present edition is that it offers a competent synthesis of all the important research on Boswell and Johnson in recent years.

It was Boswell's boast that in the *Life* Johnson would "be seen more completely than any man who has ever yet lived." Posterity has allowed the claim. Yet it cannot be doubted that the extensive commentary brought together in this new edition serves to fetch the Doctor even more clearly into view. As for Boswell himself, that not altogether ingenuous worthy is revealed as he never has been before.

The forthcoming issue of Boswell's *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*, Johnson's *Diary of a Journey into North Wales*, and an *Index* to the whole, will complete the six volume revision of Birkbeck Hill, an undertaking which deserves the gratitude of scholars. The present four volumes augur well for the quality of those to come. Of the making of revised editions there is no end, but until the vaults of British castles yield up more Black Cabinets, or a new race of Johnsonians and Boswellians arises to witch the world with noble scholarship, students will accept this edition of Boswell's *Johnson* as definitive.

ROBERT KILBOURNE

The Johns Hopkins University

The English Traveller and the Movement of Ideas 1660-1732. By R. W. FRANTZ Lincoln, Neb University of Nebraska, 1934 Pp 176 \$1 00 (University Studies, xxxii-xxxiii.)

Professor Frantz has made a study of the contribution of the oversea traveler to the new philosophy of science of the Restoration. He begins with the Royal Society's "Directions for Sea-men, bound for far Voyages" of 1665-6, which prescribed methods of scientific observation. He then follows down the records and reviews of travel literature in the *Transactions*, and observes the scientific material in the travelers' published reports. The Society's policy of training travelers worked well. Mr Frantz cites plentiful evidence to prove that travelers generally became "auxiliary scientists" in their observations of nature.

The Baconian attitude would be more difficult to attain in the social sciences than in the natural sciences. Mr Frantz devotes the second half of his book to the travelers' use of the inductive method (to use modern terms) in the study of religion, ethics, and politics. He finds in their reports some open-minded observing of alien religious beliefs, alien codes of morality, and alien politics. Not many travelers were, however, able to transcend their training. They were not deliberately hunting for examples, especially among primitive peoples, of a "natural" religion, ethics, polity. But they could not help finding such examples, and they furnished theorists with some material. Mr Frantz surveys their contribution to the thought of Locke (in respect to innate ideas and to a natural polity), and to the thought of religious theorists like Gildon, Blount, Collins, Toland, and of political theorists like Bolingbroke, Pettit, Nalson. He concludes that "the rationalism dominant in this period received both impetus and direction from the 'facts' of experience gleaned by the voyagers" (p 160).

The thesis is reasonable, and conveyed without overstatement. Mr Frantz has made a good survey, and it is not his fault if his travelers are not yet generally anti-Aristotelian, that only one traveler (Robert Drury) was advanced enough to be a Deist. There may be objection that his argument is not statistical, that we are not told how many voyages were in what degree "scientific." Mr Frantz uses the less dogmatic method of describing tendencies rather than measuring them. There may also be objection that the contribution of the travelers to the natural sciences is not measured in full, but that is matter for another study, which would draw largely upon the archives of the Royal Society. There may be regret that Mr Frantz has not considered travels in Europe, translations, and works still in manuscript. These will have to be added in time, if only because (for example) Locke and his like quoted rather more from foreign travelers than from English. But Mr. Frantz has the right of reasonably limiting his subject.

He has the more right because he has undoubtedly had a laborious task in tracking his travelers. His bibliography, which admits some 110 travel-books between 1660 and 1730, is the first of its kind. Fortunately it will be continued in the *Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature*

GEORGE B PARKS

Washington University, St. Louis

Early Victorian England, 1830-1865. Edited by G. M. YOUNG
London [and New York] Oxford University Press, 1934
Pp. xxvi + 414, ix + 558. \$14 00.

By and large, this work is worthy of its place beside the volumes upon the England of Shakespeare and of Johnson, the seventeen contributors have achieved their aim, "to provide the background of ideas and habits, to recall the sights and sounds of Early Victorian England, and so to create for the reader of the history or literature of the time the atmosphere which will bring their details into perspective or relief." Through this work we may see how the people of England lived between 1830 and 1865—how they made their livings, what they did with their leisure, how they dressed, what they ate, what they smelled, what they saw; and this at any hour of the day. All the large classes of Englishmen are treated, from the rich in their palaces dining on an incredible array of meats and liquors to the poor with their adulterated bread and their vicious drinks, huddled twenty to a dank cellar in the new towns of the north. The scope and detail make this work indispensable to the student of the age.

Inevitably the chapters are uneven in quality. Only an omniscient reviewer could imagine himself competent to criticize all of them intelligently. The chapters by the Claphams upon "Work and Wages" and "Life in the New Towns" are authoritative, vivid, and full of substance. Mrs. C. S. Peel's account of "Homes and Habits" is tremendously informative, but is too profusely illustrated to be digested, yet a historical novelist will be completely fitted out by this chapter. Mr. R. H. Mottram writes with great skill of life in London and of the slow decline of the provincial cities. And in speaking of this most accomplished writer among the contributors it is not amiss to congratulate the editor that nowhere is there a trace of the cheap brilliance in writing which has disfigured other books on the social history of the Victorian age. Admiral Ballard gives a perspicuous account of the navy in its momentous change from wooden hulls to those of steel. It would have been well if Sir John Fortescue had been equally judicious in his account of the army and had not added a dash of

somewhat heated propaganda Mr Basil Lubbock has all the advantages of a delightful subject in his account of the mercantile marine the sailing ships racing home from the urgent west do indeed take the imagination, but it would be unfair to Mr Lubbock to imply that the speed and beauty of his essay owes entirely to his subject. All the chapters are workmanlike achievements, but of the rest those on architecture by Mr A. E Richardson and on expansion and emigration by Mr D. Woodruff are most satisfactory. Mr Richardson especially has ordered and vivified an enormous mass of material Early Victorian music and drama hardly gives Messrs. E J Dent and Allardyce Nicoll fitting opportunities for their talents

The single scholar would require a life-time to amass the information given in this work, and therefore one feels ungrateful in saying that *Early Victorian England* is not an entirely satisfactory book One asks for still other chapters, beyond the descriptive ones which appear here, for a fuller comprehension of the ideas which motivated the age—chapters on the religion, the philosophy, the science, the state of learning, the law, the literature The editor is aware of these deficiencies, and many of these subjects are touched upon in passing, but it does not lie within the descriptive plan of the work to cover them exhaustively Yet the failure to deal with representatives of these subjects, the professional people of the middle classes—comparatively small but very influential groups—gives an unfamiliar perspective to the picture of Victorian life. Most of these men of ideas, it is true, were working so quietly for the future that they were not noticeable figures to their own age, but the clergy, for example, were ubiquitous as well as socially significant, and deserved to appear in force in a chapter to themselves Beyond these missing sections, one asks for substantial bibliographies for each subject, the lamentable scarcity of footnotes in the work is only remedied in the account of the press, and that, unfortunately, is not one of the stronger papers

The first sixteen chapters, though always adequately and sometimes notably done, seem merely to describe the surface of the Victorian scene by comparison with Mr G M Young's concluding essay, "Portrait of an Age" Mr Young goes to the philosophical heart of the period and provides a brilliant analysis and interpretation of Victorian life. His contribution goes a long way towards comforting the reader for the loss of those which were excluded by the plan of the work The two great forces which were working themselves out in history at the time were an already failing Evangelicalism and a still vigorous Utilitarianism From his observation of these dynamic ideas in simultaneous operation Mr Young makes a penetrating comment upon the situation "English society was poised on a double paradox which its critics, within and without, called hypocrisy Its practical ideals were at odds

with its religious professions, and its religious belief was at issue with its intelligence" As for Evangelicalism and Utilitarianism, one may think that never was a great society built upon such insubstantial and narrow philosophical foundations Evangelicalism was not only ignorant in itself, but was the begetter of ignorance Yet in active life it was the energy derived from this faith which achieved progress in industry, sanitation, government, and general humaneness It joined forces oddly with an older humanitarianism and with Utilitarianism to form the age, at once hopeful and doubtful, brash and timid, progressive and conservative Mr Young thus describes the product of these forces "The Englishman might reluctantly allow that in social amenity the French, in care for the well-being of the people, the Prussians, went beyond him He might at moments be chilled by the aesthetic failure of his time, so profuse and yet so mean - alienated by its ethical assurance, at once so pretentious and so narrow. . . But all the while he knew that in the essential business of humanity, the mastery of brute nature by intelligence, he had outstripped the world, and the Machine was the emblem and the instrument of his triumph" So much was happening in every field of endeavor, an old world dying and our own new world being born, and the spirit of England was riding the sea of change so buoyantly, that Mr. Young can say, perhaps not too rashly, "Of all decades in our history, a wise man would choose the eighteen-fifties to be young in" His statement is a challenge, and shows at least how superbly he has identified himself with his task

WILLIAM CLYDE DE VANE

Cornell University

A Browning Handbook. By WILLIAM CLYDE DE VANE. New York Crofts & Co., 1935 Pp vii + 533 \$2 50

Professor DeVane's *Handbook* is excellent in plan and content It is, in the first place, admirably adapted to its purpose as an aid to the study and interpretation of Browning's poetry Through a clear and accurate survey of the literary and historical backgrounds of the poet's life and writings, and an incisive analysis of his poems, reviewed in chronological order, the book traces the development of his mind and imaginative genius

But, in addition to being a useful and valuable manual, Mr DeVane's work deserves recognition as a distinct contribution to scholarship Since the publication in 1910 of the standard biography of Browning by Griffin and Minchin, new light has been thrown on the poet's life and verse This has been done, in part, through a series of individual studies of various aspects of his poetry and, in part, through the collection and printing of a large

number of his letters. Now, for the first time, the fruitage of twenty-five years of literary criticism and research has been garnered in a single book and made available in convenient form.

It is fitting that Professor DeVane should have made this synthesis. His own work on Browning's *Parleyings* is the most signal contribution of recent years to our fuller understanding of the autobiography of the poet's mind and his intellectual and aesthetic interests. The conclusions of this volume and of Mr DeVane's penetrating studies of *Sordello* and *Fifine at the Fair* are concisely outlined in *A Browning Handbook*.

Apart from the exposition of Browning's self revelation in *Parleyings*, the primary sources of our enlarged knowledge of his life and poetry lie in two important collections of letters printed, respectively, in 1923 and 1933: the *Letters of Robert Browning to Isa Blagden*, arranged for publication by Professor Armstrong, and the *Letters of Robert Browning, Collected by Thomas J. Wise*, edited by Professor Hood. Mr DeVane is thoroughly conversant with these letters and uses them, with full acknowledgment, in the illuminating literary and biographical comment of his Handbook. Professor DeVane's acquaintance with the whole range of Browning criticism enables him to select happily the most pertinent aspects of it and, at the same time, his book does not lack individuality of judgment and vivacity of personal conviction.

Differences of opinion will always exist in connection with minor details. Personally, I am inclined to regard the third part of *Cavalier Tunes* as referring to a later incident in the struggle between King Charles I and the Puritans than that recorded in the first part. Mr DeVane considers these to be contemporaneous. Again, the relative stress to be placed on the influences of Rossetti and Lady Ashburton on Browning in the composition of *Fifine at the Fair*, is, perhaps, an open question. Such small divergences of judgment and interpretation are inevitable.

Students and lovers of Browning's poetry will be grateful to Professor DeVane for this well-conceived and capably written Handbook. It sustains his established reputation for Browning scholarship, and will be an indispensable guide to the reader who wishes to keep fully abreast of the time in this particular field.

Bishop's University

WILLIAM O. RAYMOND

The Minor Poems of John Lydgate By HENRY NOBLE MACCRACKEN Part II: Secular Poems EETS (Orig Ser 192)
Oxford Univ Press, New York, 1934 \$12 00

President MacCracken's second Volume of the *Minor Poems of Lydgate* continues his attempt to establish the "Lydgate Canon"

It therefore implies an acquaintance with his valuable essay on the "Canon" in the first volume of 1911. Since the editor's purpose is the production of an accurate text from a great number of MSS, critical notes and a glossary do not appear and ought not to be expected. For the information of scholars it should be said that the editor was denied access to the Longleat MSS.

The Monk of Bury fared ill in the 19th century. Conspicuous among many, Prof. Saintsbury waved his flaming sword over his unfortunate head. He was charged with ignorance of metre and with "enormous verbosity." Heavy charges, if true; but how true?

It seems strange that one who employed such a variety of forms—rime royal, 8-line ballade stanza, and couplets in 8 and 10 syllables—should not have known what he was about metrically! Saintsbury also speaks of his "dull, hackneyed, slovenly phraseology." Lydgate's vocabulary was extensive and various. Within it ecclesiastical, philosophical, and "aureate" terms, words of Latin and French origin, lie cheek by jowl with dialectal words and those of Scand. origin. Can it be possible that he was unable to pick and choose from it?

Close studies of Lydgate's metrical practices and of his vocabulary as well are still *desiderata* of scholarship. Until they appear we are dependent upon subjective or personal "hunches" about both.

However, some straws upon the surface show, I believe, the movement of the current below, and indicate a rising tide of appreciation for Daun John in times to come. President MacCracken claims, and gives chapter and verse for it, that he was an accurate and skilful rhymers, and that he was always "smooth." Furthermore, long and late tarrying with the poet has enabled him to reveal to us one of his metrical "tricks," a scheme of variation of the iambic pentameter measure, a "trick" that many of his critics have probably never discovered.

More than once the reviewer has been struck with the way in which the smooth flow of a stanza breaks, as it were, into a little picture of vigour and of action.

The hert desyreþ to drynke of cristall welles,
The swan to swymme in large brood riueres,
The gentyll faucon with gesse & ryche belles
To cache hys pray lyke to hys desyres,
I with my brode to scrape afore garneres
Precious stonys nobyng apperteyne
To gese nor fovylys, þat pasture on þe grene

The stanza quoted is from "the Cock and the Jacinth" of *Isopes Fabules* (which Saintsbury called "pointless enough!") Is it too much to call attention to the appropriateness of the words in this story to the situation they describe? The speech of the Cock, as he moralizes along, contains a number of words of a vagueness

and generality reminiscent of the word-hoard of an old-fashioned Republican campaign orator ("nature, kynde, propurtees, vertues, valew, pryce, hygh maters profounde & secree, doctrine, dysposyd, eleccion, opinion, wysdom & reson"), but becomes terse, native English when his thoughts turn to his particular and private business

It may be that our opinion of Lydgate's incapacity and ineptitude will have to be revised. If such be the case, it will be because this text (and those of the several longer poems in the *EEETS*) has been intelligently studied. And intelligent study the two volumes deserve. They are based on all the MSS their editor could learn of or was allowed to consult, have been reread with those MSS by Dr Merriam Sherwood, and carry an apparatus of variant readings

The editors of *NED* have combed Lydgate so thoroughly that gleaning after them is poor business, yet the following words may prove useful to the staff of the *ME Dict.* at Ann Arbor. Numbers refer to page and line

ale appalyd 453, 127 "flat or stale ale" No quot *ante* 1528

chapleyn 430, 20 "division of a large or populous parish having its own parochial or district chapel" Phrase = mod "within the ward"
No quot *ante* 1591

Chckrelyk 446, 17 "Kill-the-Leavings" (of the dish)

devaunt 451, 48 "proclaim" No quot *ante* 1540

pocys 621, 309 possibly an error for pl of *pas*, but deriv from OF *pose*, a measure of land, seems not impossible

HENRY L. SAVAGE

Princeton University

The Relations between the Social and Divine Order in William Langland's "Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman." By FRANCIS A. R. CARNEGIE. Sprache und Kultur der germanischen und romanischen Völker. A. Anglistische Reihe. Bd. XII. Breslau, 1934. 48 pp

Confining himself to texts A and B, Mr Carnegie in the three chapters of this monograph follows the chain of thought and action through the *Vision* concerning Piers and the *Vita de Dowel, Dobet, and Dobest*. His aim is to study the allegorical method with special reference to the relations between the social and divine order in both parts of the poem. Of chief interest, therefore, is the interplay between the search for Salvation or Truth and the concept that Salvation rests in honest labor. The theme of the whole poem is the life of the laity, real and ideal, and its social gospel is mutual affection, which is to be gained through observance of the precepts *fiat voluntas tua* and *dilige deum et proximum tuum*.

Salvation is in the devotion to one's proper duty of work, and in self-abnegation. Within the allegory the relation of ideas is not haphazard. The doctrine of the sanctity of productive labor is the Church's message to the world. Piers in Dobest becomes St. Peter, representing the perfect rule of the Church on earth. Further, the solution of the social problem and the attainment of Salvation through self-abnegation are one. Piers in the last passus of Dobet becomes Christ. This essential identity indicates the inseparability of the social and the divine order, of the spiritual and the temporal. The author's procedure is straightforward.

Mr. Carnegie might perhaps have fitted his interpretation into the pattern of the hermeneutical method of Langland's own day, as used by the preachers who doubtless inspired the poet. Of the four senses of exposition, the tropological or moral obviously animates the reformer's entire poem. And in addition to this, and to the literal and the allegorical, there was an 'anagogical' sense. Spiritual matters bear to the temporal, and divine to the human, the same relation as this anagogical sense bears to the literal or to the allegorical aspect, simply conceived. The preachers' tracts prescribe that by its means "the minds of the listeners are to be stirred and exhorted to the contemplation of heavenly things."

HARRY CAPLAN

Cornell University

BRIEF MENTION

The Struggle for the Freedom of the Press from Caxton to Cromwell. By WILLIAM M. CLYDE. Oxford [and New York] Oxford University Press, 1934. Pp. xvi + 360. \$4.25. This doctoral dissertation supplies a useful account of the regulations by which successive governments in England from the introduction of printing to the death of Cromwell attempted to control the press. It chronicles a large number of the almost countless prosecutions and controversies which the never wholly effective endeavor to enforce those regulations provoked. It gives some attention to the emergence of the idea that the use of the press should be in some measure free. On the last point, however, the author falls into confusion. He succumbs, that is, to the temptation to see in every sufferer under censorship a champion of liberty. The fact was that in most of the controversies with which he deals, the victim was as little concerned as the persecutor with the principle of freedom. Both were thinking chiefly if not entirely of their own interest. The one was trying to use and the other was trying to control an instrument which neither regarded as of right free.

to all. Only in the course of the long struggle of contending persons and parties to get the use and maintain control of the press for themselves did the idea arise that freedom of the press was an object to be fought for. In treating his subject, Dr. Clyde, absorbed in the cases which appear in the documents he has studied with such assiduity, fails to take account of this all important point. He sees in Prynne a kind of martyr to freedom, whereas the truth was that Prynne wanted to impose a censorship more ruthless than Laud ever desired or dared to attempt. He fails to observe that what Lilburne demanded as he stood in the stocks in 1638 was freedom to speak, not on the ground that what he spoke was true but on the ground that he spoke as a man and an Englishman. The struggle for the principle thus expressed by Lilburne and condemned by Prynne and Laud alike is one of the most interesting chapters in the history of the general doctrine of Christian liberty and natural right. It is a chapter which still remains to be written.

Columbia University

WILLIAM HALLER

Frühe deutsche Lyrik, ausgewählt und erläutert von HANS ARENS, mit einer Einleitung von PROF. ARTHUR HUBNER. Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, Berlin, 1935. 460 pages, 34 plates, large octavo, cloth, M. 4.80. An interesting essay on the *Minnesang* by Arthur Hubner serves as introduction to this anthology of Middle High German lyrics, arranged in chronological order, beginning with Kurnberger and ending with Oswald von Wolkenstein. A second section gives a selection of anonymous *Minneheder*, beginning with the well-known *Du bist mîn*, and ending with excerpts from the *Liederbuch* of Clara Hatzlerin. These are followed by historical poems of the fourteenth century, and in conclusion there are some twenty-odd spiritual songs. A *Biographischer Anhang* furnishes compact information about the authors represented in the anthology, and also indicates the sources from which the selections were taken. Finally, there is an alphabetical index of first lines, as well as a comprehensive table of contents. The book is embellished by two series of plates, the first giving the portraits of the poets in the *Grosse Heidelberger Liederhandschrift*, the second reproducing characteristic objects of German art from 1100 to 1492. Whilst this well-chosen anthology seems to be intended primarily for the general reader, for whose benefit explanatory footnotes are judiciously inserted, the text of the poems is correctly reproduced in its original form, without any attempt at modernization. The handsome, and at the same time reasonably priced book should appeal also to the serious student.

W. KURRMEYER

Heine as a Critic of his own Works By FRANK HIGLEY WOOD, JR. New York, 1934. The fact that the author of this dissertation has written a very readable book, which gives a brief survey of Heine's literary activity, has somewhat impaired the value of his investigation, for he often loses sight of the problem to be presented and squarely faces it only in the last two chapters "Heine and his literary personality" and the Conclusion. Thus at times his text furnishes merely the occasion for a footnote in which a quotation from Heine is given. A most flagrant case may be found on p. 87 "a few months later two more poems followed, and the fact that in one of them which begins, 'Ich bin nun dreiunddreißig . . .' he was experimenting with dates, points to a lack of spontaneity that made popular his *Buch der Lieder*" Thus the author's account while the important utterance of Heine referring to this poem is given in the notes and not at all evaluated. "Of this poem Heine writes Die Natürlichkeit ist hier bis zur Karrikatur gesteigert, das fühl' ich, es war ein Versuch, Jahrzahlen und Datum in ein Gedicht einzuführen" A systematic instead of a chronological treatment would have made it easier to avoid repeating much that is well known and would have compelled the investigator to arrange his material in such a way that it would have been accessible for future reference. The Index is of small help since it lists only titles and names while one would have wished to be referred to Heine's criticism of such matters as style, meter, political purposes, etc.

ERNST FEISE

Deutsche Volkslieder mit ihren Melodien hrsg. vom Deutschen Volksliedarchiv, Erster Band Balladen, Erster Teil, Zweiter Halbband Berlin, de Gruyter, 1935 Pp. 197-321, 1-xliv. The first half of the first volume of John Meier's admirable *Deutsche Volkslieder* has already been noticed in these pages (126-127). The second half maintains the same high standard of excellence. A few incidental notes will not be out of place here. To the comment on No. 15, "Der Tannhauser," we can now add the bibliographical note in J. Siebert, *Tannhauser* (Halle, 1934), pp. 240-41. On p. 172, where the sword as *symbolum castitatis* is mentioned, B. Heller's "L'épée symbole et gardienne de chasteté," *Romania*, xxxvi (1907), 36-49 might have been specially cited. As Carl Klitzke kindly tells me, the name Raumensattel (p. 291) is not entirely unknown. A Stoffel Romensattel was ducal "Hofmeister" in Pfullingen in 1560 (see J. K. Brechenmacher, *Deutsches Namenbuch*² [Stuttgart n. d.], p. 314). The *Deutsche Volkslieder* is essential for all study of German folksong.

ARCHER TAYLOR

Representative French Lyrics of the Nineteenth Century Revised Edition By GEORGE N. HENNING. Boston and New York. Ginn and Co., 1935. Pp. vi + 557. \$1.40 The general excellence of this anthology has been recognized for over twenty years. Now the editor has brought out a Revised Edition which increases by nearly forty per cent the original number of pages and makes many thorough-going changes. Indeed, it is less a revision than a reconstruction. To the original ten poets, three new names have been added. Of these, Chénier has definite links with nineteenth-century verse, and while Mallarmé and Rimbaud will offer difficulties in the classroom, their inclusion is warranted in order to give more body to Symbolism. Although Professor Henning's sympathies are elsewhere, he tries to do justice to this school, and in general his enlarged critiques achieve a fair appreciation of all these diverse talents. The material selected from Gautier and Sully Prudhomme has been, perhaps wisely, reduced. To a greater extent than in the first edition, individual poems are curtailed or compressed, this seems a pity in certain cases, where the composition is thereby marred. There is no space to indicate other debatable issues or actual errors in the volume. Fuller and more explicit notes, illustrations that are much to the point, a bibliography brought up to date, all add to the oft-tested value of Henning's *Representative French Lyrics*.

E. PRESTON DARGAN

Die alttestamentliche Namengebung in England, by A. MEIER. Kolner anglistische Arbeiten XXII. Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1934. Pp. 55. The author describes his work as *nur ein kleiner Beitrag zum Verständnis der englischen Bibelfreudigkeit, wie sie sich auf dem Gebiet der Namengebung aussert*. This description is exact. A thorough investigation of the subject was not attempted, and still remains a desideratum, but the author has done enough to link the English Bible with the popularity of Old Testament names in England in the Reformation and post-Reformation periods. The ME name *Simond* (from OE *Sigemund*) is wrongly connected with Holy Writ (p. 93).

K. M.

Vom Fabliau zu Boccaccio und Chaucer, by M. LANGE. Britannica VIII. Hamburg: Friederichsen, de Gruyter, 1934. Pp. 155. RM. 7. This monograph is a comparative aesthetic study. Four treatments of the same theme are compared, and the attempt is made to measure and describe the artistic achievements of the respective writers. The theme is that which Chaucer uses in his

Reeve's Tale, and this tale is compared with two French *fabliaux* and the sixth novel of the ninth day in Boccaccio's *Decameron*. The author calls his study *ein bescheidener Beitrag*, but it is actually an ambitious undertaking, something hard to do and justifiable only by the event, for the odium which rightly attaches to comparisons cannot be disregarded without danger. The author wrestles valiantly with his difficult task, but fails, I think, to meet the issues which he raises, though his efforts are not wholly profitless, and one reader, at least, deems the job worth the trial.

K. M.

Neuphilologie als Auslandswissenschaft auf der Grundlage des Sprachstudiums, by W. SCHMIDT Marburg Elwert, 1934. Pp 52. RM. 1. This booklet was written as a practical guide for German students in modern philology, with particular reference to Anglicistics. It strikes an outsider, however, as more theoretical than practical, even though the advice given is usually sensible enough and the bibliography is good. Adherence to the National Socialist program is taken for granted throughout—hardly a sound basis for that objectivity without which philology cannot survive as a science.

K. M.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE DERIVATION OF FRENCH *Nazi*, "syphilis." In *MLN*, LI (1936), 35, Professor Leo Spitzer declines to accept Sainéan's derivation of *nazi* from *lazi-loffe*, both of which mean "syphilis" in French slang.¹ The compound form was first used in 1837 in *Les Voleurs* by Eugène François Vidocq. Spitzer posits for it a German etymology *lass sie laufen*, supposedly used in this sense. It seems more plausible to accept Sainéan's interpretation² of *lazi*: "mal vénérien, proprement mal de Saint-Lazare, cette prison des vénériennes étant appelée en argot Saint-Laze." Incidentally it is to be noted that *naze* is heard in the slovenly speech of the Paris underworld as a variant for *nazi*.³ As for *loffe*, Sainéan (*ibid.*, p. 387) offered two definitions, the second of which was inadvertently overlooked by Spitzer: "nigaud, imbécile, proprement vesse, mauvais, faux." In the adjectival sense, the word recurs in the 1836 edition of *Le Jargon de l'argot*.

¹ Spitzer had already published a well-documented study of the political homonym *nazi* as the abbreviation for NSDAP in *Le Français Moderne*, II (1934), 266-9.

² *Les Sources de l'argot ancien*, II (Paris, 1912), 384.

³ J. Lacassagne, *L'Argot du milieu* (Paris, 1928), who cites the origin proposed by Sainéan.

*reforme*⁴ with reference to an ulcer *corbuche-lophe*. As a substitute for the etymology of Sainean, Spitzer offers various terms of doubtful affinity. 'Le synonyme argotique *nasique*, "syphilitique," reconduit directement au provençal moderne *nasica*, "piquer, ronger, en parlant de l'artisan" . de *nasico*, "narine, naseau" (Mistral) un *nasiqué* est donc tout simplement un "pouille" . *Naze, nazi*, "avarié," dérivent de même du radical provençal' . Spitzer adduced a hypothetical case of *un lwre* > *un *mwre*, so it became difficult for him to admit that *lazi* could lose its initial L (perhaps by confusion with the definite article) and replace it by an unetymological N (perhaps under the influence of the indefinite article)⁵ . The possibility of alternating the liquid and nasal dentals was defended by Sainean⁶ in his controversy with Rohlfs concerning the names of the otter: Galician *ludra, londra, nudra*, Spanish *lutria, nutria*, Calabrian *litria, vtna, ndria*, etc. There are accepted cases reflecting a tendency for initial L to remain and to develop into N even within the same language: Picard *lāžarn, nāžarn*; Northern French *letrun, netrun*, Franco-Provençal *lurmand, normand* and Portuguese *lavagante, navegante*.⁷ The reverse phenomenon is also attested in initial L for etymological N: Italian *nanfa, lanfa*, Paduan *negun, legun*, Old French *nunton, linton*, Walloon (of Liège) *mgyō, lgō*, Sardinian (of Planargia) *mtsola, lntsola*, Italian (of Velletri) *novina, lovina*.⁸ Aside from phonetic considerations, the etymology of the medical term *nazi* must take into account the etiology and pathogeny of the disease. Consequently I think that, of the two semantic bridges to be crossed, the one connecting syphilis and nostril is longer than the one joining syphilis and prison for strumpets.⁹

RAPHAEL LEVY

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⁴ The first edition was composed in 1628 by Ollivier Chéreau.

⁵ Examples of aphaeresis of initial L were given by A. Thomas, *Mélanges d'étym. fran.* (Paris, 1927), 31, cf. E. Cross, *PMLA*, XLIX (1934), 998.

⁶ *Autour des sources indigènes* (Florence, 1935), 440, Rohlfs, *ASNS*, CLIX (1931), 117.

⁷ Meyer-Lubke, *Rom. etym. Wtb.* (Heidelberg, 1935), §§ 4821 No. 2, 4827 No. 3, 5098 No. 2c. Dissimilation has resulted at times in doublets: Old Provençal *lamela namela*, Old French *livel-nivel, lombble-nomble*, compare Old French *lombrel* with modern French *nombril* and *ombilic*. Even Latin had both *lympa* and *nympha*.

⁸ *Ibid.*, §§ 5808a, 5875, 5894, 5915, 5980, 5990, compare Spanish *naranja* with Italian *arancia* and Portuguese *laranja*. C. Battisti, *Revue ling. rom.*, III (1927), 47 cites *vuxreplā* alongside of *luxreplā*, cf. Rohlfs, *Griechen und Romanen in Unteritalien* (Geneva, 1924), 24.

⁹ Two years ago Monsieur G. Esnault proposed, in a paper presented before the Société de Linguistique de Paris, to derive *nazi* either from Picard *naze*, "morve" (Corblet, *Glossaire picard*) or from Savoyard *azé*, "présure" (Constantin-Désormaux, *Dictionnaire savoyard*).

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